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METHODIST

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THE
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1860.

Art. I.—THE MORAL ARGUMENT FOR IMMORTALITY.

The argument for another life which nature affords is, by different parties, variously estimated at from zero to conclusiveness. We place it midway between them.

Granted, that reason did not originate the idea of a future state. Her argument implies a taste for abstract science, which implies a state of civilization, and this, in turn, implies the bonds of morals and religion: granted also, that the voice of philosophy concerning a future state is rather that of hope than of conviction, and that the reasonings of ancient sages would not satisfy us, and led them to believe in the pre-existence of the soul: yet may reason construct an argument important and impressive, fitted to resolve doubts, answer cavils, develop harmonies between nature and revelation, and create an antecedent probability which may prepare the mind to receive the Scripture revelations; an argument sufficient, of itself, to lay men under obligations to act as if it were demonstrative, seeing that probability is the only guide of human life, though not adequate to restrain the passions or assuage the woes of the masses of mankind. Of this argument four things may be premised.

It is cumulative: each element of the series has an independent power and a separate influence upon the conclusion, so that its strength is to be estimated not by its weakest part but by the combined force of the whole. It may be compared to a number of chains arranged to sustain the same weight.

It is progressive: it acquires increased force as man advances in civilization: we may infer that when he reaches his highest state of culture, which is his most natural state, it will shine as the noonday sun.

THE

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JANUARY, 1861.

ART. I.—THE MORAL ARGUMENT FOR IMMORTALITY.

THE argument for another life which reason affords is, by different parties, variously estimated at, from zero to conclusiveness. Its place is midway between them.

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It is partial: though it may not reach the conclusion, there is a reserve of proof and argumentation by which it may be supplemented.

It is difficult, among Christians, to eliminate it, since we cannot, if we would, divest ourselves, even for an hour, of the influences of our faith.

It may be divided into the metaphysical and the moral. Let us limit ourselves to the latter: the former is merely negative. In passing we may sum it up. We cannot prove that death does more than dissolve the body; but the soul is not the body. Some claim that this argument has an affirmative value, and allege that we have the same reason to believe that the soul survives the dissolution of the body as that the ultimate particles of matter do; but this is not sound; the belief that the particles of the body survive death rests upon experimental proof. A better affirmative argument is in this form. We believe that the soul will continue with all its attributes unless it be altered or destroyed by death. We are satisfied that death will not alter or destroy it. Thus we have the same kind of probability that the soul will exist after death as that the sun will shine to-morrow, though not in the same degree. This probability is strengthened by many analogies, and often by the phenomena of dying. In the agonies of dissolving nature, when the body has been worn to a skeleton, and its most important organs are decayed, the soul sometimes rises with transcendent energies; instead of being carried down with the body, it feels as though it could soar aloft bearing the body on its wings. When you accompany your friend conversing, step by step, as he passes to the door of death, and hear his voice, still pregnant with living thought, until the very door closes upon him, you naturally believe that though he is hidden from your view he still lives.

This argument, resting upon the distinction between the living powers and the animal body, would prove also the immortality of brutes. At such a conclusion many revolt: no wonder, for it carries with it the immortality, not merely of horses and lions, but of frogs and flies. This revulsion is, however, greater at first than upon reflection. Suppose all animated beings immortal, the Almighty, in immensity and eternity, may have modes of disposing of them that we know not; or they may exhibit latent faculties or undergo transformations of which we have no conception; or, on the other side of the grave, as on this, there may be innumerable and diversified orders of being. But let us not overestimate the affirmative force of the argument; it is not demonstrative, only probable. Admit that the soul is naturally immortal, who made it so? God. Cannot he who made it so make it otherwise? Grant that the soul is not

naturally immortal, cannot God make it so? We come then, after all, to the will of the Creator. Prove the natural immortality both of man and beast, yet, if it can be shown unreasonable that the latter should survive death, we can readily suppose that God will annihilate it; and while the soul of the beast goeth downward, there may be abundant reasons why the soul of man should go upward.

An objection has been brought against the very foundation of the metaphysical argument. The distinction between the primary and secondary qualities of matter is denied by some philosophers. Suppose they abolish it, and *demonstrate* that extension, impenetrability, etc., are no more properties of matter than color or sound, leaving us nothing but phenomena from which to reason. What then? They answer: "The mental phenomena are dependent upon the material, so that when the latter cease the former will also." But this is assuming what cannot be proved, for the same consequent may follow from different antecedents. Whatever may be the affirmative value of the metaphysical argument, its negative force is irresistible. It sets the question upon the platform of neutrality, and prepares us for the proper positive argument—the moral. This is founded on a comparison of our nature with our condition and circumstances. It may be divided into three heads, namely, arguments founded, first, upon the intellect; second, upon the heart; and third, upon the conscience. We can give but a glance at each.

The intellectual capacities of man are out of proportion to his present state; he needs a future one fully to develop and employ them. It is otherwise with every thing around him. Should a bird, a beast, or a fish live a million years, would it acquire any new powers, or enlarge its capacity of enjoyment or usefulness? Its instincts are perfect in the infancy of its being, its members are soon matured to the greatest extent desirable in its sphere, and its senses and soul, so far as we can perceive, are incapable of improvement. Man, endued with reason and speech, is capable of progress in knowledge, happiness, and usefulness. Every discovery he makes increases his ability for further researches, and there is no setting bounds either to his attainments or his achievements—to the number of his ideas, the sublimity of his conceptions, or the range of his thoughts. The conceptions of brutes are limited to earth and time. If man's life is confined to the present sphere, why should his thoughts stray beyond it? Why, passing the bounds of time and space, is he permitted and *prompted* on wings of imagination and hope, to expatiate in the infinite and soar into the eternal? He stands on a platform from which he surveys two immensities. By the aid of the microscope, he looks downward upon worlds on worlds

below him. By the aid of the telescope, he looks upward to worlds on worlds above him. He obtains a glimpse of two eternities, the eternity past and the eternity to come. His aspirations correspond to his position. After he has mapped the globe, navigated the seas, explored the caves, ascended the mountains, classified all minerals, and vegetables, and animals, and determined their properties, habitudes, and laws; analyzed earth, air, water, and even the human mind; applied the forces of nature to accomplish his purposes; weighed, named, and numbered the planetary worlds, measured the heavenly spaces and discovered the laws of celestial motions; traveled on the pages of history backward to the creation of man, and on the pages of nature, God's elder Scripture, backward still over those geological epochs which bring us up to creation's dawn, and forward by the prophets' light to the period when time shall be no longer, he is still *athirst* for knowledge. He desires to pierce beyond; he has seen but a speck, and it has made him cry out, "Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty!" what will be his rapture and adoration as he moves onward! He would ascend from planet to planet, from star to star; he would climb up the zodiac and explore the distant nebulæ; he would pause at each world to study its geology, its geography, its botany, its philosophy, its animal wonders, its natural scenes, its rational inhabitants. He would commune with these, would learn their history, their relations, their religion; above all, he would know more and more of their Maker; he would aspire after him and adore him evermore: yet he finds his lofty mind imprisoned in a body, vexed with temporal cares, doomed to spend its chief energies in supplying animal wants, and limited to a petty scene on which his vast conceptions cast supreme contempt. The argument may be thus compressed: The means of Divine wisdom are proportionate to its ends. If this is the only life, the capacities, conceptions, and desires of the human soul are not proportionate to its ends. Therefore, if this is the only life, they are not the bestowments of Divine wisdom. Grant the premises, and the only escape from the atheistic conclusion is in the admission of a future state. We are told, however, that we are not judges of the suitability of means to ends in the providence of God; that what *appears* to us surplus power and machinery may *not* be. This is true in all cases of which we have but partial knowledge, but in this instance the whole case is before us. It is alleged that many desires were not intended to be gratified, as the wish for continued health and for higher degrees of happiness in the present life. Both of these however, may be canceled by the higher desire of a future state, with reference to which they may be below him. By the aid of the telescope, he looks upward to worlds on worlds above him. 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It is also argued that the openings into the universe which science affords, and our insatiable desire of knowledge, are sufficiently accounted for by the influence they have in lifting us above our petty cares and low passions, and sending us forward in the career of improvement and heroic action. But why elevate and inspire man, if life is a phantom and death its close? or why should God, in instructing and exalting his children, *mock* them? The force of this argument varies with the character of the arguist and the standpoint that he occupies. A sensual and inconsiderate man, taking a superficial view of mankind, will be but slightly impressed by it. Men, in general, seem absorbed in the pursuit of the present life; in heathendom they have but little education except that of bodily wants. Even in Christendom multitudes rarely lift their thoughts above the mines, the lanes, or the fields in which they spend their lives of sensuality and drudgery. And as they treat themselves so are they treated; many driven like beasts of burden, others led out to battle like so many tigers, slaying each other with as little compunction as they would slaughter oxen for the market. "Where," it may be asked, so far as they are concerned, "is your *intellectual* argument for a future life? Shall *they* demand another life for mental culture who utterly neglect it in this? Shall *they* complain of the barriers of knowledge who have never educated themselves up to those barriers?" This statement is exaggerated. The darkest mind has its luminous hours when it transcends its wonted themes. The feeblest soul may manifest capacities of improvement and desires of knowledge which, under favorable circumstances, would make it a Newton. If such vast capacities are not developed in this life, may we not hope for another in which they shall be? The force of the argument is best felt in solitary meditation. Go to the death-chamber of some considerate and cultivated pagan; his will has been written, the physician and the watchers are dozing in their chairs or casting a look toward the bed, the lamps are dim and flickering, all is silent as the grave save the music of the katydid. We may fancy the dying one, as he looks through the trellis at the stars, thus to soliloquize: "This, probably, is the last time that I shall ever look out upon the world. Where shall I be when the moon rises again upon the earth? What hope have I of a future? First, then, I am conscious that my spirit is as distinct from bodily organs as from the external objects which it beholds. I am conscious that it has a Father; in this world I seem as a deaf and dumb child sent into an institution for mutes, with an intimation that when I have learned how to converse with my Father, and honor and obey him, I shall be sent home. I thank God that he

ever permitted me to behold this world, beautiful enough for the angels; that he gave me to know the love of father and mother, and wife and child, to look into the face of friends, and to enjoy affections worthy of paradise. I feel that though I pass away from my kindred and they cease to love me, my Father in heaven will love me still. I bless him that he has made me able to reason, that he has implanted within me the insatiable thirst of knowledge, and reflected to my vision the dim glimmerings of uncounted worlds. If I turn my eyes to a particular point in the heavens, I perceive a double row of worlds, like a colonnade of light stretching outward and still outward, and so all around the celestial sphere; if we could pass up one colonnade of starry worlds, and then another, and so round the sphere, exploring the handwriting of God on each as we pass, we should examine only the vestibule of the universe. Has God given me this reason to becloud it? and opened this vast vision to delude me? No; though I leave this world I shall see another; shall progress in knowledge, shall behold wonders of wisdom on all sides, shall commune with other spirits, and in the fullness of gratitude and the ecstasies of joy adore and bless the Almighty." You may call this a sick man's dream, but it is logic full of light to many a departing spirit.

Let us pass to the argument founded on the heart, or emotional nature. There is in man an *appetite* of future life. Of this all nations have left in their philosophy, poetry, and institutions indubitable traces. Sometimes a traveler reports a tribe without it, but further investigations prove him in error. Sometimes an individual is found who denies it, but further acquaintance with him, especially in hours of sorrow or trial, prove either that he did not understand his own heart, or that he had rendered it unnatural by passion or depravity. Man *craves* a future life, and without such craving humanity is not perfect. As the fire points to the water and the lungs to the air, so the original, abiding, universal desire of another life points to a region beyond the grave. More than this, there is a *presage* of it. This, combined with desire, takes the form of hope; thus it is found in the breast of every good man; it animates him in duty, sustains him in trial, gives him in critical circumstances godlike energies and impulses, and enables him to leave the world a conqueror. This presage, combined with a sense of guilt, takes the form of fear; the culprit is not at rest, even though his crime be secret or his impunity assured; not that he fears death, for he can brave it. Threatening voices in the silent air, flaming daggers in the darkened chamber, strange tremblings in the safe abode, are not the results of any *education* or any *want* of ever permitted me to behold this world, beautiful enough for the angels; that he gave me to know the love of father and mother, and wife and child, to look into the face of friends, and to enjoy affections worthy of paradise. I feel that though I pass away from my kindred and they cease to love me, my Father in heaven will love me still. I bless him that he has made me able to reason, that he has implanted within me the insatiable thirst of knowledge, and reflected to my vision the dim glimmerings of uncounted worlds. If I turn my eyes to a particular point in the heavens, I perceive a double row of worlds, like a colonnade of light stretching outward and still outward, and so all around the celestial sphere; if we could pass up one colonnade of starry worlds and then another, and so round the sphere, exploring the handwriting of God on each as we pass, we should examine only the vestibule of the universe. Has God given me this reason to behold it, and opened this vast vision to delude me? No; though I leave this world I shall see another; shall progress in knowledge, shall behold wonders of wisdom on all sides, shall commune with other spirits, and in the fullness of gratitude and the ecstasies of joy adore and bless the Almighty." You may call this a sick man's dream, but it is logic full of light to many a departing spirit.

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This presage, combined with love, exhibits itself in a beautiful form at the tomb. Man in all ages, and under all degrees of civilization and all forms of religion, even the rude barbarian and the ruder savage, brings spices to the sepulcher, and as he anoints the cold clay and washes it with his tears, he feels that there is something more than the clay for which he renders this mournful service. It is this consideration that soothes the agonies of bereavement, calls forth tears of rapture to mingle with those of sadness at the coffin, builds the pyramid and the mausoleum, and invests the grave with its solemnity and sacredness. Even when the sepulcher is empty, we feel that the child we once laid there is to be found among the living, though not among the dead: the voice of the shining ones to the Marys at the tomb of our Lord, seems to be the whisper of nature to every mother at the grave of her son: "He is not here; he is risen."

I know that among the heathen the light of the sepulcher is feeble and flickering, not, as among Christians, sunlike and steady; but God requires no man to make for his friend a grave over which impenetrable and eternal darkness dwells. Grant that the sacred and soothing charm of the grave is partly due to memory and association, yet the mirror of the tombstone reflects something more than the past; it not only exhibits the departed walking in the gardens which he planted, breathing in the words which he uttered, and acting in the principles he obeyed; but shows him in more beautiful plains, breathing nobler utterances, and acting from loftier principles. Though the Indian may not be able to express himself at the grave as Socrates, yet he too hath seen visions of angels.

Has God implanted in man an expectation of a future state? then has he not brought himself under obligations to fulfill it? Both questions are answered negatively by some.

It is said that beyond the horizon of the Christian world there is a circle of outer darkness shutting the prospects of men within the sphere of the present life; that what seems the hope of a future state is but the desire of prolonged existence in this, projecting into Elysian fields the shadows of earthly scenes; that the dread of future wo is but the natural dread of death, aggravated by a diseased imagination, and that the hope of the bereaved mourner is but a phantom which the distressed mind evokes for its own delusion. But who that has read the human heart can assent to these

propositions? The dread of perdition is very different from that of death. How many there are to whom the grave would be welcome, could it be viewed as the end of being? Why is it that

> "The weariest and most loathèd worldly life
> That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
> Can lay on nature,"

is so often endured by men who could their "quietus make with a bare bodkin?" It is the fear of something after death that troubles the will.

But granting that nature has implanted in man the presage of a future life, it is denied by some that we can argue thence the *existence* of that state. It is alleged that the expectation is created for wise purposes connected with the present life; that without the hopes and fears of a future world man could not exist in a social condition in this, for the overflowings of human depravity would prove too mighty for the dikes of human law. There is ground for this remark; but if these hopes and fears are vagaries of the mind, raised within us merely as an invisible police, to supplement the dread of criminal law, we should suppose they would be intense in proportion as they are needed, whereas they seem to be in inverse ratio to our necessities. Here are two young men that have been educated together. Entering life, the one disobeys the monitions of conscience, the other obeys them; the former descends, day by day, to lower moral levels. Hence we might suppose that, with every revolving sun, the anticipations of future blessedness and the apprehensions of future woes, would gain force within his soul; but is it not otherwise? Does not his faith in divine things decline, until his vision is limited to life, and he comes to regard himself and his fellows as brutes that perish? How is it with the other? He ascends to higher and higher moral elevations; his companions, habits, and trains of thought and feeling cause him to be more and more delighted with virtue, until he feels that, if he could demonstrate that the present life is the only state of existence, he could not leave his virtuous pathway. Does his faith in futurity diminish in proportion as he needs not its influence? No; the hope of heaven glows more intensely within him as he advances, until he seems to share the sympathies of the skies and catch its jubilant song.

We should also suppose that if these hopes and fears were merely subservient to discipline, they would cease when they ceased to be of use. But what is the fact? Here are two men, the one bad, the other good, who are near their end; their powers are palsied, and their schemes closed; they have lost all interest in life and have

retired into their habitations to die. One has done all the evil he chose, the other all the good; mankind has nothing further to hope or fear from them, nor they from mankind. Now, will not delusions that have been sent upon them for the purpose of discipline during their period of *action*, be withdrawn during the period of *inaction?* Why muster the invisible police around the *dying* head? As a general rule you will find that the wicked man, who for years had schooled himself into perfect skepticism, when he draws to his end is alarmed. Turn to the chamber of the good man, who having finished the feast of life, rises with gratitude from its table, and having closed his mission on earth is ready to depart. Has hope, now no longer needed, died out from his breast? It glows more than ever; the painful doubts that had often harassed him during his life-struggle have all gone; "death has lost its sting and the grave its victory." It may be alleged that all this is for the deception of the spectators. But this is to assert that God, incompetent to govern man by truth, has resorted to falsehood. Farewell science, then, for if the soul is built on a lie, may not all nature be constructed on the same principle?

Let us pass to the argument founded on the moral nature. This approves intentional right, condemns intentional wrong; its authority is supreme; it is a law of the universe, hence moral rectitude enters into our conception of the Creator.

God if righteous is so *infinitely*. An infinitely righteous ruler will sooner or later administer rewards and punishments so as to render to all his subjects according to their moral deserts. In this life God does not distribute to men rewards and punishments in exact proportion to their deserts; therefore in another he will. He does, indeed, govern upon righteous principles now. That his laws in this world are on the side of right is manifest; if they were indifferent, then would human character have no relation to human happiness: a position which no one will take. If they were on the side of vice, then we must reverse the moral law to secure their advantages. But who, in order to secure a healthy and vigorous body, deems it necessary to indulge in idleness, intemperance, debauchery, and crime? Who, to secure permanent riches, honor, and power, thinks it best to lie, steal, and cheat—to dishonor his kindred, sell his friends, and betray his country? Who, to insure mental improvement and peace of soul, thinks it indispensable to avoid all right and commit all wrong? The laws of society are the judgments of the legislature as to the general course of providence. Do statesmen, with a view to secure the permanence, prosperity, and harmony of states, enact the contradictories of the ten command-

ments, and send forth officers to enforce theft, murder, blasphemy, etc., by pains and penalties? Was ever a nation or tribe heard of that ordained such laws? Could such a one be found, how long would it last? A few days of conflict, and naught would be left of it but corpses and coagulated blood. If then God is not indifferent to morals, and if he is *against* vice, he must be *for* virtue.

Nevertheless, his moral government is not *perfect* in this life. When a good man pines away under a loathsome disease, and at length sinks into an early grave by the sin of his parents, is the law of physiology true to virtue? When an innocent party, falling under the suspicion of infamous crime, is imprisoned, defamed, degraded from office, deprived of his living, and though acquitted by a jury, yet doomed to live a suspected, discredited, and comparatively useless member of society; or when a dark villain rises, through concealed crimes, to distinguished place and inestimable emoluments, is the law of *human relations* true to virtue? When the Caligula is crowned or the martyr burned, is the law of human *government* true to virtue?

It cannot be well argued that consciousness of rectitude makes up for the sorrows and sufferings accompanying virtue, or that the reproaches of conscience cancel all enjoyments and advantages in a wicked course; for a good man, by cultivating his conscience, confers upon it an exquisite sensibility, and by careful self-examination acquires increased capability of discovering his faults; while, on the other hand, the bad man, by neglecting the monitions of conscience, gradually diminishes its power, until finally he silences it, and by neglecting self-examination, becomes more and more blind to his faults. Do you say, that in these instances the good are sustained by the hope of paradise, and the bad punished by the fear of perdition? You allow that nature intimates the imperfection of the Divine administration in this life, and the need of a supplemental one beyond it. If you assert that such results are at variance with the righteous tendencies of natural law, you concede it yourself.

There may be vices in the good, and virtues in the bad; but in the cases supposed does the good act receive its due reward, the evil one its due punishment? Vain to refer for compensation to the pleasures or pains of antecedent life, since it is not the policy of justice to reward or punish men for actions *before* they are committed. Moreover, preceding pleasures and pains are sufficiently accounted for by preceding virtues and vices. Nor can you resolve the knot by intention. Are there any intentions in these cases to account for the results? Of his own intentions every man is a competent

judge. How numerous the cases in which acts done with the purest intentions are punished; acts done with the basest intentions rewarded! One such instance is enough to prove that the moral administration in this life is not perfect. We concede the principle, that where general results establish a law, we are bound to suppose that exceptional cases could be reduced within the law if all the facts were known; this should make us cautious in deductions from the moral disorders of the world at large or the narratives of history; but it is in the best known cases that the clearest violations are found. Let the appeal be to experience. Does the statesman, the minister, the patriot receive rewards corresponding to the purity of his intentions?

But the argument may be shortened. If the moral administration of God in this life is perfect, then we need no better administration in heaven, for what can exceed perfection; and if every man receives in this life the due reward of his deeds, then if there be a future life, as he is not subject to punishment for the deeds of this, whither can he go but into heaven, and if he bear the same character and find the same administration there as here, would not the prolonging of his existence here be equivalent to his admission into heaven; and if under the present administration obstinately wicked men grow worse and worse, would not the same result occur in the future state? Is all this according to the common reason and common heart of humanity? In a survey of nations the case is no less strong. True, history gives us but an outline; the details should be filled up, to enable us to form a perfect judgment; but does it not give us enough for the conclusion? On the battle-fields of earth is victory always true to the standard of the right? Is the stream of human blood that pours at the feet of a Napoleon, the measure of the rectitude either of his principles or his intentions? Did Carthage deserve to be blotted out, or Rome deserve to extend her African triumphs? Are the comforts of oppressors and the degradations of the oppressed true indices of the deserts of the respective parties? In the conflicts of nations and the revolutions of empires, are men spared in proportion to their innocence and punished in proportion to their guilt, or do they, as in the jaws of earthquakes and the breath of simooms, perish by indiscriminate slaughter? That, in the lapse of ages, a moral progress of mankind may be discerned and the principles of a righteous administration traced, is clear but is such administration *perfect in this life?*

It is no impeachment of Divine justice to allege that its administration on this side the grave is imperfect. It is no impeachment of *human* justice that its decrees are not promptly and fully

executed, and that for a time it restrains innocent parties. The delay of execution may be from motives of wise policy, and *necessary* to secure the ultimate and perfect triumph of justice. It is easy to conceive many reasons why justice should linger in this life; if it should travel step to step with transgression, duty, being in all cases coincident with interest, might be pursued from mere selfishness, and if this were the case the present state would not be a suitable theater for the probation or display of moral character; if, therefore, it is easy to conceive that it may be such a theater, it is equally easy to suppose that justice may rightfully slumber for a time. If discipline and education be among the purposes of this life, as it is granted they are of its early period, there may be good reasons why virtue may be visited with temporary suffering, disappointment, and persecution, the compensation consisting in our gradual education and exaltation to a higher sphere. Some argue that if the present administration of Divine justice is imperfect, we must infer that its *future* administration will be also. Mr. Hume states this objection with plausibility and force. He says: "The only safe principle on which we can pretend to judge of those parts of the universe which have not fallen under our examination, is by concluding them to be analogous to what we have observed:

'Of God above, or man below,
What can we reason but from what we know.'

Now the only fact we know with respect to the moral government of God, is that the distribution of happiness and misery in human life is in a great measure promiscuous. Is it not then a most extraordinary inference from this fact, to conclude that there must be a future state of existence to correct the inequalities of the present scene? Would it not be more reasonable, and more agreeable to the received rules of philosophizing, to conclude either that the idea of a future state is a mere chimera, or that, if such idea shall ever be realized, the distribution of happiness will continue to be as promiscuous as we have experienced it to be."

This reasoning is not valid. The premises assume what is not true, namely, that if there is a future world, it is to be regarded as a state unconnected with the present; that the present and future worlds are independent of each other, the administration in each being complete: whereas they are but parts of the same whole, as youth and age are parts of the present life, different stages of the same being, time the beginning, eternity its continuance, the administration of the one being the *complement* of that of the other. The youth who argues from his impunity in early life that he will not

be punished in his manhood or old age for his youthful idleness and debauchery, or the criminal who argues from the promiscuous distribution of his comforts and discomforts *prior* to his trial, to a similar distribution *after his conviction* of capital offense, makes a sad mistake.

This argument of Hume also conceals a part of the truth which it professes to state. To show this more clearly let us syllogize it.

The analogies of the present are our only guide in judging of the future.

The distribution of happiness and misery in the present life is in great measure promiscuous.

Therefore it will be so in the future.

To the second premise, in order to make a full statement, we should add, but with a natural tendency to a righteous adjustment, hindered by accidental forces. Adding these two elements to the proposition, we may reverse the conclusion. For the tendencies, being natural, will act steadily and permanently; the hinderances, being accidental, will in course of time cease; so that if man were immortal in the present life, time would ultimately arrange all things in the order of righteousness, gathering to virtue all power and happiness, and dooming to vice all weakness, lamentation, and woe. And the result must be hastened by a change of the venue to a higher court.

It is, we conceive, in strict conformity with the rules of philosophizing to conclude that there is a supreme court, in which the countless unlitigated causes of time are docketed, and the innumerable claims of justice, that can never be asserted here, shall be finally heard.

In 1829 Mr. Airy found that the distance of Herschel from the sun was continually varying. La Verrier compared all the variations, and concluded that they could only be accounted for by the existence of a world beyond, and that the greatest of Herschel's variations marked the period of its conjunction with that unknown world. Taking for granted that its distance from the sun corresponds with that of the next interior planet, he estimated its distance at twice that of Herschel; then by the law that the squares of the distances are as the cubes of the times, he computed its annual revolution at two hundred and twenty years. Supposing the plane of its orbit to correspond with that of Herschel, he determined the point of space in which it was at that moment to be found. He wrote to a friend who commanded a powerful telescope, telling him where to point in order to see a new world. The result verified his calculations. Thus a philosopher in his study, with the deviations

of a world from its proper path, and the laws of the universe for the elements of his calculations, pierces thousands of millions of miles into space, and sees with his eye of science an unknown world. Thus, with the moral deviations of this world and the eternal laws of justice for the elements of our calculation, can we not pierce eternity and behold a world of righteous retribution?

I write under circumstances that impress this argument upon my mind—in the village where in childhood I hailed the rising sun, and looked up through the green branches to the bright stars, and first thought of Him who leadeth them forth as a shepherd doth his flocks, yet numbers the hairs on the head of his humblest child, and wept as I whispered "Our Father." Near by is the old graveyard; it was inclosed with a board fence, encompassed with hazel bushes, fringed with elder blossoms, and entered by a narrow gate, through which the pall-bearers bore the coffin before the hearse was known, and beside which was a stile where the little ones and their mothers were wont to cross on summer evenings, to step softly between the graves, and silently read the inscriptions on the simple headstones: there I first learned how dreadful death is, and my eyes were taught to send forth tears at the mention of the Psalmist's words: "Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness." Lo! streets now run through this sacred spot, and the busy wheels rattle over the broken gravestones. And is this the end of those sweet ones whose heads fond parents laid upon down and curtained with damask, whose eyes sparkled with genius, and whose lips were full of truth, whose feet were swift on errands of mercy, and whose hands were outstretched to the poor?

Behind the walls of a dilapidated church is another graveyard, many of whose graves are thrown open. In one yet green and undisturbed rests a man who, after a peaceful and prayerful life, went through the valley of death fearing no evil. As my heart cried out, "My father!" I *felt* that the words described more than a phantom.

Passing through the streets, now streets of strangers, and over roads much changed, to a magnificent native grove on a sunny hill-side, I came to the streets of the new city of the dead. Here I was at home. Wandering through carriage-ways, and marking the names on the monuments, I lived my early days over again. The dead are around me, not in their winding-sheets, but in their loveliest living forms. The aged pastor spake once more his words of wisdom, the sufferer uttered anew his tale of sorrow, "loving eyes glanced love to love again." "Now there is a sound of revelry by night," and anon the sweet flute pours forth its plaintive notes beneath the harvest moon. But the illusion vanishes; I am again among the dead. O, with what of a world from its proper path, and the laws of the universe for the elements of his calculations, pierces thousands of millions of miles into space, and sees with his eye of science an unknown world. Then, with the moral deviations of this world and the eternal laws of justice for the elements of our calculation, can we not pierce eternity and behold a world of righteous retribution?

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The pastures are clothed with flocks, the fields are covered with corn, the houses encompassed with flowers, while here and there stand the grand remains of the ancient forest like organ-lofts, with their thousand feathered pipes ready to pour forth notes of praise at the morning hour.

O God! thou moldest the earth into forms of enrapturing beauty; "thou visitest it and greatly enrichest it with the river of God; thou preparest them corn when thou hast so provided for it; thou waterest the ridges thereof; thou settlest the furrows thereof; thou makest it soft with showers; thou blessest the springing thereof; thou crownest the year with thy goodness, and thy paths drop fatness." Thou who dost beautify and renovate the natural world, hast thou prepared no spring for the moral? Is life a mystery? or a probation and preparation for a better state? Almighty Father! where are thy children who made this wilderness to blossom as the rose? our fathers who trusted in thee? our mothers who breathed thy name with their dying lips? Hast thou not folded them to thy loving bosom?

I would not depreciate the light of revelation. Pleasant above all things it is to stand in the temple of Christ, and amid sweet song and solemn feast to hear of Him who is "the resurrection and the life." Pleasant also to stand in the temple of nature, with

its floor carpeted with green and its roof fretted with stars, and its gallery of mountains charged with heavenly music, and while the time-piece of the skies measures off our days, to listen to the voices of the reason and the heart speaking of a better land. To me the two revelations are in harmony; the one confirms what the other suggests, the one completes what the other begins. Nature puts angels at the sepulcher to roll away the stone; revelation brings from the grave-clothes the warm and living man, calling forth the exclamation, "My Lord and my God!"

ART. II.—JABEZ BUNTING.

The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D. With Notices of Cotemporary Persons and Events. By his Son, THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859.

ALMOST immediately subsequent to the period embraced in the two volumes, already published, of Dr. Stevens's interesting "History of Methodism," three men cotemporaneously appeared upon the arena of English Methodism, who individually exercised a broad yet distinctive influence upon the weal and progress of the Wesleyan Church—Jabez Bunting, Robert Newton, and Richard Watson. The first molded and liberalized its ecclesiastical economy; the second diffused and energized its influence through the length and breadth of Great Britain; and the third most successfully directed and defended its missionary operations abroad. Although this description is just, so far as the peculiar sphere of each is concerned, the characteristic attributed to each was not confined exclusively to either. They were men of one heart, and mind, and work, and were cheerful and efficient colaborers in every department of Methodism. In maturer years, however, each seemed, in the direct order of Providence, and without any seeking on his part, to move in a special sphere of labor and usefulness. Bunting was an acknowledged ruler in Israel; Newton was the peerless orator and popular preacher; and Watson, the presiding genius and commanding intellect in the missionary institutions of the Church.

Each has gone to his blessed reward. Watson's feeble frame first gave way, for the sword was too keen for the scabbard. Newton next fell, but it was as a veteran in his Master's service, after a life of marvelous and protracted activity and usefulness, as one who had fought a good fight and finished his work, as a shock of corn ready

for the garner. Bunting has followed his brethren and companions into the presence-chamber of their common Lord, matured in grace and usefulness, and emphatically may it be said that his "works do follow" him. Since the death of John Wesley no man's personal influence has been so much felt in the general economy of Methodism as that of Jabez Bunting. He was so intimately associated from a very early period of his ministry with its minutest and grandest interests, that a biography of him *without* "notices of cotemporary persons and events," would have been as incomplete as the volume before us is satisfactory. It is very seldom, we here gladly take occasion to say, that a son's biography of his father is so successfully executed as this. Two sons survive Jabez Bunting, William Maclardie and Thomas Percival. The former is a well-known Methodist minister, who, on account of delicate health, has for some years been a supernumerary. What we still believe to be a tolerably correct pen and ink portrait of him will be found in "Sketches of English Wesleyan Preachers," published by the Book Concern a few years ago. The second son, and author of this memoir, is a solicitor of high standing, and, as the reader of the volume will conclude, adds to a good education and rare natural abilities, independence in matters of opinion, a thorough manliness of nature, strong practical good sense, and a genial but correct appreciation of men and things. With these qualities are blended a thorough, and often severely tried, loyalty to the Church of his father and his own choice. It is but a small share of the commendation due to him for the execution of his delicate task, to say that his filial affection and reverence never degenerate into blind eulogium or fulsome praise. We detect one instance, however, of what we consider a wide departure from good taste, namely, the introduction (pp. 65-67) of a narrative truly horrifying in its details, and the relevancy of which to the subject in hand we cannot perceive. And by the way, for the author's benefit in any future edition, we may mention that there is a singular confusion of persons on page 15. We could not guess who "the father and his four sons" were, but for the abrupt introduction of "John Marsden, the eldest of the brothers."

Jabez Bunting was born at Manchester, May 13, 1779, misprinted in the American edition of the biography 1799. His parents were Methodists, humble in origin and in circumstances. "Of my father's ancestors," says Mr. Percival Bunting, "so far back as I can trace them, the heralds tell me nothing. I read in quiet churchyards in the Peak of Derbyshire the simple story that they were born and died. In that secluded district, a land of moor and mist,

they tilled the soil, or wrought painfully beneath the ground for the sustenance denied them by its sterile surface." William Bunting, the father of Jabez, however, neither tilled the surface of the ground nor wrought beneath it, but followed the business of a tailor. He appears to have been a man of some force of character, and a "good and quiet man who worked hard for his family." Radical in political sentiment, he sympathized with the promoters of the first French Revolution, "a feeling," quaintly observers the biographer, "which was shared by many tailors and some philosophers." The absurd and indefensible spirit of caste which pervades English society, led young Bunting's schoolmates to taunt him as the "son of a Methodist tailor," and he seems to have felt the sneer, for he made complaint of it to his parents. But "wisdom was justified of her children," and ere long "Jabez was more honorable" than his revilers. William Bunting's wife was a person of fine, even superior character. Her early religious convictions were matured under a sermon preached by the Rev. Richard Boardman, at Monyash, in Derbyshire, while on his way to Bristol to embark for New York, from 1 Chronicles iv, 10, the prayer of Jabez. She afterward perpetuated her grateful remembrance of that discourse by the name she gave in holy baptism to her first-born, and it is somewhat remarkable that the first ticket which Jabez Bunting received, as a member of the Methodist society, had a portion of the same prayer for its text or motto.

The son inherited the unobtrusive uprightness of his father, and the unbending principle and intelligent piety of his mother. The father died when Jabez was about twenty years of age, but the mother lived for some years after he entered the ministry. Most touchingly and constantly, often at the cost of serious inconvenience and great self-denial, was his filial love shown to his surviving parent. Neither time nor circumstances limited his obedience to the "first commandment with promise." This filial reverence was abundantly deserved. To her, mainly, he appears to have been indebted for his moral and religious training. That he was educated in Methodism as well as in piety, is evident from the fact that early and potent outside influences of another character never caused him to swerve from his attachment to that denomination. His earliest preceptors were Presbyterians, and he spent the most impressible period of his life, that from sixteen to twenty years of age, in daily and intimate association with an influential Unitarian. Yet he was ever loyal to Methodism, although probably to this ordeal he owed much of that catholicity, religious and ecclesiastical, which illumined his Christian character through life.

Jabez Bunting's education was good, even classical. At a *very* early age he was "*apt* to teach" and preach. "Almost as soon as he could speak, he began to preach in a garret at home, donning one of his father's shirts and reading the service of the day." (As was then much the custom, he attended the Church of England with his parents.) One would suspect that the youngster was burlesquing the "priestly robe" by the substitution of so common a garment, only that the biographer assures us that "he did not *play at preaching*," but was always serious and devout, and was even filled with righteous anger if his sisters, his only hearers, were undevotional or impatient. Notwithstanding this propensity, Jabez was from childhood uncommunicative about his religious feelings, and his allusions to them, even in converse with his mother, were few and brief. Of his mother's unwearying efforts to unseal the fount of feeling in his breast, his biographer beautifully says:

> "His parents prayed and waited; prayed with an earnestness and a faith none the less that he was 'yet a child.' Who could tell how soon the light might dawn which should reveal the claims, alike imperative, of God's holy law and of his blessed Gospel? Mothers, and some fathers too, know surely when the old, short stories, which touch with equal charm the infant and the savage, begin to tell; when lips which lie has never soiled relax and quiver with a new emotion; and fitful eyes, now gay, now serious, but fixed at last in steady wonder, drop tears of tender sadness into bosoms shaken by a tumult of gratitude, hope, and joy. There was a first time when Mary Bunting and her son Jabez thus communed and clave together; when she found the key of his young heart; fitted it, O how gently! in the ready wards; then tremblingly turned it round, and found the priceless treasure which years of toil and patience, none too many, had laid up there.
>
> "Her son had seen his twelfth birthday, and 'the dew' and 'the small rain' had thus distilled upon him, but the clouds of genuine repentance had not yet gathered, and there were no immediate tokens of the storm which was soon to shake, but to settle his spirit. But presently there came 'a sound of abundance of rain.'"

That refreshing, vivifying rain came through that man of God—a son almost equally of consolation and of thunder—the Rev. Joseph Benson. Jabez Bunting attended his ministry in Manchester, and Benson became his spiritual father. Young Bunting, however, did not commence meeting in class until late in the year 1794, when in company with a young friend, James Wood, he made that more formal avowal of his "desire to flee from the wrath to come, which union with the Church implies." It may be useful to the many readers of the biography to point out the distinction between the Mr. James Wood here alluded to, and another Mr. James Wood spoken of in later chapters of the book. The latter was the *Rev.* James Wood, in heart and in aspect "an apostle of God." The former was a layman, in after years the senior of the firm of Wood

and Westhead, not unknown some years ago on this side of the Atlantic. Their names, "jointly and severally," were a passport for all that was honorable and enterprising in commerce, and their benevolence, always judiciously exercised, was proverbial. Mr. Wood became a highly acceptable local preacher, and, unharmed by long years of worldly prosperity, filled that and other important offices in the Wesleyan Church until he was called to join the Church of the first-born in heaven.

At the age of sixteen Jabez Bunting entered the family of Dr. Thomas Percival, of Manchester, whom the biographer describes as "*the* busy physician, author, and philanthropist." Mr. Bunting was to "continue his studies under Dr. Percival's own eye, learn the medical profession, reside in Dr. Percival's family, and be the companion and assistant of his literary labors." Although it is nowhere so said, it is probable that the study of medicine was but secondary to the other pursuits, and this perhaps more from the pupil's than from the preceptor's choice. Mr. Bunting remained in this position four years, and a warm and lasting friendship was formed between Dr. Percival and himself. During this period he was earnestly engaged in the cause of religion. He founded, and was the life of a "Society for the Acquirement of Religious Knowledge," the object of which was subsequently defined as "improvement in religious knowledge, *experience*, and *practice*." At a still later period it became a Prayer Leader's Society, working on a thoroughly efficient system. The "Rules of the Manchester Methodist Prayer Meetings," drawn up by Mr. Bunting, are given in the appendix, and we earnestly commend their perusal and study to all pastors and prayer leaders, of our own Church especially.

On the first of August, 1798, Jabez Bunting preached his first sermon at a place called *Sodom*, which, if rightly named, must have greatly needed the purifying influences of Methodism. His friend Mr. James Wood accompanied him, and always maintained that that first effort was never excelled by the preacher in after years, "either in matter, manner, or manifest effect." There is good reason for believing, however, that either this opinion was hastily formed, or that the peculiar circumstances somewhat biased Mr. Wood's generally sound judgment, for it has been remarked that "no mere youth, let his powers of mind and elocution be what they may, ever exercised a ministry like that of Jabez Bunting in the maturity of his manhood." And yet it is undoubtedly true that Mr. Bunting's "maturity," as a preacher, or more properly as a sermonizer, was reached at a very early age. His published sermon on "Justification by Faith," perhaps the most complete and faultless

doctrinal sermon that was ever preached or penned, was the product of some of the first years of his ministry. It became a standard publication, and went through numerous editions; but the author, we believe, never gave it either emendation or enlargement. Dr. Bunting never had a large supply of sermons, considering the frequency with which he preached, and the publicity and popularity of his pulpit services; and on reference to the list of texts which he had prepared sermons upon, and bringing them to the test of memory, we draw the conclusion that nearly all the sermons he was accustomed to preach were prepared during his four years of probation. His incessant occupations afterward afforded little time for the composition of sermons. But we are forestalling our narrative.

Jabez Bunting remained on the local preacher's plan for a year. It is often said, and has come to be generally believed, that about the time when he entered the itinerant ministry, candidates for that holy office were accepted without due examination and probation. We much doubt that there are good grounds for this belief. Jabez Bunting certainly entered the itinerancy through no such open gate, nor found nor sought any such royal road. He was first a local preacher on trial; then his name appeared upon the "Plan," as fully accredited; and when he yielded to the conviction that he must give himself wholly to the ministry, his qualifications for the work were openly canvased in the "quarterly meeting;" by that body he was recommended to the "district meeting," composed of itinerant preachers only, and thence to the Conference, (1799,) which received him on probation, and stationed him at Oldham, about eight miles from Manchester. He went there on foot, carrying on his shoulders a pair of saddle-bags containing his equipments. The Rev. John Gaulter, of whom the biographer gives a genial and lifelike pen-portrait, and tells a characteristic anecdote,* was his superintendent. In his new sphere, he soon gave the Church assurance of the future man. Some question being mooted in the quarterly meeting, during the discussion of which the preachers were expected to retire, he "stood by his order," and refused compliance with a custom which had no warrant in Methodist law. Some of the good brethren marveled at young Methodism's audacity, and one of them, temporarily giving way to anger, declared that "a good rule had that day been set aside to please that proud son of Adam, Jabez Bunting." But the laity soon learned that they had no truer, stancher

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* "I have read every book in the English language," he said one day in conference; but he was put to instant confusion by the inquiry, I think, of Mr. Blanchard, the book steward, whether he was master of "Tom Thumb."

friend than this same Jabez Bunting. That he at once took a high position in the ministry, is proved by the fact that after traveling one year he was earnestly importuned to give his consent to be stationed at Liverpool. His reply is a model of modesty and respect for rightly constituted authority:

"*July* 17, 1800.

"DEAR SIR:—I regret that various urgent engagements have prevented me from returning a more early answer to your obliging letter. My best thanks are due to the brethren at Liverpool for the request they have been pleased to address to the Conference respecting me. Your circuit is, on many accounts, a most desirable one to a young man, and the only personal objections I feel to it arise from two circumstances: first, a fear lest so inexperienced a preacher as myself should not be able to minister with sufficient acceptance to congregations so respectable and intelligent; and, secondly, the situation of my mother, who is a widow and lives in Manchester, and to whom my occasional presence and assistance in the management of her family concerns will be necessary during the ensuing year. I ought also to inform you that the affectionate people among whom I now labor have petitioned the Conference not to remove me from my present station. On the whole, however, I cheerfully submit myself to the direction of Providence and to the appointment of the Conference, earnestly praying that the will of the Lord may be done. I am, dear sir, with great respect, most affectionately yours,

"JABEZ BUNTING."

Throughout his whole career Jabez Bunting acted on the same principle, frequently in his correspondence expressing the idea that, in all matters within its jurisdiction, the Conference was to him the interpreter of the will of Providence. He remained another year at Oldham, and spent the other two years of his probation at Macclesfield. At the Conference of 1803, having satisfactorily passed through all his examinations, and abundantly demonstrated his qualifications for the "office and work of the ministry," he was publicly received into full connection with the Conference. His biographer shall describe the scene:

"At the Conference of 1803, my father and twenty-eight other young men stood in the front seats round the gallery of Oldham-street Chapel, Manchester, the place where Wesley had blessed him, to which his mother had taken him Sabbath after Sabbath when a child, and where probably he had formed his first wish to serve God.

"Mather and Thompson had 'fallen asleep;' but Benson was there. Joseph Bradford, who saw Wesley die, was in the chair, and about him sat Coke, the first Joseph Taylor, Rutherford, Pawson, Bradburn—blessing God 'for the love which the preachers manifested, and for restoration to a proper name among them'—Entwisle, Walter Griffith, Barber, Clarke, Robert Lomas, James Wood, James Rogers, Thomas Taylor, John Crook, and, indeed, a whole college of apostles. By my father's side on either hand there ranked Robert Newton, Leach, Pinder, William Edward Miller, Claxton, Needham, Slack, Isaac, Garrett, and Gilpin, to name some only of the candidates to be 'received into full connection,' or, as it would have been called in other Churches, to be solemnly set apart to the work and office of the holy ministry. The Church, as well as its ministers, was there, represented by a huge con-

gregation of praying men and women, to witness and approve the act. His mother sat in her own quiet corner; and one become dearer still hid herself in the general crowd, to hear vows more sacred only than those which were soon to be pledged to herself. Searching questions are put to those who stand up there. Each replies for himself; and, in the tone and manner of the answer, a quick observer often reads a character and casts a horoscope. Every candidate was asked that night, "Are you resolved to devote yourself wholly to God and his work?" And when Jabez Bunting's turn came, and, with a serious modesty, he said, "*I habitually do*," the old men exchanged looks, and lifted up their hearts in hope and prayer, "and great grace was upon them all."

At this point we may digress for a moment to speak of a matter of discipline in the English Wesleyan Church which differs somewhat from the rule and usage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The financial system of our English brethren in fact necessitates the difference in question. The income of English Wesleyan preachers does not take the form of salary, but is composed of certain "allowances," made in part by the circuits on which they are stationed, and in part by the connection at large. The aggregate income, in fact, amounts to little more than bare sustenance, the prevailing sentiment being that ministers ought to "*live* by the Gospel, but ought not to make a profit out of it." The "allowance" paid by the circuit, and called "board money," includes house and incidental expenses, and does not much vary in amount, whatever the position of the circuit in the connection. No distinction whatever, except in the case of a young or unmarried man, is made between preachers in the same circuit. For the support of the preachers' families the connection provides, and not the circuit, except as paying its quota under a common principle of apportionment. The source of such support is called the "Children's Fund." At the Conference, "in accordance with the standing rule," a certain rate of contribution for this object, in proportion to the exact numbers in society, is agreed upon for the ensuing year; say that one hundred members shall provide the allowance for one child. On this principle a statement is drawn up, which determines the number of children's allowances for which each district (comprising a given number of circuits, varying from eight to twenty) is to provide, and which must be divided among the preachers, according to rule, at the September district meeting. The London district, having (say) 20,600 members, must pay the allowance for 206 children; while the Sheffield district, having only 9,108 members, provides only for 91 children. It will be seen that the burden of maintaining the preachers' families is removed, wisely, we think, from the separate circuits to the connection at large, and, so far as pecuniary considerations go, it matters not to the circuit whether a preacher has one child or ten.

Neither can a married preacher be imposed upon a circuit until it has attained a certain numerical strength, or if imposed, the additional expense is paid out of a (connectional) contingent fund. Such "rules and regulations" being in force, and a strict observance of them being essential to the harmonious and successful working of the financial system of Wesleyan Methodism, the Conference forbids a preacher to marry until he has traveled four years and been received into full connection. Good reasons may be urged, and, by the biographer, are presented, (p. 139,) in favor of this plan. Experience has, we believe, abundantly shown that the restriction is a necessary adjunct to the English system. But the prohibition ceases with the term of probation, and not unfrequently its removal is turned to immediate practical account. The first number of the London Watchman, appearing after "the young men" have been received, has invariably a long list of the marriages of ministers. There are prudential reasons, however, for this haste to take unto themselves wives. A preacher who *is* married has considerable advantages over one that is yet *to be* thus blessed. He can *claim*—and his right there is none to dispute—a married man's appointment, that is to say, a furnished house and support for his wife. But there are sometimes more married men than married men's accommodations, and then the man whose matrimonial blessedness is yet in the future is liable to be counted as a "young man," however near the goal of his hopes he may be. A minister of our own acquaintance, who has since filled the presidential chair with honor, some years ago narrowly escaped going into "lodgings" and being ousted from an honorable and agreeable appointment, because he would show no unseemly haste in using his freedom. At the Conference at which he closed his probation, he was put down, in the first draft of the stations, for one of the London circuits as a married man. There was some warm though futile opposition in the Conference, principally on the ground that the appointee was not married, that, in fact, there might be a "slip between the cup and the lip," and then the "young man" would occupy a furnished house to the exclusion of some married man who would make a better use of it.

To return to our narrative. In view of his approaching eligibility for "the blessed estate of holy matrimony," Mr. Bunting had, with a becoming deliberation, surveyed the whole ground, and in accordance with his custom in all important matters, carefully written out the arguments against and in favor of matrimony, an excellent plan when candor and honesty rule the pleadings, and an enlightened and pure conscience sits in the judgment-seat. The whole process of reasoning is set forth in the biography, (pp. 140–144,)

and the reader will smile at the zeal and good-will, the subtlety and the ability, with which Jabez Bunting, the advocate of marriage, and somewhat inclined thereto, demolishes the arguments and sets aside the conclusions of Jabez Bunting pleading for celibacy. His choice of a wife, however, afforded another evidence of the correctness of his judgment. She was indeed a priceless blessing to her husband; and more than one young minister who had lived temporarily under her roof, have we heard bear grateful testimony to the value of her wise and faithful counsels.* To her influence over Jabez Bunting, even before she became his wife, is the world indebted for the lifting of that vail of concealment which he seems habitually to have drawn over his religious emotions, and for a correspondence, in the form of a diary, every line of which we should like to quote in evidence of his true elevation of character, his blended modesty and self-respect, the breadth of his powers of observation, his quickness and accuracy in estimating men and events, and the maturity of his judgment even at this early stage of his ministry. The extracts from this correspondence occupy forty-five pages, and are indeed "precious fragments of personal history." An English critic remarks that "those who knew Jabez Bunting in later years, when he was anything but a punctual correspondent, and would rather speak on any subject than himself, will remark with surprise his communicativeness and his diligence, and will agree with the biographer that the force which overcame so great a resistance as his temper and habits created, must have been powerful indeed." For one or two extracts we must make room. It must be borne in mind that they were written during the first few months of his residence in London.

"*Wednesday evening, September 7th.*—This morning, after breakfast, I had my box and bags, etc., conveyed to City Road, where I have now taken up my abode. How soon I may be dislodged by death God only knows. May I be prepared for every dispensation of Divine Providence! In this house, O Lord, give peace! May it be to me, and to all who are, or shall be, my fellow-tenants of it, none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven! And may I be prepared more fully for the realms of bliss that are above! Truly, in one point, they treat us somewhat like apostles in this circuit; they work us tolerably hard. He that wants a quiet and easy life must not come hither to find it. I believe it will be utterly impracticable to study much here, a circumstance still more unpleasant by far than the fatigue of our evening walks. The only science we shall have much time to cultivate will be that which consists in finding the way from one street, and chapel, and village to another. I have hitherto had no leisure at all to think of new texts, or even

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* Notices of this "excellent lady" are given in the Appendix, and there is a most interesting sketch of her in the body of the work from the pen of the widow of Dr. Newton. Let every preacher's wife study the character of Mrs. Bunting as there portrayed.

to mend many of my old nets, and am therefore obliged to preach on those subjects which happen to be at present most familiar to my mind. . . .

"*Friday evening, September* 22*d.*—This morning I rose very early, and finished my letters. I next indulged myself with a half hour's lounge in the booksellers' shops. The Dissenting ministers, I perceive, are quite before us Methodists in publications designed to stimulate the people to engage in the active defense of the country. Messrs. Hughes, Cooper, Fuller, and many others of them, have published sermons with that view, preached to their respective congregations. From Stationers' Court I went to Surrey Chapel, and heard a sort of lecture from Mr. Jay. He was not so animated or so brilliant as when I heard him before, but very instructive and impressive. Few preachers are able to extort tears from me; but he conquered me, and dissolved me into tenderness while enlarging on the character and sufferings of the Apostle Paul. When I hear such preaching as Mr. Jay's, I am always ashamed of myself, and wonder that the people should ever like to listen to my poor swashy sermons. I feel I am too declamatory in my mode of preaching. I want more weight and solidity. However, while I am humbled I am roused, and see the necessity of increasing diligence, that I too, by the blessing of God, may become in due time 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed.' . . .

"*Sunday evening, September* 25*th.*—Mr. Rankin preached this morning from Psalm xxv. At our breakfast-meeting which followed, a Mr. Ringeldauben, from Germany, was introduced. He is come to England for the purpose of being shortly sent abroad, under the patronage of the Society for Missions in Africa and the East. I venerate greatly the zeal and piety of those who thus abandon their country and friends in order to evangelize the heathen. When I look at their sacrifices and exertions, I feel utterly ashamed of myself. However, some must stay in garrison, while others carry offensive war into the territories occupied by the enemy; and, on the whole, I do not doubt that I am where God would have me to be. Mr. R. very modestly requested that he might be appointed to some of our country chapels; but I took him with me to Spitalfields, and published him there for the afternoon. God bless him! I love him for his work's sake. I spent most of the afternoon alone, being too tired, and too anxious about my own work at Queen-street in the evening, to go to any place of worship. I was a good deal perplexed about my Charity-sermon text, being divided between Gal. vi, 9, and Deut. xxix, 29, the only passages I had before used on like occasions. At length I fixed on the latter. I have never been so fluttered by the sight of a congregation as I was for about half an hour after I entered the pulpit. After a while I forgot my fears and embarrassments, and spoke with considerable freedom. I am heartily glad that it is all over. Thus one Sabbath passes after another in rapid succession; my last will soon arrive. Though I certainly have now more ties to earth than I formerly had, I still feel that it cannot arrive too soon, if it do but find me ready. Exhausted in body and mind, I lay me down to rest, ashamed and disgusted with myself, but very thankful to God for the comforts I enjoy. Good-night to all the world!" . . .

"*Wednesday, October* 19*th.*—We had a tolerable congregation this forenoon at Deptford. My text was Zeph. ii, 3. I have reserved part of the same subject for the evening. Our good friends had a prayer-meeting in the chapel at three o'clock, but I thought it best to spend the afternoon alone, and found it profitable. I think I have experienced somewhat of the spirit of the day. I am humbled and affected by the sincere persuasion and conviction that I am one of the chief of those sinners whose ingratitude and abuse of mercies have exposed our country to the threatened judgment. But 'there is forgiveness with Thee.' O 'pardon my iniquity, for it is great.' While preaching in the evening I had much comfort and liberty of utterance, attended too, I humbly trust and believe, with some holy unction in the appli-

cation of my subject. I have always been haunted, as a preacher, by the drunkards. Instances of this might be adduced in my last circuit; and to-night an officer in the Volunteers who was present, and who, from his conduct, I conclude must have been tipsy, came to me as soon as I had concluded, very politely acknowledged the pleasure and instruction of the evening, and insisted on my accepting half a crown! I could not escape his importunities otherwise than by compliance; so, to avoid making a bustle in the chapel, I took his money, informing him that I would give it to the poor.

"*Friday evening, October 21st.*—I wrote and read most of this morning, then went to Surrey Chapel to hear Mr. Jay. But I suppose he has left town, for there was another gentleman in the pulpit, who spoke so low that I could hear scarcely anything of what he said. He was expounding some part of the Revelation. I was in my study all the afternoon, and this evening preached at Saffron Hill to about forty poor people. My text was Rev. iii, 20, from which I was enabled, in words more than usually plain, and with feelings unutterably tender and affectionate, to call sinners to repentance, and to offer them mercy and salvation. O that I could always feel, in preaching, the spirit I felt to-night!

"'O may Thy bowels yearn in me,
Whene'er a wandering sheep I see,
Till Thou that sheep retrieve!
And let me in Thy Spirit cry,
Why, sinner! wilt thou perish, why,
When Jesus bids thee live?'

This verse is the prayer of my inmost soul."

On the 24th of January, 1804, Jabez Bunting was married to Miss Maclardie, and preached the same evening.

We have thus minutely traced the history of this distinguished minister until he stands before us a fully accredited Methodist preacher, of already recognized position in the Connection, settled in life, and grappling vigorously with its obligations and duties. We have desired to exhibit the formative period of his life, to which, indeed, this first volume of the biography is devoted. We have omitted some facts which indicated very strongly his already intimate acquaintance with the constitution of Wesleyan Methodism and his aptitude in controversy on its discipline, because the circumstances that developed these characteristics are comparatively without interest on this side of the Atlantic. The important part which he took in all the affairs of Methodism, and especially in its legislation, is prefigured in the concluding chapter of the present volume, and can only be treated of in a separate article. With his first appointment to London, which took place at the Conference of 1803, as already mentioned, commenced his initiation, however, into the business department of connectional labor, and that kind of work ever after grew upon him. Nor was he unwilling to give it his attention. From London he was removed to Manchester. At the Conference of 1807 he was elected assistant secretary of the Con-

ference, the youngest man, we believe, who had ever been chosen for that office. From Manchester to Sheffield, from Sheffield to Liverpool, and the first volume of this most delightful biography closes. We wait with highly awakened interest the appearance of the second.

The secret of Mr. Bunting's great influence in the pulpit and in debate was not in any brilliancy of genius, or great powers of imagination, but in his conscientious industry, his intense application, his earnest devotion to the work to which he had deliberately given himself, his resolution to master every subject that rightfully claimed his attention, his manly piety, his strength and compass of thought, and his unceasing emulation to be a "workman that needed not to be ashamed." The improvement he made of the four years of his probation is thus described by his son. There is a lesson in the extract for every man called with the same holy calling:

> "He devoted himself exclusively to the studies and engagements directly relating to his new vocation. The pulpit received his first attention, not so much because its claims were instant and almost daily, as because he knew that the secret of ministerial influence lies chiefly there. This idea was kept uppermost, whatever interest he took in the private departments of pastoral labor, or in the welfare of the connection generally. He never missed an opportunity of hearing a sermon. Service during church-hours not having been yet introduced into the Methodist Chapel, he was able frequently to attend the vigorous ministry of Mr. Horne, and he communicated occasionally at his church. He read largely in general theology, including the published sermons of both old and modern preachers. He carefully copied and preserved skeletons and sketches of sermons. He extracted from his general reading everything that could suggest topics or materials for public discourse. He tried his hand at amending other men's compositions. His own preparations were full and elaborate, and were subjected to continual revision. He was very diligent in his attentions to the sick and aged of the flock, and particularly so to its younger members. To these his services were rendered eminently useful. He busied himself, in strict subordination, however, to his superintendent ministers, with every part of the finance and general business of the circuit. The letters from which I have quoted are evidence of his anxiety to master all questions affecting the connection as a whole. They also show a steady improvement in personal religion.
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> "During the four years of trial he preached thirteen hundred and forty-eight times. At the end of the second year he had nearly a hundred sermons ready for use as he might require them. His plan seems to have been to preach each one at different places in the circuit in rapid succession."

The above is the nearest approach the biographer makes to an explanation of the method followed by his father in the composition of his sermons and in his general pulpit preparations. This, we think, is to be regretted. We are not sure, indeed, that the marvelous power, excellence, and influence of Mr. Bunting as a preacher, are made sufficiently apparent in the "Life;" and we find an occasional expression which leads us to think that the biographer's mind is more occupied with his subject as an "ecclesiastical leader"

than as a preacher. This may be the result, however, of an understanding that to his brother, (the Rev. William M. Bunting,) who is editing a volume of the father's sermons, shall be left the fuller presentation of his character as a preacher. Some exhibition of the processes by which Jabez Bunting's masterly sermons were made to assume form and order would seem to be due to the younger ministers of the Church. It would at least be highly useful and beneficial. In the hope that the Rev. W. M. Bunting may yet supply a clear and full analysis of his father's power as a preacher, we waive our own criticism, as indeed our nearly exhausted space requires that we should do.

Jabez Bunting aimed at excellence in everything, and he was especially solicitous and careful to attain conciseness, simplicity, and accuracy of expression. Perhaps no man was ever more thoroughly a proficient in this great art than himself. Even his boyish and youthful compositions are almost faultless.* In later years correctness had grown into the utmost felicity and beauty of diction, whether in the pulpit, on the platform, or in the domestic circle. His friend Dr. Liefchild mentions this remarkable elegance and chasteness of expression, and inquired of Mr. Bunting how he had attained it. The modest answer was, that he "was not aware of such facility and exactness, but that if it were so it must arise from a habit he had formed at a very early age of expressing himself on every topic, however trivial or common, in the fewest and most suitable terms he could find."

ART. III.—RESULTS OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

IN the early part of the year 1823 there was presented, in the British House of Commons, an example of moral heroism not often paralleled—one man, in the face of a powerful opposing government, and contrary to the judgment and wishes of all his friends, rising up, alone and unsupported, to strike a blow at the root of colonial slavery. That man was Thomas Fowell Buxton. He had than as a preacher. This may be the result, however, of an understanding that to his brother, (the Rev. William M. Bunting,) who is editing a volume of the father's sermons, shall be left the fuller presentation of his character as a preacher. Some exhibition of the processes by which Jabez Bunting's masterly sermons were made to assume form and order would seem to be due to the younger ministers of the Church. It would at least be highly useful and beneficial. In the hope that the Rev. W. M. Bunting may yet supply a clear and full analysis of his father's power as a preacher, we waive our own criticism, as indeed our nearly exhausted space requires that we should do.

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* And yet, singularly enough, we find him in his tenth year making an entry in his memorandum book which scarcely any educated boy of his age would not have written more accurately:—"J. B. left Mr. Marchant's school January the 8th, 1789, in the ninth year of my age, who always acquitted his trust toward me in a manner worthy of esteem."

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From that day the abolition of slavery in the colonies became only a question of time; but it was not until after a severe and protracted struggle between the philanthropy and the religion of the nation, on the one hand, and the powerful interests involved in the maintenance of the system, on the other, that on the 28th of August, 1833, the act, passed by the two houses of Parliament, received the royal signature, which decreed that slavery should terminate throughout the British empire, and that immortal beings gifted with intellectual and moral faculties capable of illimitable development should no longer, under the sanction of British laws, be degraded to the condition of brutes, and bought and sold as goods and chattels.

The passing of this measure had became a political necessity; for not only had the recent servile insurrection in Jamaica, accompanied as it was by a fearful sacrifice of property and human life, demonstrated the peril with which the maintenance of the system was fraught, and that the planters were living as on the crust of a seething volcano; but the exposure of the inherent evils and horrors of the system, to which that insurrection led, had so wrought upon the public mind, and aroused the conscience of the nation, that nothing less could satisfy the people than the adoption of immediate and effectual measures for the abolition of what was felt to be a national crime;

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and few were found to object to the proposal that a reasonable amount should be awarded from the national purse, as compensation to those who were interested in slave property. Looking beyond the simple abstract question, that no moral right can be acquired in that which was at first obtained by injustice and wrong, the intelligent and religious portion of the British people felt that it was a national sin, in the guilt of which all had shared; and that it would be just and generous in the nation to take part with the slaveholder in the pecuniary loss which it was supposed would be involved in the emancipation of the slaves. Hence, with few dissentients in either house of Parliament, it was finally decided to give to the owners of slaves twenty million sterling, ($100,000,000,) to be divided in just proportions among those colonies which agreed, through their respective legislatures, to carry into effect the principles and provisions of the imperial abolition act.

It will be remembered that the extinction of slavery was not appointed to take place all at once, but after a probationary term, denominated an "apprenticeship," of six years on the part of the predial, and of four years on the part of the non-predial slaves; all under six years of age being declared to be, on the 1st of August, 1834, "to all intents and purposes free, and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and absolutely and forever manumitted." The term of predial apprenticeship was appointed to cease on the 1st of August, 1840, and that of the non-predial on the 1st of August, 1838. The labor of the predial apprentices was limited to forty-five hours per week for their masters, who were bound, as were all the masters, to provide their apprentices with food, lodging, clothing, medicine, and medical attendance. The masters were empowered to sell out at any time, or otherwise dispose of, the remainder of their apprentices' term of servitude, but were prohibited removing them from the colony in which they were located, or separating families; and the apprentices, with or without the consent of the masters, were entitled to buy out their discharge on a fair valuation, for which a court of arbitration was provided by the act of emancipation. It also contained other provisions not necessary to be mentioned here; and a hundred paid magistrates were appointed to administer and superintend the practical working of this important measure, with a salary in no case exceeding $1,500.

In adopting this method of gradual disenthrallment, there is no reason to doubt that the British government acted on the honest conviction that a modified system of coerced labor, for a limited time, substituted for unmitigated slavery, would on the whole be safer and better than immediate and unqualified emancipation, and prepare

the negroes gradually for the possession of entire freedom; but it was not without a sturdy opposition from some who had taken an active part in the antislavery movement, that the apprenticeship system was finally agreed to, and the act embodying it carried through Parliament. "It is well known," writes Joseph Sturge, "that the measure so undeservedly termed 'an act for the abolition of slavery,' was opposed to the views of those who objected on principle to slavery, whose exertions had excited general public sympathy for the oppressed, and at length urged the question of abolition on an unwilling government. They could not have done otherwise than protest, as they did, against a law which declared slavery to be forever abolished, and the slaves set free, subject to such exceptions as created a new kind of slavery under the name of apprenticeship." *

If the provisions of the imperial act, defective as it unquestionably was, both in its principle and details, had been adopted and carried out in good faith in the several colonies, the results might have been very different from what they were; but this was very far from being the case. While two of the colonial legislatures, those of Antigua and the Bermudas, availed themselves of the alternative, which the British act gave them, of dispensing with the apprenticeship altogether, and giving unrestricted freedom to their slaves at once, others adopted the scheme propounded by the home government with the greatest reluctance, only because refusal or neglect to embody its provisions in a local act on the part of any of the colonies would carry with it a forfeiture of the share of compensation money which would otherwise have been awarded to them respectively, according to their several claims. In Jamaica, for instance, where, only eighteen months before the passing of the Abolition act, a measure to abolish female flogging, and another providing for the compulsory manumission of slaves on a fair valuation, had been indignantly and contemptuously rejected by the legislature, the provisions of the emancipation law were most unwillingly adopted by the local authorities, under the influence of deep-rooted prejudices in favor of coerced labor; and the result was the passing of a local act, nominally in accordance with that of the British Parliament, but greatly opposed to its spirit, favoring, as far as possible, the supposed interests and privileges of the planters, and calculated in all possible ways to hamper and discourage the apprentices. This was too much the case in other colonies also as well as in Jamaica.

The eventful day arrived which was appointed to usher in the new system, and transform hundreds of thousands of slaves into apprenticed laborers; and it passed away without any of those

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* West Indies in 1837, by J. Sturge and Thomas Harvey.

scenes of turbulence and riot, intemperance, rapine, and bloodshed, which had been anticipated and predicted with so much confidence. The behavior of the apprentices in all the colonies was characterized by sobriety and good order, and by deep religious feeling, which found expression in acts of religious worship and grateful songs of praise; and after a few days they were found quietly pursuing their accustomed employment, as if the ordinary current of events had not been ruffled at all by one of the most remarkable social revolutions that is recorded in the annals of the world.

A short time sufficed to bring to light the manifold defects of the apprenticeship system, as it was embodied in the several colonial acts, and the bad spirit in which the planters were determined to carry it out. True wisdom would have suggested the policy of adopting a conciliatory treatment of the laborers in the new condition in which the law had placed them, and of endeavoring to promote a good understanding with, and securing the confidence of, those upon whom so much, as to the future cultivation of the soil and the value of the plantations, would depend. This might possibly have been the case had the proprietors themselves been upon the spot. But, unfortunately, for the most part they were absentees, and the plantations and the laborers were generally left in the hands of hirelings, most of whom had settled in the colonies as mere adventurers, with little or no education, and degraded and brutalized by their connection with the administration of slavery. With no permanent interest in the soil, and without any true concern for the interests of the absentee proprietors, these persons, in too many instances, cared only for the gratification of their own bad passions, fostered to terrible luxuriance by the long exercise of irresponsible power. Indignant that any restraint at all should be imposed upon them, they commenced and carried on a system of vexatious and harassing annoyances affecting the people, (to which some of the stipendiary magistrates, unfaithful to the trust reposed in them by the nation, too readily sold themselves,) which was no less hurtful to the interests of their masters than irritating and cruel to the laborers intrusted to their care. Says R. Montgomery Martin:

> "One of the first acts of the planters, after the first of August, was, to deprive the negroes of all those allowances and customary gratuities which were not literally specified in the colonial act. Thus, the weekly allowance of herrings or other salt fish, and, in the case of invalids, pregnant women, and mothers with young children, of a small quantity of flour or oatmeal, rice, sugar, etc., was stopped, and certain other arrangements necessary to the welfare, and even the subsistence of the negroes, and long sanctioned by general custom in the colony, were, by many planters and overseers, suddenly set aside; no watchmen were henceforth provided for the provision grounds of the negroes, to prevent the crops from being destroyed by the trespass of

cattle, or plundered by vile and improvident persons; no women were any more employed as field-cooks and water-carriers, to prepare the breakfasts and dinners of the gangs in the field, in order that their meal-times might be also intervals of rest, and to carry water for them to quench the thirst excited by exhausting labor under a burning sun. These so-called indulgences scarcely deserved the name, since they were granted by the master for his own interest's sake, as necessary to the health of his slaves, who subsisted before, as after, the passing of the abolition act, chiefly on farinaceous roots, cultivated by their own hands. Yet these were, with bitter truth, called "the indulgences of slavery," and their partial continuance was made the pretext of extorting a far more than equivalent value in extra labor."—*The British Colonies*, by R. M. Martin, Esq.

Under various pretexts, and by various methods of fraud, the apprentices were often deprived of their own time, and made to work for the plantations more than the law required; and frequently the distribution of the time they were by the law obliged to work during a week for their masters, was turned into a measure of annoyance, and heart-burnings and disputes were the result, which could not be otherwise than detrimental to the prosperity of the plantations. Many revolting cruelties were also practiced upon the people, especially in those districts where the stipendiary magistrates had become the mere tools of the planters, which would have rendered their condition nearly as bad as under slavery itself, but for the certainty of freedom at no very distant period.

At length the representations which were sent to England upon this subject, and reiterated from various quarters, drew Parlimentary attention to the wrongs and sufferings of the negroes under the apprenticeship system, and in March, 1836, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into "the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the regulations affecting them which had been passed." This committee sat during the session of 1836, and also in 1837, until the death of William IV. put an end to its labors by dissolving the Parliament. In its report this committee, while it refrained from recommending to Parliament the discontinuance of the apprenticeship system, or any direct interference with it, pointed out numerous violations of the imperial emancipation act of 1834 by the authorities in Jamaica, and evasions of its leading provisions, and many illegal and unjust proceedings. 1. Want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by the authority of the special magistrates on managers and apprentices, the latter being subject, by the colonial laws, to heavy penalties for any misconduct, the former being liable to scarcely any penalty at all. 2. The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom, which, in

effect, rendered the compulsory manumission clause of the imperial act almost nugatory. 3. The want of adequate protection to the special magistrates against vexatious prosecutions, leaving them open to harassing and vindictive proceedings by which some, who did their duty fearlessly and faithfully, were worried beyond endurance, and in a few instances were really harassed to death by malignant men, whose illegal doings they had visited with the penalties which the law prescribed. 4. The absence of any clause in the colonial law to regulate the distribution of the time which the apprentices were compelled to give to their masters, and to prevent the withholding of the accustomed allowances and indulgences, and the abuses arising out of these serious defects in the local act. 5. The corporeal punishment inflicted on female apprentices, and the barbarous practice of working females in chains, and in penal gangs. 6. The defective state of the marriage laws. 7. The neglected condition of that part of the negro population who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, and were consequently made free, no provision whatever being made by the local government for the education of these children, although the subject, with the offer of pecuniary aid from the English government, had been repeatedly brought under the notice of the legislative authorities.

The report was speedily followed by a publication of Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, Lloyd, and Scoble, members of the Society of Friends, who visited the West Indies for the purpose of investigating on the spot the complaints which were made, and ascertaining for themselves the real condition of affairs in the several colonies. This publication contained such abundant and conclusive evidence of the illegalities and cruelties practiced there, that the British public, by whom it was exclusively read, became roused to an almost unparalleled state of excitement, because of the bad faith kept with them by the colonists. Public meetings were held through the country, large and numerous deputations were sent to London from all parts of the United Kingdom. Downing-street and Westminster Hall were besieged, and petitions, signed by more than a million of British subjects, imperatively demanded the abolition of the apprenticeship system, on the ground of a violation of contract on the part of the planters. A large portion of the London press, the religious journals, and a great majority of the provincial papers, zealously espoused the same cause. Early in the year 1838 animated discussions on this subject took place in both houses of Parliament; and Lord Brougham, who had from the first opposed the apprenticeship system in his place in the House of Peers, exhibited, in one of his most brilliant efforts, the evils attendant on its practical working,

and its tendency to alienate the employed from their employers; arguing in favor of its immediate abolition on the ground that the British public had already paid £20,000,000 sterling to compensate the planters for a loss which he contended was only imaginary, inasmuch as wherever the experiment of free negro labor was fairly tried, it proved more remunerative than slave labor.

On the 30th of March Sir George Strickland moved in the House of Commons the immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship in the West Indies. The ministry, unwilling to interfere with what they regarded as a solemn compact, entered into with the slave proprietors, opposed the motion; but such was the prevalent feeling on the subject, that the government could only command the small majority of sixty-four in a very full house. Seven weeks later, on the 22d of May, a motion of Sir Eardley Wilmot, for the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship, was actually carried in the Commons by a majority of three, the effect of which was neutralized by the interposition of the ministry, who succeeded in passing a subsequent resolution declaring it to be inexpedient to adopt any proceedings for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution of the 22d; whereupon, as it was evident something must be done to satisfy the nation, a bill was introduced and passed, remedying the defects of existing laws in the West Indies, and providing for the protection of the negroes in terms so plain and unequivocal as almost to defy misconstruction even by colonial legislatures or colonial magistrates.

The legislatures of several of the islands, including Montserrat, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, St. Vincent, and Barbadoes, early in 1838, each spontaneously agreed to an act dispensing with the remainder of the term of apprenticeship, and providing for the final emancipation of the negroes in those islands on the ensuing first of August. Jamaica, and other colonies, held out for a time, chiefly with the hope of obtaining further compensation; but finding such hope delusive, they followed the example which these islands had set them, and determined upon bringing the "unnatural servitude" to an end, by giving freedom to the predial apprentices at the same time that the non-predial obtained their liberty.

The first of August arrived, the second emancipation day, and the negroes of the British West Indies became unconditionally free, no legal disabilities being imposed which rendered their condition different from that of other subjects of the government. After the patience and forbearance which they had exhibited under the severe trials to which the apprenticeship system exposed them, there was no reason to fear that they would not, in this transition to entire freedom, manifest a conduct equally exemplary and satisfactory.

Many of the planters persisted in predicting general insubordination, refusal to work for wages, and even riot and bloodshed, as the immediate and inevitable results of emancipation; and they would, if not firmly withstood, have adopted measures calculated to bring about such results, by calling out the militia, and browbeating, bullying, and overawing the people. But these belligerent designs being thwarted by the firmness of the colonial governors, who had confidence in the peaceable disposition of the negroes, the great change was effected without the slightest difficulty or disturbance. Sir Lionel Smith, Governor of Jamaica, who had pledged himself to uphold the majesty of the law on this eventful occasion, says: "I have, not only without employing the militia, but without raising a policeman, or appealing to the support of a single soldier, amply fulfilled my promise. It has been accomplished, no doubt, by means which they [the previous slaveholders] would utterly despise: the influence of the religious teachers of the people, the moral restraint under which that people consequently exist, and the loyalty to their sovereign, and the confidence in the British government, which these very teachers, calumniated as they have been, have sedulously inculcated upon their flocks."*

Thus it was that the failure of the apprenticeship system to answer the designs of the government, was owing chiefly to the abuses to which it was subjected in the several colonies. That none but beneficial results would have followed unconditional emancipation, and that it would have been perfectly safe to adopt it in all the colonies, may be justly inferred from the fact that in those two which refused to adopt the apprenticeship, and gave entire freedom to the slaves without any probationary term, the experiment was most successful; and that, although they shared in the general commercial depression to which all the colonies have been subjected from other causes, hereafter to be adverted to, they have continued to prosper from the time of the emancipation to the present day, and to afford satisfactory demonstration of the advantages to be derived from free labor over that which is compelled by the terror of the lash. But the liberal and benevolent purposes of the British government, toward the masters as well as the slaves, were utterly frustrated by the infatuation of the colonists, who, by perverting the humane provisions of the imperial act, or setting them at nought by direct breach of faith, and pursuing a system of injustice, and even vengeance, in many instances, toward the apprentices, converted the new system into one of galling oppression, which might, but for the near prospect of its early cessation, have provoked resentment, and

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* Parlimentary Papers, 1839.

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* Parliamentary Papers, 1838.

The annexed table gives the population of the several colonies, the average market value of the slaves in each between 1822, and 1830, and the distribution of the £20,000,000 of compensation money:

Colony.	Average Value.	Number.	Compensation.
Bermuda	£27 4 11¾	4,600	50,584
Bahamas	29 18 9¾	9,268	128,340
Jamaica	44 15 2½	323,000	6,161,927
Honduras	120 4 7¼	2,100	101,958
Virgin Islands, etc	31 16 1¾	3,788	72,940
Antigua	32 12 10½	29,839	425,866
Montserrat	36 17 10¾	6,200	103,558
Nevis	39 3 11¾	8,722	151,007
St. Kitts	36 6 10¼	20,660	331,630
Dominica	43 8 7½	15,400	275,923
Barbadoes	47 1 3¼	82,807	1,711,345
Grenada	59 6 0	24,000	616,444
St. Vincent	58 6 8	23,500	592,508
Tobago	45 12 0½	12,621	234,064
St. Lucia	56 18 7	13,348	335,627
Trinidad	105 4 5¼	24,159	1,039,119
British Guiana	114 11 5¾	91,300	4,297,117
Cape of Good Hope	73 9 11	38,427	1,247,401
Mauritius	69 14 3	76,021	2,112,632
Total	…………	814,660	£20,000,000

It would be impossible to arrive at anything like a correct conclusion concerning the operation and results of emancipation, without taking into consideration the financial condition of the colonies when this great change was accomplished, as this constitutes one of the principal elements of the whole question. And here it is that much of the misapprehension has arisen that so largely prevails on a subject which has an important bearing upon the destiny and happiness of millions held in bondage in other parts of the world. The fact that many of the planters have been unable to continue the cultivation of their estates, and that many large plantations have been thrown up, and have gone out of cultivation altogether, is triumphantly appealed to, as exhibiting the evil effects of emancipation, and showing that this great experiment of British justice and humanity has proved a failure. This is simply a mistake, based upon ignorance of the sad and ruinous condition to which the colonies had been

reduced under the institution of slavery. It is capable of demonstration that the ruin of many of the slave proprietors, and the consequent abandonment of their plantations, was brought about by causes apart from, and anterior to, the abolition of slavery. These were, indeed, the results of the old system, not of the new; the effects of slavery, and not of emancipation. A very large majority of the West India planters were insolvent, and their property hopelessly mortgaged, long before any voice was lifted up in the British senate to advocate the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies. Jamaica, because it is the largest of the freed colonies, having possessed more than a third of the entire number of slaves in the British dominions, and because it has suffered greater commercial depression than any other colony, is the one most frequently pointed to as furnishing what are presumed to be the strongest arguments against the wisdom and the success of the emancipation scheme. It will therefore be only fair to look at the state of affairs in Jamaica as affording the best illustration of the condition to which the planters were reduced prior to and at the time of the abolition, by the influences, and through the operation, of slavery.

This large and beautiful island had been long gradually declining, even before the commencement of the present century, and public and private bankruptcy threatened to engulf it in irremediable ruin; but it was hoped that the princely sum given to the owners of slaves in the way of compensation, together with large advances made to the island by the British Government, on loan, at low rates of interest, would restore a more sound financial condition than had existed for upward of a century. This expectation was, however, founded in ignorance of the extent of existing evils. The circumstances of the landholders had become, in many cases, too deeply embarrassed to admit of their being so retrieved. They had long been playing a sort of desperate game, involving themselves deeper and deeper in debt and difficulty, until they found themselves, at the time that the emancipation act took effect, in the position of ruined gamblers. When the payment of their large share of compensation money came to be made, not to themselves, but to the merchants who had become the mortgagees of their estates, it necessarily caused a balance to be struck between them and their creditors, and revealed to them the full force of what they had long been declaring, perhaps without fully believing it, that their estates were mortgaged far beyond their value, and, consequently, that great part of them were irretrievably insolvent.

This ruinous condition of affairs dates from a period not only prior to emancipation, but anterior to the time when the abolition of

the slave-carrying trade was first mooted by Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, and others, and was brought about by a process which could have no other result. Most of the proprietors were absentees, their large estates, lying in different parts of the island, being often intrusted to the charge of a single agent, who could not possibly reside upon them, or even visit them frequently, having other agencies of a similar kind intrusted to him. The superintendence, therefore, devolved upon the overseers, whose chief aim being to raise large and immediate profits, often forced the negroes to labor beyond what they were able to endure in such an exhausting climate, heedless of the waste of life they occasioned, and calculating upon a ready and continuous supply of slaves from the coast of Africa; while the absentee proprietors, who had judged of the condition of their plantations only by the large remittances sent them for a few years, and were ignorant of the losses sustained in their production, soon began to find their income largely abridged; and having themselves indulged beyond the bounds of economy, too often endeavored to extricate themselves from their difficulties by hopelessly exhausting their resources, either causing the slaves to be overworked, or purchasing others with funds advanced by the merchants to whom their produce was consigned, at exorbitant rates of interest, and secured by mortgages on the plantations and the slaves. Long, one of the early historians of the West Indies, says: "The purchase of new negroes is the most chargeable article attending these estates, and the true source of the distresses under which their owners suffer; for they involve themselves so deeply in debt to make these inconsiderate purchases, and lose so many by disease, or other means, in the seasoning, that they become unable to make good their engagements, and are plunged in lawsuits and anxiety."

It was owing to this method of carrying on the culture of the estates that, long before the abolition of the African slave-carrying trade, which took place in 1808, insolvency and ruin largely prevailed among the planters in Jamaica, insomuch that the House of Assembly in 1792 made this statement in one of its official papers: "In the course of twenty years 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts, 55 have been thrown up, and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; and it appears, from a return made by the provost-marshal, that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years."

Another report, issued by the Jamaica Legislative Assembly in 1804, and published by the British House of Commons in February 1805, states: "Every British merchant holding securities or real estate the slave-carrying trade was first assailed by Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, and others, and was brought about by a process which could have no other result. Most of the proprietors were absentees, their large estates, lying in different parts of the island, being often intrusted to the charge of a single agent, who could not possibly reside upon them, or even visit them frequently, having other agencies of a similar kind intrusted to him. The superintendence, therefore, devolved upon the overseers, whose chief aim being to raise large and immediate profits, often forced the negroes to labor beyond what they were able to endure in such an exhausting climate, heedless of the waste of life they occasioned, and calculating upon a ready and continuous supply of slaves from the coast of Africa; while the absentee proprietors, who had judged of the condition of their plantations only by the large remittances sent them for a few years, and were ignorant of the losses sustained in their production, soon began to find their income largely abridged; and having themselves indulged beyond the bounds of economy, too often endeavored to extricate themselves from their difficulties by hopelessly exhausting their resources, either causing the slaves to be overworked, or purchasing others with funds advanced by the merchants to whom their produce was consigned, at exorbitant rates of interest, and secured by mortgages on the plantations and the slaves. Long, one of the early historians of the West Indies, says: "The purchase of new negroes is the most chargeable article attending these estates, and the true source of the distresses under which their owners suffer; for they involve themselves so deeply in debt to make these inconsiderate purchases, and lose so many by disease, or other means, in the seasoning, that they become unable to make good their engagements, and are plunged in lawsuits and anxiety."

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The same document proceeds to assert that "Sheriff's officers are everywhere selling property at less than half the original cost," that "all kind of credit is at an end," that "confidence has ceased," and that "a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature."

In 1807 a West India Committee of the British House of Commons reported "that since the year 1792 there had taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters." A report of the Jamaica House of Assembly, in the same year, declared that within the five or six previous years "sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of chancery, and there were one hundred and fifteen more respecting which suits in chancery were pending, and many other bills preparing." They also stated that "the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one fourth of the whole number in the colony; and the committee anticipated, very shortly, the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar planters, with few exceptions."

The unprofitable and ruinous tendency of the system of slavery, even under the most advantageous circumstances, must, from these extracts, be evident to the most skeptical; for, be it remembered, they refer to a period when the planters could command an unlimited supply of slaves to repair that waste of life continually resulting from the effort to extract from the soil all the profit it was capable of yielding; yet the colonial slaveholders could not ward off embarrassment and ruin. For more than half a century their condition had been gradually deteriorating. And it is equally capable of demonstration, that after the termination of the slave-carrying trade, the possession of more than eight hundred thousand slaves did not enable the planters to cultivate sugar and coffee, and other productions, either so extensively or so profitably as to pay them for the heavy expenditure with which compulsory labor must ever be attended. They continued to plunge deeper and deeper into distress and insolvency.

In 1808 a committee of the House of Commons recommended the suspension of the use of grain in the distilleries of Great Britain for one year, in order "to save the West Indies from the disasters which awaited them in consequence of the depreciation in the price (in Jamaica) is filing bills in chancery to foreclose; although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantation, of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequences."

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In 1807 a West India Committee of the British House of Commons reported "that since the year 1799 there had taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters." A report of the Jamaica House of Assembly, in the same year, declared that within the five or six previous years "sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of chancery, and there were one hundred and fifteen more respecting which suits in chancery were pending, and many other bills preparing." They also stated that "the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the hands of mortgagees in this island and in England, amount to about one fourth of the whole number in the colony; and the committee anticipated, very shortly, the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar planters, with few exceptions."

The unprofitable and ruinous tendency of the system of slavery, even under the most advantageous circumstances, must, from these extracts, be evident to the most skeptical; for, be it remembered, they refer to a period when the planters could command an unlimited supply of slaves to repair that waste of life continually resulting from the effort to extract from the soil all the profit it was capable of yielding; yet the colonial slaveholders could not ward off embarrassment and ruin. For more than half a century their condition had been gradually deteriorating. And it is equally capable of demonstration, that after the termination of the slave-carrying trade, the possession of more than eight hundred thousand slaves did not enable the planters to cultivate sugar and coffee, and other productions, either so extensively or so profitably as to pay them for the heavy expenditure with which compulsory labor must ever be attended. They continued to plunge deeper and deeper into distress and insolvency.

In 1808 a committee of the House of Commons recommended the suspension of the use of grain in the distilleries of Great Britain for one year, in order "to save the West Indies from the disasters which awaited them in consequence of the depreciation in the price of sugar, and the increased expense attendant on its cultivation, the value of the produce being barely equal to the charges of production, leaving no rent for land, and no interest for the large capital employed on it." (The price was about that time thirty-four shillings per cwt.) The committee stated that "one hundred and fifteen sugar estates were then in the Court of Chancery," that "foreclosures had become unusually frequent," and that annuitants dependent on West India property for their provision, had in many instances been totally deprived of their income."*

In 1812 a memorial from the Jamaica planters to the crown states: "The ruin of the original possessors of property has been completed; exactions, debasement, and privations have been long and patiently endured by the proprietors; a large portion of them now see approaching the lowest state of human misery, absolute want to their families, and the horrors of a jail for themselves. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident."

In 1813 Mr. Marryatt, an eminent colonial agent, during a debate in Parliament on the sugar question, declared that "there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not during the last twenty years been sold, or given up to creditors."

In 1821 the Jamaica House of Assembly addressed the king "on the distresses which afflicted the colony," and complained of "the pressure of unmitigated suffering." And in 1822 another address was presented to the king by the House of Assembly, petitioning for "assistance to rescue the landholders and capitalists from ruin, and the laborers from absolute want."

In 1824 a somewhat similar memorial declared that property had "gradually depreciated to one half its value;" and in 1825 the still increasing sufferings of the planters were dolefully set forth.

In 1826 another memorial, laid before the throne, asserted that "commerce was gradually deserting the shores of Jamaica," that "signs of prosperity were no longer perceptible; one universal gloom lowered all around, and ruin in the most dreadful shape, and to all appearance inevitable, was advancing with rapid strides."

In 1831 Viscount Goderich, then colonial secretary, in a dispatch dated November 5, observed: "The existence of severe commercial distress among all classes of society connected with the West Indies is, unhappily, too evident. Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of distress which almost every page of the West Indies re-

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* Parliamentary Report, April 13, 1808.

cords is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labor for support; in which labor is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward. I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not only at present, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just."

In 1832, eighteen months before the passing of the emancipation act by the British Legislature, the West India body in England petitioned Parliament, declaring that "the alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole of the British West India interest is at this time involved, justifies them in imploring the Legislature to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin."

It is thus evident, beyond all doubt, that the financial and commercial condition of the slave colonies had for nearly a century been declining from bad to worse, and that about the time of emancipation they had well-nigh reached the last stage of prostration. It is altogether a fallacy to ascribe the ruin which came upon some of the planters to the abolition of slavery; as gross a perversion of truth as can well be conceived. The system of slavery itself was, as Lord Goderich justly observes, "the perennial spring of all their distresses." And it could not well be otherwise. Apart from those causes of expense and embarrassment which have been referred to as existing before Great Britain terminated the African slave-trade to the colonies, no landed property in the world could bear the burdens which were imposed upon the plantations in the West Indies, and the drain to which they were continually subjected. The already insolvent proprietors continued to the last to live in splendid style in England, or elsewhere, on money advanced, sometimes at the rate of fifteen or twenty per cent., by the merchants to whom their sugar, rum, and coffee were consigned; while the whole properties, including lands, buildings, and slaves, were heavily mortgaged. Meanwhile this system of absenteeism, combined with slavery, necessitated the maintenance of a perfect hierarchy of agencies, all salaried and sustained at the expense of the estates. Supposing a plantation to have upon it four hundred slaves, which an estate of five or six hundred acres would require, the supplies which were necessary for these slaves, and for the property generally, would be sent out by the merchant consignee at his own price. To superintend these four hundred slaves the services of four or five white book-keepers, each possessing a horse, were required, one taking

charge of the boiling-house, another of the still-house, another of the cattle, and one or more superintending the working gangs in the field; for the law required the employment of a given number of these white officials, in proportion to the number of slaves on the plantation, with the view of keeping up an effective militia force, in which all of them were enrolled, to check or put down insubordination on the part of the negroes, of which the colonists stood in perpetual fear. In addition to these book-keepers there would be a head carpenter, a head mason, etc., etc., also white men, that they might be qualified for serving in the militia. Superior to all these was the overseer or manager, residing on the plantation, with his harem, and a large retinue of servants and horses, all maintained at the cost of the estate. Above the overseer was the attorney, so called from the legal instrument, or "power of attorney," by virtue of which he took the general management and direction as the representative of the proprietor; not, however, resident on the estate, but occupying the "great house," or mansion, whenever he thought fit to visit the plantation, and where, generally for his convenience, a mistress with another retinue of servants were maintained at the cost of the luckless proprietor, the attorney claiming and receiving his commissions on all the produce of the estate for the trouble of acting as the proxy of the absentee. Last of all there was the merchant in England, holding mortgages on the plantation at high rates of interest, to whom all produce *must* be consigned, that he too might be entitled to charge his commissions for receiving and disposing of it. All that could go to the account of the proprietor was just the overplus after these several demands had been met, and the wear and tear of cattle and machinery supplied. Consequently, when through mismanagement or misfortune, such as failure of crops, etc., the plantations failed to produce the amount necessary to cover all these expenses, and supply the extravagant demands of the proprietor to keep up his princely style of living, the merchants made further advances on mortgage, and the plantations generally became more hopelessly involved.

What farms in Europe or America, we may ask, could bear the operation of a system like this, or endure such impositions, without bringing their owners to ruin? Yet this reckless system of extravagance was almost universal in the British West Indies down to the very day when emancipation took place, augmenting year by year the debts and difficulties of the landed proprietors, and producing that general insolvency which we have shown was so loudly and justly complained of.

Such was the financial condition of a large proportion of the West

Indies, and such the causes which produced it, when, in 1834, the absolute slavery of former years gave place to the apprenticeship system. Slavery, like the deadly upas, had spread a blighting influence over all that it covered, and had brought all who were concerned with it to the verge of ruin. Bad as their affairs were, many of the proprietors might have been preserved from the fate which has come upon them, if they had acted with the discretion and promptitude which the urgency of their affairs demanded. If they had visited their properties, and taking advantage of the kindly disposition which the negroes felt toward them personally, and of the grateful desire which they cherished of showing themselves, by their industry and good conduct, worthy of freedom, if they had established new and amicable relations with them, placing the estates under a more satisfactory system of management, and abolishing the cumbrous and expensive machinery which had been found necessary for the coercion of slave labor, but which was required no longer, the best results might have been obtained, and families now reduced to hopeless indigence, by an absolute adherence to that system of absenteeism and neglect which had already wrought so great an amount of evil, might have struggled through their difficulties, and now been living in comparative wealth and comfort, surrounded by an honest, laborious, and happy peasantry.

Very few of the Jamaica planters took this prudent course. Loth to give up the attractions of European society, or possessed with exaggerated fears of a tropical climate, most of them refrained from even a temporary visit to their plantations, and the overseers and the negroes were left to settle matters as best they could, under the nominal supervision of the planting attorneys; some of whom had themselves become landholders, and their attention being naturally directed first to their own properties, they could seldom find time to do more for their constituents than to correspond officially with the actual managers, and assent, as a matter of course, to arrangements which imperatively demanded the active investigation of persons deeply interested in the welfare of the estate. Thus left to themselves, the overseers, notwithstanding the warnings of successive governors, and many of the more upright and conscientious of the special magistrates, continued the cruel and ignominious treatment of the negroes which they had practiced up to the termination of the apprenticeship, and pursued altogether a line of conduct which was most disastrous to the estates and fatal to the interests of their employers. Mr. R. M. Martin, who visited several of the colonies to ascertain the actual condition of affairs, says, in his elaborate work on the colonies, from which we have already quoted:

> "Deprived of the power of coercion by the whip, the overseer thought only of using it in another form, by the exaction of oppressive rents; and if these were not paid, the cattle were turned in on the provision grounds of the people, their few pigs, goats, and poultry shot, and the ties of old association which might, and (from the peculiar attachment cherished by the negro to the spot on which he was born) probably would have sufficed to attach them to the properties to which they had previously belonged, were thus rudely and forever severed. By impolitic harshness and neglect, a large number of people were compelled, in self-defense, to cease from being laborers on the sugar estates, and to become cottiers; the more so, because the high price of provisions absolutely necessitated that they should grow food for their families, who must otherwise have starved. Proprietors, or their agents, have therefore, to a great extent, themselves to blame for the diminution of labor which they experienced, and which has tended to bring about a diminution of sugar and coffee."

Mr. Martin further says:

> "Under the most favorable circumstances, the want of capital would have been of necessity a serious bar to the employment of labor, but the conduct of many of the overseers, in withholding the promised wages upon frivolous and even false pretenses, greatly increased these difficulties. The provision grounds formerly allotted to the negroes, soon became a bone of contention; for not only were the most exorbitant rents demanded and enforced by a petty-debt act, which afforded great facilities for the obtainment of fictitious or exaggerated claims, but the questions of rent and wages were willfully mixed up, so as to be a constant source of vexatious oppression to the negro, whose natural desire to obtain a freehold of his own, and thus become independent of such influence, was stimulated to the highest degree. Once master of that much coveted possession, the laborer could no longer be induced to relinquish its profitable cultivation, unless the wages offered him for toiling elsewhere were both remunerative and certain. This many overseers had it not in their power to offer; however willing, they could not furnish, on the Saturday evening, those weekly earnings which the laborer, all the world over, rightly values so much more when paid regularly, and in cash, than by any other system. The consequence was a loud outcry for more labor, which there was not capital to employ."

That these statements are entirely true, especially of Jamaica, the writer of this article can bear witness, having been resident in that island at the time of the emancipation, and for fourteen years after it took place; and also standing in such a relation to the emancipated people as brought him to an intimate acquaintance with their affairs. Not unfrequently the planters, after the abolition of the apprenticeship, when the people had become renters of the houses and allotments of land which they had previously occupied, extorted, or endeavored to extort, from each of the several adult members of the family, in labor, the full amount of rent due for the whole premises which they collectively occupied; thus actually compelling them to pay for the same cottage and land several times over. Resistance to this extortion caused much litigation in the petty law courts, and often led to the destruction of the laborers' gardens and provision grounds, and their small live stock, by the vindictive overseer. In

"Deprived of the power of coercion by the whip, the overseers thought only of using it in another form, by the exaction of oppressive-rents; and if these were not paid, the cattle were turned in on the provision grounds of the people, their few pigs, goats, and poultry shot, and the tie of old association which might, and (from the peculiar attachment cherished by the negro to the spot on which he was born) probably would have sufficed to attach them to the properties to which they had previously belonged, were thus rudely and forever severed. By repeated harshness and neglect, a large number of people were compelled, in self-defence, to cease from being laborers on the sugar estates, and to become cottiers; the more so, because the high price of provisions absolutely necessitated that they should grow food for their families, who must otherwise have starved. The planters, or their agents, have, therefore, to a great extent, themselves to blame for the discontinuance of labor which they experienced, and which has tended to bring about a diminution of sugar and coffee."

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Even under the discouraging circumstances we have described, the people generally continued to labor where they had anything like a reasonable prospect of obtaining the wages they earned. We have known them work for many weeks together on the plantations, receiving only part of their earnings, or only the promise of payment, sustaining themselves meanwhile by the produce of their own grounds. Where there was the ability to pay reasonable wages, and to pay them regularly, the planters never found any lack of laborers. The railway between Kingston and Spanish Town was constructed about 1845–6 entirely by negro labor; and although it is a more laborious kind of toil than the ordinary work of the sugar or coffee plantations, we were told by one of the principal managers of the works that they could always command labor to any extent they required, and that no people could work better than the negroes did. The reason he assigned was, that "their wages were paid in full, and without any vexatious disputes, or objections, every Saturday after-

noon." In the West Indies, as elsewhere, the people will labor under the influence of those motives and inducements which in all parts of the world are necessary to make men submit to monotonous daily toil. Without such inducements they cannot reasonably be expected to labor; nor have they had such a training under the old dispensation, from which they are now happily delivered, as was calculated to make them become enamored of unrequited toil.

That under such a state of things as then existed many plantations and estates should either drag on very heavily, or fall out of cultivation altogether, was unavoidable. The embarrassed proprietors, after the emancipation, became more and more encumbered with debts and difficulties, in consequence of their own supineness and neglect, and the infatuated conduct of their agents and representatives in the colonies. But that which brought to a crisis, in most cases, the ruin which we have shown slavery itself had wrought, was the free-trade policy adopted by Sir Robert Peel's government in 1846. From the beginning of the sugar cultivation in the West Indies, almost a perfect monopoly of the British market was secured to the West India interest, by the imposition of heavy protective duties on foreign produce, and this protection they enjoyed without interruption until 1846, when, among the other great fiscal changes of the period, it was determined to reduce the sugar duties, and finally to remove altogether the protection which had hitherto been given to West India produce. Being entirely unprepared for such a sweeping change, and having utterly neglected to adopt those improvements in the culture and manufacture of their produce which alone could enable them to enter upon a successful competition with the slave-grown produce of Cuba, Porto Rico, Brazil, etc., (for they have always been notoriously slow to adopt improvements of any kind whatever,) the emancipated colonies were for a season prostrated by this unlooked-for blow. The compensation money which accompanied the act of emancipation had warded off for a while the ruin which impended over the great bulk of the proprietors; for although it did not go immediately into their hands, being claimed and taken up by the merchant mortgagees of the estates, yet it placed these mortgagees in a position to make further advances, and so enabled the planters to struggle on for a few years longer. Some, in Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Kitts, by the adoption of a well-timed economy, and a kindly treatment of the laborers, and by turning their attention to practical improvements in raising and manufacturing their produce, struggled through their difficulties, saving themselves and their properties, and were able to survive the crisis of 1846. But with the larger number of those who held West India property noon". In the West Indies, as elsewhere, the people will labor under the influence of those motives and inducements which in all parts of the world are necessary to make men submit to monotonous daily toil. Without such inducements they cannot reasonably be expected to labor; nor have they had such a training under the old dispensation, from which they are now happily delivered, as was calculated to make them become enamored of unrequited toil.

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In Trinidad, within three years after the passing of that bill, no less than fifty-six sugar estates were either wholly or in part abandoned. Lord Harris, the governor, writing to the home government on the distress of the planters, says: "Since the passing of the sugar bill, equalizing the duties on free and slave sugar, and admitting slave-grown sugar on equal terms with our sugar into the home markets, nineteen planters have gone through the insolvent court; their liabilities amount to £370,000; the average dividend paid is three pence three farthings in the pound."

But in Jamaica the effect was still more fatal, for there the insolvency wrought by slavery and absenteeism was more general than in the other colonies. From a return published by the House of Assembly, it was shown that, within four years after January 1, 1848, there were in that island 128 sugar plantations, 96 coffee properties, and 30 cattle-breeding estates, called pens, wholly abandoned; and 71 sugar plantations, 66 coffee properties, and 22 cattle-breeding pens partially abandoned; comprising altogether 391,187 acres, all of which had been continued in cultivation until the ruin of their embarrassed proprietors was finally consummated by the agricultural and commercial depression consequent upon the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel.

It is necessary that these facts should thus be placed on record, that the West India question may be rightly understood, and that emancipation may not be held chargeable with consequences which have proceeded from other and widely different causes. The apologists and advocates of slavery point exultingly to the British West

Indies; and directing attention to the financial ruin which has come upon the former slaveholders, and to those plantations and estates the cultivation of which the owners could not command capital to carry on, they denounce emancipation as a Quixotic act, injurious to both master and servant, detrimental to commercial interests, and therefore to be considered as a warning, rather than held forth as a lesson, for the guidance of other slaveholding states. But this they do in ignorance both of the past history and the present condition of those colonies, which, as hereafter will be shown, are now rising, under the benign influence of freedom, from the prostration and the manifold evil to which they were subjected under the system of slavery, and for which, as results are making manifest, emancipation was the appropriate and the only effective remedy.

Admit that owners of West India property have been reduced to indigence, that once valuable properties of various kinds have ceased to be cultivated; that their buildings are now dismantled, and that in several of the islands the exports of staple commodities are less than they were some years ago; the foregoing extracts clearly prove that these are but the natural and unavoidable results of causes which had been in active operation for many years before any proposition for the liberation of the slaves was submitted to the consideration of the British Parliament. As well might the disastrous effects of a conflagration which has ruined and desolated a whole neighborhood, be ascribed to the fire-engines and those efforts of the fire brigade by which the devouring element has been subdued and its destructive ravages arrested, as these results be attributed to emancipation. Slavery exhausted the resources of the planters, and the sudden withdrawal of the protection with which for many years they had been favored, at the cost of the nation, brought their ruined affairs to a crisis; and the colonies have not yet had sufficient time to recover fully from the blighting influence thus shed upon them. They are yet in a transition state, but the restorative process initiated by emancipation is going on; and the indications, in all respects, are such as to assure us that the West Indies have yet, in a financial and commercial sense, to see their most prosperous days. Jamaica, stained with deeper blood-guiltiness under the old system than any of the other colonies, has felt the depression more, and is the last to rise in the scale of prosperity; which may be partly owing to the fact that the estates and plantations there were generally on a larger scale than in the other islands, and therefore not so easily brought again under cultivation when once abandoned; but the causes which have operated in most of the smaller islands to raise them above all the difficulties and discouragements which the slave system

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While the foregoing observations and extracts reveal the true causes and the long progress of West India declension, and vindicate the noble act of emancipation from all participation therein, they also exhibit, in an impressive point of view, the unprofitable character of slavery, and illustrate the tendency it has to bring ruin upon all who are concerned in it. When the slave-carrying trade was in full operation, sanctioned by the home government, and the planters, able to obtain an unlimited supply of human chattels from Africa, could act fully upon the maxim often quoted among them, "It is cheaper to buy than to breed;" when they enjoyed a monopoly of the sugar market, and the whole British nation were slumbering in insensibility or ignorance concerning the murderous system of oppression prevailing in the colonies, so that none interfered with or called in question their right in their human property; even at that period declension, embarrassment, and insolvency were complained of as the only results to the proprietors. And so, after the African slave market was closed against them, with the sanction of British law, and under the protection of the British flag, they held eight hundred thousand human beings in absolute bondage, and drove and wrought them at their pleasure, extorting all that could be wrung out of the blood and bones and sinews of men and women by the terror of the cart-whip, the bilboes, and the dungeon; the effect was the same; the process of ruin went on, and they advanced without check to bankruptcy, beggary, and want. The whole history of the British West India slave colonies is conclusive as to the fact that slavery involves an unnatural condition of society, which has rottenness at its very core, and justifies the strong and expressive language of the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke, when he denounced it as "a system which is cursed at both ends, while the blast of God is on its middle."

In another paper it will be shown that those who seek to uphold slavery by representing the British colonies as ruined by emancipation, are as much mistaken concerning their present condition and prospects, under the operation of freedom, as they are with regard to the circumstances of their past history.

ART. IV.—OUR LORD'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

So many difficulties beset the question of time and place of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, that Alford, in his critical Commentary, without attempting a solution of them, simply states the different views respecting *the identity or otherwise of the sermon in Matthew with that given in Luke* vi, 12–49, as follows:

"There is, I. The view that they *are identical.* This is generally taken by ordinary readers of Scripture, from their similarity in many points. It is also taken by most of the modern German commentators, who uniformly reject every attempt at harmonizing by supposing the same or similar words to have been *twice uttered.* This view is, however, beset by difficulties. For, (*a*,) the sermon in Luke is expressly said to have been delivered *after* the selection of the apostles, whereas that in the text is as expressly, by continual consecutive notes of time, extending to the call of Matthew, (before which the apostles cannot have been chosen,) placed *before* that event. And it is wholly unlikely that Matthew, assuming him the author of our Gospel, would have made a discourse, which he must have heard immediately after his call as an apostle, to take place before that call. Then, (*b*,) *this* discourse was spoken on a mountain; *that*, after descending from a mountain, in the plain; for that is the only admissible sense of the words. And again, (*g*,) the two discourses are, though containing much common matter, widely different. Of one hundred and seven verses in Matthew, Luke contains only thirty; his *four* beatitudes are balanced by as many woes; and in his text, parts of the sermon are introduced by sayings which do not precede them in Matthew, (for example, Luke vi, 39–45,) but which naturally connect with them. II. Luke epitomized this discourse, leaving out whatever was unsuitable for his Gentile readers; for example, Matt. v, 17–42. But this is improbable; for Luke in several verses is *fuller* than Matthew, and the whole discourse, as related by him, is connected and consecutive. III. The two discourses are wholly distinct. This view is maintained by Greswell, and principally from the arguments above noticed. But it also is not without grave difficulties, especially if we suppose, as Greswell does, that Luke had the Gospel of Matthew before him. That two discourses wholly distinct should contain so much in common, seems unlikely and unnatural. It is hardly credible that two great public special occasions should be selected by the Lord near the commencement of his ministry, and two discourses delivered to the same audience, not *identical*, which might have been very probable, and impressive from that very circumstance; nor consecutive nor explanatory the one of the other, but only coinciding in fragments, and not even as two different reports at the distance of some years might be expected to do. Add to this, that those parts of the discourses in which Luke and Matthew agree, occur in both in almost the same order, and that the beginning and conclusion of both are the same. IV. Matthew gives a general compendium of the sayings of our Lord during this part of his ministry, of which Luke's discourse formed a portion, or perhaps was another shorter compendium. But the last stated objection applies with still greater force to this hypothesis, and renders it indeed quite untenable. Besides, it labors under the chronological difficulty in all its bearings. And to one who has observed throughout the close contextual connection of the parts in this discourse, it will be quite incredible that they should be a mere collection of sayings set down at hazard. V. The apparent discrepancies are sometimes reconciled by remembering that there is no fixed time mentioned in any Evangelist for

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Let us bring all these different views under one stand-point by examining and answering the objections which are made against the identity of the two discourses in Matthew and Luke. They can be summed up under three heads:

I. It is contended "that *the variance between Matthew and Luke*, if we assume them to report the same discourse, *is so great as to be incompatible with their being inspired writers.* Nor could the difference be satisfactorily explained by regarding Luke's report as an epitome of Matthew, for while he passes over a large part of the discourse reported by Matthew, he adds much which the latter has omitted, and brings some of the sayings of our Lord into a different connection."

The objection with regard to the inspired character of the document must indeed be an insuperable one to those who hold to *verbal* inspiration in the *strictest sense*, namely, that the Holy Ghost constrained the evangelists at all times to report the events and the discourses to their full extent, and in every particular, and in the most exact order, just as they took place or were spoken. "This theory, however," Alford remarks, "uniformly gives way before an accurate examination of the Scriptures; even by those who hold it, it is never carried fairly through, but in detail abandoned. Hardly a single instance of parallelism arises between the evangelists, where they do not relate the same thing indeed in substance, but expressed in terms which, if *literally* taken, are incompatible with each other. To cite only one obvious instance. The title over the cross was written in Greek. According to the verbal inspiration theory each evangelist has recorded *the exact words* of the inscription, not the general sense, but the *inscription* itself, not a letter less or more. This is absolutely necessary to the theory. Its advocates must not be allowed, with convenient inconsistency, to take refuge in a common-sense view of the matter, wherever their theory fails them, and

still to uphold it in the main." Dispensing with the theory of *verbal*, and holding to such plenary inspiration as prevented the evangelists from attributing to the Lord any words of their own imagination, and enabled them to record, in the freedom of the Holy Spirit, not in the bondage of the letter, *the sayings of our Lord*, we shall find no difficulty in accounting for their variance in their report of the Sermon on the Mount.

Matthew as well as Luke give us our Lord's discourse in an abbreviated form, with this difference, that the former gives a much fuller epitome than the latter. The evangelists wrote independently of each other. The selection and arrangement of the subject matter was left to human agency under divine guidance, and corresponded with the special object which each evangelist had in view. There is, moreover, this difference between the two evangelists. What the eye and ear witness Matthew has recorded, we may assume as having been more *immediately* presented to his mind by the promised Spirit (John xiv, 26; xvi, 14) than the record of Luke; who was dependent on the authentic but human testimony of others, and who, in the preface to his Gospel, does not lay claim to a supernatural revelation of what he records, but to the care and accuracy of a faithful and honest historian. In giving the result of his investigation, and forming a connected whole out of the several parts, we may expect that his report of the discourse was not so exact and full, and received a different form from that of Matthew, while at the same time he was preserved by the Spirit of truth from imputing to the Lord anything he did not say.

While we however concede freely so much to human agency in the inspired records, we must utterly reject the supposition of Matthew or Luke having collected into a systematic discourse many sayings of our Lord spoken on different occasions. Such a supposition would be inconsistent not only with their inspiration but with their honesty; and apart from this consideration there are internal evidences against such a hypothesis as is conceded even by rationalistic writers, like Baur, who says "that the discourse, breathing throughout the spirit of vital polemic against the Pharisees, makes undoubtedly the impression of being original and immediate." With regard to the objection "that many parts of the sermon, as recorded by Matthew, are found in Mark and Luke, connected with quite different occasions," Stier remarks very properly: "It was in every respect worthy of the Great Teacher, and in accordance with his divine wisdom and human condescension, that our Lord chose to repeat his sententious sayings on different occasions, and," he adds, "this custom of our Lord should make some preachers blush, who are vain

enough to think it is incumbent upon them, whenever they speak in public, to say something new."

II. *The difference in the order of time,* assigned by Matthew and Luke, *is urged against the identity of the two discourses.* According to Luke it follows the selection of the twelve apostles, while in Matthew it seems to have preceded it. How improbable, it is said, that Matthew should report this most important discourse prior to his own call to the apostleship, if indeed our Lord had delivered the Sermon on the Mount after the selection of his apostles!

In answer to this second objection we reply, it is a matter of fact, which cannot be refuted, that Matthew, for some reason or other, does not mention his call to the apostleship in the proper chronological order, as Mark and Luke do. He does not in general bind himself to a precise chronological order, rather arranging his subject matter in groups, according to the nature of the subjects narrated, as, for instance, the group of parables shows. That he should assign so early a place in his Gospel to that sermon in which our Lord for the first time fully developed the fundamental principles of his kingdom, need not surprise us. And that our Lord delivered this discourse not before the middle of his ministry is indicated also by Matthew's remark, (iv, 23–25,) and by the open manner in which Jesus attacks the Pharisees and declares himself to be the Messiah.

III. Against the identity of the two discourses, there is further urged the difference of *some local circumstances* attending the delivery of the discourse. According to Matthew's report, Jesus went up into a mountain and was sitting in delivering his sermon; but Luke says he came down from the mountain and stood in the plain. These variances however may easily be reconciled. By "mountain" we are most probably to understand one of the high plains so common in Palestine; and the descending refers to a hill, overhanging this high plain, to which he had before ascended for solitary prayer, a circumstance not mentioned by Matthew. As regards the position of Jesus while delivering his discourse, the standing may have occurred a few moments before he commenced his regular discourse, while the multitude was pressing around him. Even if we had not the statement of Matthew respecting our Lord's sitting down to teach, we would have to complete the statement of Luke by supposing that Jesus, standing at the beginning, soon after sat down, because the Jewish teachers usually delivered their instructions sitting.

From the difference of the above-mentioned local circumstances, Lange draws the following inference: That Matthew reports a discourse which Jesus held on the top of a mountain, in the secluded

circle of his proper disciples; and that Luke gives a succeeding discourse, delivered on a declivity of the same mount, to the multitude which had followed him. To corroborate this supposition, he remarks that Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, spoken before the masses at that time, would have greatly endangered the work of Christ; that the presentation of the fundamental doctrines of his kingdom, as we find them in Matthew, was adapted only to his real followers; the discourse in Luke, on the contrary, being condensed, lively, figurative, and concrete, had all the characteristics of popular address.

The objections against Lange's supposition are, 1. Matthew must have understood by the term "disciples" (v, 1,) more than the small circle of the twelve, for he says, (vii, 28,) "when Jesus had ended these sayings *the people* were astonished at his doctrine." 2. That our Lord should have delivered in immediate succession two sermons with such identical conclusion, is improbable in the highest degree. The other remark of Lange needs no formal refutation.

Having seen that all the objections that can be brought against the assumption that Matthew and Luke report the same sermon, can be removed, we come to the conclusion that their identity is sufficiently proved, 1. By the striking resemblance of the whole discourse, and especially by the almost identical exordium and conclusion; 2. By the fact, that according to both evangelists the same events follow the discourse, namely, our Lord's entering Capernaum and healing the centurion's servant; 3. The selection of the apostles immediately preceding this discourse, according to Luke, gave our Lord the most appropriate occasion to make that open and full declaration respecting the nature of his kingdom, and the terms of admission which characterizes the Sermon on the Mount, as we find it in Matthew, and although that evangelist does not connect it with the choice of the apostles, we nevertheless find several passages (v, 13, 14; vii, 6) evidently referring to persons previously called to the ministry.

Having gained this stand-point, let us proceed to the peculiar character of the Sermon on the Mount. Following upon the selection of the apostles, it is an inaugural address both to the disciples and to the people at large. Ebrard remarks: "Our Lord had cured the sick, raised the dead, and in enigmatical words and allegories he had spoken of the kingdom of God which he was going to establish. The ears of the people were open; all had, with more or less confidence, conceived the hope that Jesus was the promised Messiah; they followed him, and were willing to take a part in his kingdom.

The time was now come that he should fully enlighten these undecided, perplexed masses respecting the nature of his kingdom and its requirements.'" With the greatest propriety the Sermon on the Mount has been called the Magna Charta of the kingdom of God; it is a practical commentary of the repentance which the Baptist preached, (Matt. iii, 8,) and presents to all the disciples the unchangeable principles from which the new life of faith must proceed. Neander says on this point: "There runs through the whole discourse, implied where it is not directly expressed, a rebuke of the carnal tendency of the Jewish mind, as displayed in its notions of the Messianic kingdom, and of the requisites for participating therein, the latter, indeed, depending entirely upon the former. It was most important to convince men that meetness for the kingdom of God depended not upon alliance to the Jewish stem, but upon alliance of the heart to God. Their mode of thinking had to be modified accordingly. A *direct* attack upon the usual conceptions of the nature and manifestation of the kingdom would have been repelled by those who were unprepared for it; but *to show what dispositions of heart it required was to strike at the root of error.*"

But what relation does the Sermon on the Mount bear to the evangelical doctrine of salvation by grace through faith? The Socinians and Rationalists very confidently appeal to the Sermon on the Mount as sustaining their position that our Lord did not inculcate the belief of mysterious doctrines, that he insisted only upon the practice of the great moral duties. Alas! the vail is upon them. They do not perceive that the practice of these great moral duties is only required as the fruits of the grace so kindly offered in the exordium; that the preacher on the mount is the personification of that grace, though not fully manifested before the work of redemption had been completed; that he indirectly refers to this redemption as to the instrumental cause of the righteousness required by him, when he promised to the poor in spirit the kingdom of heaven, and to those who hunger after righteousness, full satisfaction. What else is this but that by faith in him there shall be given the power to fulfill that righteousness which he demands, and which exceeds that of the Pharisees? How could the Messiah have justified the hopes of his people if by his advent he only had raised the requirements without imparting a higher power? That the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel are not expressly mentioned in this discourse is certainly not surprising. As yet our Lord's hearers were not able to understand these truths; even the apostles themselves, before the resurrection of their Master, had no true conception of the atonement, justification, and regeneration. These fundamental

articles of the Christian faith refer to the great facts of the incarnation, the sufferings and death, the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and could not be fully taught before the completion of the plan of salvation. That, however, which these doctrines presuppose, that is, the doctrine of the depravity of the human heart, and the necessity of regeneration arising from it, our Lord sets forth and inculcates in his Sermon on the Mount in the clearest and most forcible manner. The more so as he speaks not so much as a *teacher* of the law, as the *king of his kingdom* and *only lawgiver*, condemning those who oppose his reign and reject his salvation. He presents his laws in their bearing on the future and eternal condition of men, on which condition he throws more light than Moses, Solomon, or all the prophets. We see then that Christ, in accordance with his triple office as prophet, priest, and king, declares himself in the Sermon on the Mount to be the true *expounder* or *teacher of the law*, the *fulfiller of the same*, and the *only lawgiver*.

The connection between the different parts of the sermon, as recorded by Matthew, has been very differently apprehended. *Stier* discovers in its progress from the gracious invitation of the exordium, where the kingdom of heaven opens wide for the poorest, to the terrible threatenings at the close, where the strait gate is firmly closed against the transgressors, that progress which every sermon ought to have, *from promise to requirement, and hence to warning*, and from this stand-point he devides the sermon into three parts: The *first* part he makes to close with the twentieth verse, and traces in this portion again the same progress; first promises (3–12;) then requirements on the ground of the promises, (13–16;) then a reference to final judgment, implying warning, (17–20.) Nevertheless the whole portion has the predominant characteristic of the word of promise: "I am come to fulfill." *The second part* then reaches from v, 21 to vii, 14; and Stier conceives that our Lord represented to his disciples *the righteousness* he requires, in three great contrasts, *not like the Pharisees*, (v, 21; vi, 18,) *not like the Gentiles*, (vi, 19–34,) *not like unsound disciples*, (vii, 1–14.) *In the third part*, (vii, 15–27,) though predominantly warning and threatening, Stier observes again the above mentioned progress; first a repetition of promise in what is said about the planting of the good tree, (15–20,) then the repeated enjoinment of the divine requisitions, (21–23,) upon which follows the sublime and terrific contrast which the great fall of the house built upon the sand makes to the unlimited full invitation, with which the discourse begins. Ingenious as Stier's analysis is, the common reader may desire a division somewhat plainer, and more conveniently adapted to pracarticles of the Christian faith refer to the great facts of the incarnation, the sufferings and death, the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and could not be fully taught before the completion of the plan of salvation. That, however, which these doctrines presuppose, that is, the doctrine of the depravity of the human heart, and the necessity of regeneration arising from it, our Lord sets forth and inculcates, in his Sermon on the Mount, in the clearest and most forcible manner. The more so as he speaks not so much as a teacher of the law, as the *King of his kingdom and only Lawgiver*, condemning those who oppose his reign and reject his salvation. He presents his laws in their bearing on the future and eternal condition of man, on which condition he throws more light than Moses, Solomon, or all the prophets. We see then that Christ, in accordance with his triple office as prophet, priest, and king, declares himself in the Sermon on the Mount to be the true expounder or teacher of *the law*, the *fulfiller of the same*, and the only Lawgiver.

The connection between the different parts of the sermon, as recorded by Matthew, has been very differently apprehended. Stier discovers in its progress from the gracious invitation of the evangelium, where the kingdom of heaven opens wide for the penitent, to the terrible threatenings at the close, where the strait gate is firmly closed against the transgressors, that progress which every sermon ought to have, *from promise to requirement, and hence to warning*, and from this stand point he divides the sermon into three parts. The *first* part he makes to close with the twentieth verse, and traces in this portion again the same progress; first promises (3–12;) then requirements on the ground of the promises, (13–16;) then a reference to final judgment, implying warning (17–20.) Nevertheless the whole portion has the predominant characteristic of the word of promise: "I am come to fulfil." The *second* part then reaches from v. 21 to vii. 14; and Stier conceives that our Lord represented to his disciples the righteousness he requires in three great contrasts, and that to the *Pharisees* (v. 21; vi. 18,) and then the *Gentiles* (vi. 19–34,) and false censorious disciples (vii. 1–14.) In the *third part* (vii. 15–27,) though predominantly warning and threatening, Stier discovers again the above mentioned progress; first a repetition of promise in what is said about the planting of the good tree, (15–20,) then the repeated requirement of the divine requisitions, (21–23,) upon which follows the sublime and terrible contrast which the great fall of the house built upon the sand makes to the unlimited full blessing, with which the discourse begins. Ingenious as Stier's analysis is, the common reader may desire a division somewhat plainer, and more conveniently adapted to practical purposes of reference. The following analysis is constructed on the basis of Tholuck's, but departs from his in several particulars, especially in the seventh chapter:

I. Exordium; the fundamental conditions of membership in the kingdom of heaven, (v, 3–16.)
  (*a.*) Character of those who seek the kingdom of heaven in the proper manner, (3–6,) who show the fruits of its righteousness, (7–9,) and bear the persecutions connected, (10–12.)
  (*b.*) The work of the true disciples, (13–16.)
II. The theme of the whole discourse; the righteousness required in the old covenant shall be brought to perfection in the kingdom of Christ, (17–20.)
III. The full and genuine fulfillment of the law in contradiction to Pharisaic fulfillment, (21–48,) illustrated by examples referring,
  (*a.*) The passion of anger, (21–26.)
  (*b.*) Adultery and divorce, (27–32.)
  (*c.*) Swearing, (33–37.)
  (*d.*) Retaliation, (38–42.)
  (*e.*) Love of our enemies; (42–47.)
IV. The true motive in good works (vi, 1–18) applied,
  (*a.*) To hypocritical and selfish acts of beneficence, (2–4.)
  (*b.*) To hypocritical and improper prayer, (5–15.)
  (*c.*) To hypocritical fasting, (16–18.)
V. The righteousness of the kingdom of God, the chief good and object of life, to the pursuit of which everything else must be subordinated, (19–34.)
VI. A warning against uncharitable judgment and imprudent charity, directed especially to the disciples, (vii, 1–6.)
VII. Various closing exhortations, (7–28.)
  (*a.*) Exhortation to prayer, (7–11.)
  (*b.*) The infallible rule of conduct to our neighbors, (12.)
  (*c.*) The difficulty of the way to heaven, (13, 14.)
  (*d.*) Warning against deception by ourselves or others, (15–23.)
  (*e.*) Warning against building on the sand, (24–27.)

We will close our investigation with some general remarks on the benedictions, and on the theme of the whole sermon, (Mat. v, 17.)

Before we contemplate the benedictions in the light in which they appear to the Christian reader, who possesses the perfected revelation of the New Testament, and is filled with the Spirit of Christ, a sound and thorough exegesis will lead us first to inquire into the circumstances and stand-point of those who heard the discourses of Christ, so that we may ascertain their primary bearing upon them.

An application of this exegetical rule will throw much light upon the exordium of our Lord's Sermon. *Tholuck* remarks: "From Josephus, as well as from the New Testament, we learn that the Jews, in the time when Jesus appeared publicly, were anxiously waiting for the blessings of the promised Messiah. The people in general, however, understood the prophecies of Isaiah (xl, 1; lxi, 1; lxiii, 4, 6) on this subject to mean nothing else than a political deliverance and a divine vengeance upon their temporal oppressors. The more spiritual Israelites, like Zacharias and John the Baptist, expected the Messiah to establish a spiritual kingdom, a reign of righteousness; nevertheless they connected with it the idea that he would literally sit on David's throne and subject to his scepter the Gentile nations." If we take into consideration this state of mind among the hearers, how perfectly adapted to it appear the benedictions with which our Lord commenced his discourse! "Glancing at the poor," says Neander, "who probably comprised most of his congregation," Christ says: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for their's is the kingdom of heaven.' Happy are they who feel the spiritual wretchedness of the theocratic nation; who long after the true riches of Messiah's kingdom; who have not stifled the higher cravings of their souls by worldly delights, by confidence in their Jewish descent, by the pride of Pharisaic righteousness and wisdom; but are conscious of their spiritual poverty, of their lack of the true riches of the Spirit and the kingdom. Such are they to whom the kingdom of God belongs. Christ then describes the concomitants of that poverty of spirit, and promises dominion over the world to that disposition of heart which is most averse to it; a contrast which serves to point out the peculiar *kind* of world-dominion promised, as distinguished from the prevailing Jewish ideas on the subject."

After this preliminary remark, let us consider the *consecutive order* of the benedictions and their *intimate mutual connection.* They exhibit the sum total of Christian graces, all the characteristics of the true Christian in their gradual development, yet so that in each succeeding grace the former one presents itself in a new form, and each succeeding grace preserves inviolate all the previously received ones. No step on this ladder may be leaped over, no link in this chain must be lacking; and yet we must guard, on the other hand, from separating the benedictions by an abstract, mechanical succession of time. Origen compares them "with a cluster of grapes, of which the one having first ripened remains while the last one is ripening." No single one of the spiritual states here described, as, for instance, the first one, is to be considered a mere

transition state; each one remains a fundamental feature of the Christian character, an essential ingredient of the righteousness which Christ requires and imparts.

The first condition of salvation is the consciousness of spiritual poverty. Every following condition is required only because the reception of the preceding grace has enabled us to fulfill it. So soon as the kingdom of heaven, which is offered to us as a free gift, begins to be established in the soul which has been fully awakened to a sincere consciousness of her poverty before God, so soon the germ of all that the kingdom of heaven implies is planted. Man never mourns spiritually before the Spirit of grace has convicted him of his poverty. From the mental conviction of poverty springs the painful feeling of guilt as the cause of that poverty, and from this godly sorrow springs meekness of spirit, which we think refers here to our relation to God, (not to man,) and denotes that meek submission to the will of God, and to his terms of salvation, with which St. James exhorts us to receive the word of God; that submissiveness, docility, and ductility which is the very opposite to the obstinate self-will of the natural man. It is only when the conviction of spiritual poverty has properly influenced our affections and volitions, that the soul in the full sense of the word hungers and thirsts after righteousness. The righteousness which satisfies this hunger and thirst will beget the exercise of mercy to the souls and bodies of our fellow-men, and accordingly as the Christian exercises mercy he will purify himself, even as He is pure; he will become perfect as his Father in heaven is perfect; and again the more his heart is purified, the more will he become a peacemaker in the highest sense of this word, the more successful will he be in communicating the peace of God to others, in beseeching the world to become reconciled to God; it is significant that the highest function of the Christian is made dependent upon the purity of his heart. We are reminded of the passage in James: "The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable," etc. But even these peacemakers shall meet with persecution.

The first four benedictions may be said to represent the strait gate, or the seeker of salvation; the succeeding four the narrow way, or those who, having obtained mercy, perfect holiness in the fear of God. To each state of mind upon which the Saviour pronounces a benediction, there is promised a corresponding blessing; with this difference, that in the first four benedictions the conditions of the promised blessings are *spiritual wants*, and the promised blessings are the *supply of those wants*. In the succeeding benedictions the promised blessings are *gracious rewards* for the faithful use of

former blessings. The merciful have obtained mercy before they begin to exercise that mercy; but only if they continue to exercise it shall they obtain mercy in the day of judgment. The pure in heart were purified when they first believed, and have thereby attained already to a spiritual knowledge of and communion with God; but only if they retain and perfect that purity shall they see God in glory. The peacemakers are already children of God; but only if they execute their high mission, and remain faithful to their holy calling, shall they be fully acknowledged to be the children of the Most High before the assembled universe of created intelligences.

We inquire, lastly, into the sense in which we have to understand the words of our Saviour: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfill." Alford remarks on this passage: "It is a question whether our Lord includes the prophecies, properly so called, in his meaning here. I think not, for no person professing himself to be the Messiah would be thought to *contradict the prophecies*, but *to fulfill them.* Neither, it appears, does he here allude to the *sacrificial* and *typical* parts of the law, but to the *moral* parts of both the law and the prophets, which, indeed, he proceeds to cite and particularize." Watson takes the same view of this passage; but a closer examination of the emphatic words which our Lord uses, may convince us that this interpretation is untenable.

The objection that no one could have charged Christ with having destroyed, that is, contradicted the prophets is not well grounded; for the offense that Christ gave to the Jews consisted principally in his not realizing *their carnal interpretation* of the Messianic prophecies. As to the *sacrificial* and *typical* parts of the law, his abolishing them was identical with his fulfilling them. They were not abolished before that which they had typically represented was actually fulfilled by the antitype; their substance was, therefore, by no means destroyed or abolished; the shadow or figure only gave way to the substance. Again, if by the law, in contradistinction to the prophets, we understand the moral law, the term "the law and the prophets" represents the whole revelation of God, given in the old covenant, as that revelation had reference *either to commandments or to promises.* Both contained the revealed will of God *not yet fulfilled.* The law had not found the corresponding obedience, and the promises were unfulfilled prophecies. In this sense the *fulfillment* of the law and of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament *constitutes the New Testament*, or, in other words, the New Testament is nothing else than the realization of the Old; the Old disappears in the New, as the germ in the fruit.

Because the law and the prophets were essentially one, the Lord said with deep significancy: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law *or* the prophets," that is, neither the one nor the other. By using this disjunctive, our Lord further meets the charge, as if he would in any way abrogate the moral law. "No more than I can think of contradicting the prophets, do I intend to abrogate the law. If you imagine the Messiah predicted by the prophets would abrogate the law, you do not understand your prophets. If I did not fulfill the law neither would the prophets be fulfilled." Here Christ strikes at the very root of the perverse conceptions which the Jews had formed of their Messiah. The Pharisees made the commandment of God of none effect by their traditions. This also explains to us why Christ, though he speaks in the seventeenth verse of the whole Old Testament revelation, in the progress of his discourse confines himself to the exposition of the moral law, requiring of his disciples a righteousness far exceeding the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, who were then considered the highest patterns of fulfilling the law.

But in what sense did our Lord himself fulfill the *moral law?* The word "fulfill," according to the original, signifies to practice, to confirm, and to fill up or complete. Christ, in the first place, confirmed it *in its full extent* and *for all future time;* he also filled it up or completed it by explaining its full meaning, its purity and spirituality; and he fulfilled it in a still higher sense by *meeting in his own person all the claims* the moral law had on human nature; and by doing so he fulfilled at the same time the ceremonial law, for in his active and passive obedience he became the all-sufficient sacrifice for the sin of the world. When he said, "I am come to fulfill," he had not yet fulfilled it. It was not fulfilled before he exclaimed on the cross, "It is finished." After his resurrection he said to his disciples: "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that *all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses and in the prophets and in the psalms concerning me.*"

But what was fulfilled *by* him *for* us, must also be fulfilled *through* him *in* us. "For the law is not to be made void through faith; God forbid; it is to be established thereby." "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh by a sin-offering, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

Art. V.—BUDDHISM.

[Second Article.]

Eastern Monachism: An Account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, Sacred Unity, Mysterious Rites, Religious Ceremonies, and Present Circumstances of the Order of Mendicants founded by Gotama Buddha, *(compiled from Singhalese MSS. and other Original Sources of Information,) with comparative Notices of the Usages and Institution of the Western Ascetics, and a Review of the Monastic System.* By R. Spence Hardy, Member of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S. London: 1850.

A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development. Translated from Singhalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy. London: 1853.

Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung. Von Carl Friederich Koeppen. Berlin: 1857.

We have in a former paper presented a general view of the rise and outspread of the primal apostasy. From the stand-point thus gained we are the better prepared to appreciate the character of the entire system, as it appears in its historic development, and to estimate the value of the works before us.

The author of the first two of these books, Rev. R. Spence Hardy, arrived in Ceylon, as missionary from the Wesleyan Society of England, in September, 1825. As soon as he had gained sufficient knowledge of the language he addressed himself, and evidently with much zeal and assiduity, to "the study of the native authors," in order, he says, "that I might ascertain from authentic sources the character of the religion I was attempting to displace." Of the result of this labor of acquisition, he says with becoming assurance, further on: "A residence of twenty years in Ceylon, and several thousands of hours spent with the palm-leaf in my hand, and the ex-priest of Buddha by my side to assist me in cases of difficulty, entitle me to claim attention to my translations as a faithful transcript of the original documents."

The mine in which Mr. Hardy set himself so patiently to delve was comparatively new and of surpassing richness; for, next to the Pali, which is the ancient sacred language of the Buddhists, the Singhalese contains the most ample historic resources. Not finding time for the acquisition of the ancient language, he availed himself of the labors of a fellow-missionary, the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, who, he says, "has been pronounced by competent authority to be the best Pali scholar in existence." Besides this author, and the late Hon. George Turnour, to whom he acknowledges himself under obligation, he says he "has not received much assistance from any European author." Much labor has been bestowed by European scholars on

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Indian Philosophy and Antiquities and History, and on Brahmaism; but the modern phases of Buddhism, as a sect, had been comparatively little studied, and but imperfectly reproduced in the literature of the West. With such resources, and in a field so little cultivated, a man of the perseverance and fidelity of Mr. Hardy could not fail to bring a valuable contribution to the history of Philosophy and the religious idea. And it is precisely in its historic character that the great merit of his work consists. He indulges little in speculation, or even criticism, but seeks for the most part to give us a faithful reproduction of the Singhalese documents, either in the form of a systematized abstract of their contents, or a strict translation. A good evidence of the great value of his labors is the fact that Mr. Koeppen, a few years later, very frequently cites him as a reliable authority wherever they touch upon a common topic. To many minds, indeed, such indorsement from "fatherland" is the highest testimonial an English production can receive.

The work of Koeppen is somewhat different in its scope, and exhibits the wide research, the patient labor, and the defective logic characteristic of German scholarship. In the first division of his work he discusses "The religious development of the Indians to the time of the appearing of the Buddha;" meaning the latest incarnation, distinguished commonly as Gotama Buddha. The second part gives the "Life of the Buddha, and the first period of the Buddhistic Church History to the time of the Council of Pâtaliputtra." His third part, and occupying the larger portion of the book, (pp. 211–614,) presents Buddhism in its modern phases of doctrines, dogmas, and form. Buddhism he takes as a development out of the earlier Brahminical religion; and Brahminism, a similar development out of an earlier religion, and the earliest religion of India, to be a native product of the speculative spirit of man, and no way indebted to tradition—an assumption we everywhere protest against. The traditions which Moses puts on record must have been for all earliest peoples an unforfeited inheritance; the idea of a God, and a God as world-creator, must have been a very positive thing. And to ignore this great fact, in attempting to give a history of the religious idea; to involve the world in moral night till Reason untagged and cautiously withdrew the curtains of the dawn; to paint the first man, with his inferior parts still buried in the moist earth, struggling to deliver himself from chaos, "womb of ancient night"—all this, which is the view so commonly found in the books, is, we take it, both false to the fact and totally unphilosophic. Buddhism proper he dates from the Buddhaship of Gotama, whom, therefore, he makes a founder in the same sense as Jesus and Mohammed. Consistently with this

theory, he discredits the traditions of the series of earlier Buddhas, reaching back to antiquity, and with equal consistency admits the doubt of the existence of even this founder, whose system he expounds, (p. 316.) His theory, then, of the origin and the ground idea of Buddhism, we need not say, we hold to be false; and failing to reach the idea which alone harmonizes the facts, he has room to push his skepticism beyond the bounds of a due circumspection; and then, to make for himself a ground for his theory, he is compelled to an illogical assumption.

One other exception we make, though on quite a minor point. All the world knows Gotama just as it knows Confucius and Zoroaster and Cicero. If now one should write a history of the transition times of the Roman Republic, and make no mention of Cicero, but only of Tully, it would look affected; yet we could tolerate this, for it was the fashion once in England. But if in the same history we saw no Cæsar, but only July, we should have to hunt our man and put on his old coat before we could recognize him; yet even this we could tolerate, for it is quite within the range of common learning that Cicero and Cæsar were only *cognomens*, while the family names were Tullius and Julius. Now we look in Koeppen for our Buddha, whom everybody calls Gotama, (or Gautama,) and, lo! there comes in his stead one Mr. Cakjamuni. He tells us, indeed, in one place, parenthetically, and, as it were, stealthily, "that it was only after he had assumed the yellow robe and entered the order of Ascetics, that the founder bore the *ghostly name* of Gotama, as a name of his *monastic profession*," (p. 85;) elsewhere, however, he writes almost uniformly *Cakjamuni*. We call this a little more than bad taste. If one was his family name, and the other his ghostly name, it must be remembered that he was Buddha only by virtue of his ghostly office. But passing these points, when we come to the great question of *what* modern Buddhism is in India, as a power of molding the character of so many millions of people, we have in this book an invaluable storehouse of fact.

Buddhism, as every great system that has a history, bears with it two currents of opinions: the one speculative, the other dogmatic and practical. The former has been delivered over by historians to the category of philosophy, as distinguished from religion; the latter embraces the doctrines essential to faith, and the laws of morality. These two, though clearly distinguishable, are yet so interwoven that they reciprocally interpret each other, or in an important degree throw light on passages otherwise obscure. Hence the author of the "Manual of Buddhism" has first exhibited, in great detail and completeness, the Indian cosmology. He describes in the first two chapters "the various worlds of the universe, their cycles of decay

and renovation, their terrene continents, their abodes celestial, their places of torment, and the men, the divinities, the demons, and the other orders of being by whom they are severally inhabited." And forbidding as this array at the opening of the book may appear to those who have some notion of the intricacies and obscurities, the profundities and puerilities of Indian philosophy, the author properly adds: "It is necessary to understand these matters, or the sequel will be an impenetrable mystery." He reserves to the ninth, and next to the last chapter, that which is properly the complement of these two, entitled, "The Ontology of Buddhism."

It does not lie in our way to attempt an exhibit of all the crude notions in the philosophy of this people. To do so would involve such an array of barbarous terms as to require a glossary to make it intelligible. One general feature only, with certain of its related doctrines, we shall notice briefly, to wit: They seem to have *lost from their philosophy all idea of the Absolute.* By consequence, such a philosophy can have no conception of the Infinite and the unconditioned; it sees only the phenomenal, the passing, the "ever-flowing" of the ancient Greeks; it recognizes everywhere only secondary causes, and nowhere an original first cause. Buddhism, then, with all its multitude of Buddhas, arriving in succession to the rank of "Supreme God," with its thousands of temples, and its multiplied thousands of priests, and its ceaseless array of worship, has fallen into a hopeless *atheism.* It has arrived at the same result to which the Grecian school had come before the advent of Christianity, and which the French school of the last century, starting from the sensationalism of Locke, and by legitimate process, accepted as the last development of philosophy. Thus Hardy, (East. Mon., p. 5:) "According to Buddhism there is no Creator, no being that is self-existent and eternal. All sentient beings are homogeneous. The difference between one being and another is only temporary, and results from the difference in their degrees of merit. Any being whatever may be a candidate for the Buddhaship." "The power that controls the universe is *Karma,* literally, *action.*"

This Karma he explains more fully in another place, (Man. Bud., p. 394,) and together with *Upadana,* which is the agency or *vis insita* by which "a new existence is produced," is much the same, so far as the occidental and the oriental conceptions correspond to each other, as our modern freethinkers would call the "laws of nature." The office of the Upadana is limited to the act of reproduction; the Karma controls both the operations of the Upadana and the entire existence of whatever is produced, whether sentient or inanimate. So far as it is a moral law, it is "the aggregate result of all previous

acts, in unbroken succession, from the commencement of existence, in the births innumerable that have been received in past ages." Further on (Id., p. 399) he says: "Inasmuch as Buddhism declares Karma to be the supreme controlling power of the universe, it is an *atheistic system.* It ignores the existence of an intelligent and personal deity. It acknowledges that there is a moral government of the world; but it honors the statute-book instead of the lawgiver, and adores the scepter instead of the king."

Koeppen (Die Relig. d. Bud. p. 228) says: "Buddhism knows no world-creator and no creation, no original cause, no world-soul, no eternal matter, in a word, neither a personal nor non-personal, *supramundane* nor *antemundane* world-principle of any kind whatever."

This conclusion, however repugnant to the ancient faith, and however abhorrent, as we must believe, to the popular faith, which, in spite of creeds, clings to the convictions of the heart, is the formula which their imperfect reasonings imperatively dictate—is the expression of that despair to which reflective minds have ever been driven under such a system. Having their stand-point in a sensational philosophy, and aided only by the inductive process, and that without the light which the genius of a Bacon has shed upon it, they can rise no higher than the phenomenal. They seem indeed to have been haunted sometimes with a vague suspicion that there might be "more things in heaven and earth than were dreamed of in *their* philosophy," but sadly resigned themselves to the impotent conclusions of their narrow sphere of vision. Thus they utter: "Buddha alone knows how the universe at first was brought into being; we mortals only know the proximate cause of a thing, and again the cause of that cause, and so on; in short, we comprehend only the succession of phenomena." (Koeppen, p. 266.)

The sum of their reasoning on this subject is an application of the law of their experience in matters of sense, to the problems which lie beyond sense. Thus: "We plant a seed; from the seed arises a tree; the tree bears fruit; the fruit incloses a seed; from the seed again springs a tree, etc.; or a bird lays an egg; from the egg is produced a bird; this bird again lays an egg; from this egg again is produced a bird, and so on. So is it also with the worlds." "Ask a Buddhist therefore, Whence the world? the answer is: 'From a former world which has perished.' 'And whence that former world that has perished?' 'From another still antecedent,' and so on, in endless series. Thousands and thousands of worlds are continually rising into existence and passing on to destruction, and yet so that the former ever bears in itself the germ of that which

succeeds it; that in the destruction it lays the ground for a renovation, as in the egg the germ of the bird, and in the bird the germ of the egg. So has it ever been and so will it ever be." (Koeppen pp. 266, 267.)

This is to us, truly enough, very lame reasoning. But where has a sensational philosophy, unless guided by the light of revealed truth, and stimulated by the hopes which such revelation alone affords, and we may say, without the assurance of the antecedent conviction, ever been able to rise from secondary causes to the conception of a great first cause, or, as we fondly repeat,

> "Travel through nature up to nature's God?"

To illustrate more fully how completely characteristic of the Buddhistic mode of thought is this short-cut induction, we give another specimen of the kind with which their works abound. "We see beings, whether animal or vegetable, come into the world one after another in the natural order of generation, (nacheinander zur Welt kommen, die einen aus einer Gebaermutter, die andern aus einer Knospe;) thence it follows that there is a succession of causes," (Aufeinanderfolge von Ursachen.) "There is, therefore, no God, no spirit, no eternal matter as an antecedent condition of the world. Only world-revolution, only the fact of motion and change, is without beginning, is eternal; but matter, every existence, every thing which is involved in this continual mixture of rise and decay, is not eternal, has a beginning. In other words, there is only an eternal *becoming*, no eternal *being*.* Worlds and their inhabitants roll on from eternity, are destroyed and reproduced again, and yet ever so that the destruction bears in itself the germ of the renovation." (Koeppen, pp. 229, 230.)

To such sad conclusions have they sunk, dragging down the ancient faith, obscuring the ancient traditions, and involving all, when they attempt to reason, in the darkness of universal despair.

The same general feature, the lack, namely, of the idea of the absolute, we see in their notions of space. They endeavor to illustrate their notion of the unmeasured breadth of space in a manner which we can hardly fail to pronounce puerile. They say: "There are innumerable systems of worlds, each system having its own earth sun, moon, etc. The space to which the light of one sun or moon

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* The German *Werden* and *Seyn*, happily express, like the Greek *γενέσθαι* and *εἶναι*, the philosophic distinction of the phenomenal and the absolute—a distinction clearly recognized in the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament, but which the English often fails to represent, as in the answer of the Saviour in John viii, 58: "Before Abraham was I am," *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγώ εἰμι.*

extends is called a *sakwala.* Each *sakwala* includes an earth with its continents, islands, and oceans, and a mountain in the center, called *maha meru*, as well as a series of hells and heavens. . . . Were a high wall to be erected around the space occupied by a hundred thousand *kelas* of *sakwalas* (each *kela* being ten millions) reaching to the highest of the heavens, and the whole space filled with mustard seeds, a *rishi* might take these seeds, and, looking toward any of the cardinal points, throw a single seed toward each sakwala, until the whole of the seeds were exhausted, but though there would be no more seeds, there would still be more sakwalas in the same direction, to which no seed had been thrown, without reckoning the sakwalas in the three other points." (Man. Bud., p. 2.) Here, then is an entire absence of any idea of space as an *a priori* conception, but only repeated additions of definite sections of space, till the mind is overwhelmed with the unmeasured vastness of the extent; but at the last they can only predicate unmeasured, or at most immeasurable, and in no wise infinite or unlimited.

In respect of time, their thought labors in the same shackles. To their greatest conception of duration they still fix limits. The great cycle of the mundane revolutions, they call a *maha-kalpa*, and they seek to express its measure thus. They first have a cycle called *asankya*, which term means properly indefinite. They give the following characteristic of its greatness: "Were all the mold of which the great earth is composed to be counted in molecules the size of the seed called *tibbatu*, or all the water of the four great oceans, in portions as diminutive as the rain-drop, the result would be a number of vast extent; but even this great accumulation would be utterly inadequate to set forth the years of an *asankya*." But this indefinite they notwithstanding define as consisting of the number of years expressed by a unit and one hundred and forty cyphers. Next they have the *antah-kalpa*, which is defined by "the time that the age of man increases from ten years to an asankya, and decreases from an asankya to ten years," the increments and decrements being imperceptible from one generation to another. Then eighty *antah-kalpas* make a *maha-kalpa*, the duration of which they labor to express by saying: "Were a man to take a piece of cloth" (referring to a particular kind of cloth fabricated at Benares, of unrivaled delicacy and untold price) "of the most delicate texture, and therewith to touch in the slightest possible manner, once in a hundred years, a solid rock, free from earth, sixteen miles high and as many broad, the time would come when it would be worn down by this imperceptible trituration to the size of a mung or undu seed. This period would be immense in its dura-

tion, but it has been declared by Buddha, that it would not equal a maha-kalpa." (Man. Bud., pp. 1, 2, 6, 7.)

They do not call this eternity, nor say that duration here finds its limit; but if it continues it returns into the same cycle, and is composed of such measurements. Such comparisons we call puerile; and even when a boy, and delighting in all things boyish, similar attempts, which we sometimes heard from the pulpit to illustrate and impress the great idea of eternity, never failed in us to revolt the imagination and belittle the idea it sought to enlarge. And so ever the attempt to measure the infinite by the finite of necessity limits it, and destroys the idea of the absolute.

We notice one other application of this general feature. We have already seen that it denies to the world a creative God, by necessity of denying the possibility of a first cause. Yet they *name* a "Supreme God." Buddha is to them the highest conception of a perfect being. If he cannot be Creator, what of his other attributes? When one inquires after his wisdom, "Does Buddha know all things?" the answer is, "Yes, he knows all things." And after some arguing *pro* and *con*, this universal *yea* comes down to this level: "The power of thought in Buddha is *exceedingly quick and subtle*. I will explain to you how it is, but I can only do it in a very inadequate manner. Thus, in one gela, or load of rice, there are 63,660,000 grains; each of these grains can be separately considered by Buddha in a moment of time." (Man. Bud., p. 386.) Such is their measure of omniscience.

Leaving these vagaries, we contemplate their system of morals with a profounder interest. What men may speculate on questions that lie beyond the sphere of human action is a matter of indifference, is nothing, compared with that irrevocable law which binds the moral destiny of the race. And if that law be a law of justice and no mercy, a law of works and no grace, a law of self-redemption and no divine redeemer, and in a world where the variant elements, cold with heat, light with darkness, good with evil, love with hate, joy with sorrow, life with death, mingle in perpetual strife; to see a human soul thrust forward into such a world, and instantly find in himself a law in his members warring against the law of his mind, and then, abandoned of all higher powers, to wrestle with his fate under the inexorable decrees of such a law, has ever seemed to us one of the sublimest pictures the imagination could draw. And it is precisely in such a world, and under such relations, the contemplative Buddhist finds himself. Without an atonement, he is left to "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling." And just in proportion to his merit or demerit does he rise out of this

moral commotion toward a heaven of rest, or sink into a hell of deeper abasement and viler labors. And the ultimate gaol to which he hopes to arrive, if possibly the balance of added merits, through the vicissitudes of many generations, may at length qualify him therefor, is *the eternal repose of annihilation.*

But systems of morals, though they may attract now and then an earnest man toward the standard they fix, have little power, apart from divine grace, to bring up the level of the mass. And the practical result here is, that the populations of India and Eastern Asia have sunk to a depth of corruption which outvies, in the enormity of its revolting details, the description attempted by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, and makes the picture there drawn by the sacred pencil one of faint colors compared with the reality. Vice is systematized by their institutions, and most in those forms which are most destructive of all that is holy in the family relation, institutions handed down in form and manner from ancient Babylon, just as delineated by "the father of history" in his day. No *maiden*, for example, can have place or respect in society. Her condition disqualifies her. The Roman youth at the proper age was, with public solemnities, invested with the *manly gown*, and charged with the responsibilities of citizen; from member of the family he became member of the state. The Indian maiden, in like manner, in the midst of the solemnities and hilarities of their great annual festival, in the precincts of their most venerable temples, is invested with a new moral condition. She is thus withdrawn from the sacred seclusion of the family and constituted a part of society.[*]

But a religion has not only doctrines, it has also form. Doctrines are imposed by authority of revelation or reason; rites and ceremonies are for the most part of human growth. The true religion has had indeed certain ceremonies prescribed by divine authority, corresponding to the ideas it wished to inculcate; but ever as error has obscured or supplanted the truth, superadded ceremonies have varied still in accordance with the prevalent idea of the system. And it is probable that the same ideas, planted in the soil of our common humanity, and having similar facilities of growth, would

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[*] Herodotus describes the custom in detail (i, 199) precisely as it flourishes at the present day; and the author of the Book of Baruch, (vi, 42, 43,) written probably at Babylon, has daguerreotyped the same picture, and that with an expression which reveals the heart of the times. The one, he says, who has already received "the challenge in the name of the goddess," and is thus enabled to return from her dedication, saying with Rhenie in Theocritus:

παρθένος ἔνθα βέβηκα, γυνὴ δ' είς οἰκον ἀφέρπω,

"Reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

ever clothe themselves in similar forms, and develop similar institutions, modified only in their non-essential features by local circumstances. With this law for our guide, what a field is opened here for the study of the "comparative anatomy" of institutions! We turn to this first book of Mr. Hardy's; the title strikes us as sounding quite Christianly, at least Romish; it is on *Monachism.* We open to the table of contents, and note the titles to some of the chapters. We have The Laws and Regulations of the Priesthood; Names and Titles, (that is, of the Priests;) The Noviciate; Celibacy; Poverty; Mendicancy; The Diet; Sleep; The Tonsure; The Habit; The Residence; Obedience; The Exercise of Discipline; The Order of Nuns; Modes of Worship, Ceremonies, and Festivals; Meditation; Ascetic Rites and Supernatural Powers, etc. Koeppen has a chapter entitled "Das Moenchthum und die Regel," with a similar array of topics. A framework here, lo! which might receive Romanism bodily for its filling up and garniture, and find it perfectly fitting.

So complete, indeed, is the correspondence, even in the detail of ceremonies and customs, that, when the Romish missionaries penetrated the East, the multitudes there accepted with facility the religion they taught as only a form of Buddhism, differing in nowise in its essential features, but made attractive, perhaps, by some few novelties and higher exhibitions of art. The missionaries equally recognized the resemblance, and lifting up their hands in holy amazement, the pious fathers saw no way to account for the strange phenomenon but to suppose that the devil, of pure malice and mockery, had taught his children to imitate and caricature the forms of the true faith. It would be interesting to trace out this parallelism in detail, but our present limits forbid.

One other point we notice. When shall this grand drama end? When shall this awful pall, that has enveloped the world so long in the blackness of darkness, be lifted and let in the light of truth? What hope out of these ages of despair? Faith in the divine oracles gives assurance that this kingdom of error shall cease; that the cry of the voice which John heard: "Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen," shall be realized to the world. We have also a profane prophecy to place by the side of the sacred, which cannot fail to interest us, whatever may be its value. These profane prophecies and sibylline oracles have been the puzzle of the ages, and, if authentic, are certainly some of them marvelous phenomena. But while in some cases, as of the Aztecs and Sandwich Islanders, we may doubt the authenticity of the alleged predictions, may doubt the correctness of the reports which bring from their traditions a

popular expectation of a new religion to be introduced just at the time it so happened, yet here is a case well ascertained and unambiguous. It has been among the traditions of the Buddhists, and on record probably from the time of Gotama, if not earlier, that Buddhism shall expire in five thousand years from its origin.* Mr. Hardy, dating from the era of Gotama, indulges the earnest hope that long before that period shall be completed, the Lord will "cut short the work in righteousness." But carry up the history of the system to the date we have assigned it, and we are startled with the agreement of the prediction with the present prospect. That date is in the near neighborhood of three thousand years before Christ, a little more or less. We are now, therefore, rapidly approaching the point which, according to its own claims, rounds the allotted period of this huge system of iniquity, and what do we see? Within the last few months the decisive blow has been struck in the East which unseats this "mother of harlots and abominations of the earth" from her ancient throne. With the cession of her prerogatives, now accomplished, it only remains for the Church to enter in and possess the gates of the enemy. The waters of the Jordan are now stayed; the armies of Israel are beginning to enter; the faithful Joshuas are beginning to lead the solemn march around the Jerichos; and we may hope that before another century shall elapse the mighty sound of the blast of the rams' horns, and the confusion of tumbling walls, and the shout of victory, shall resound through the four quarters of the globe.

Art. VI.—MYSTICISM.

Le Philosophe Inconnu. Reflexions sur les Idees de Louis Claude de Saint Martin, le Theosophe suivies de Fragments d'une Correspondence inedite entre Saint Martin et Kirchberger. Par L. Moreau. Paris: Lecoffre & Co.

Du Mysticisme au xviii. *Seicle.* Essai sur la Vie et la Doctrine de Saint Martin, le Philosophe Inconnu. Par E. Caro, Professeur agrige de Philosophie au Lycée de Rennes. Paris: L. Hachette.

The title of the last named brochure will most probably excite some astonishment in the minds of our readers. "What!" they will exclaim, "Mysticism in the eighteenth century? and in France too? Mysticism in a country where the historians of philosophy had led us to expect naught but dry analysis, sensationalism, and atheism—in fact, the very antipodes of that aspiration after the infinite,

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* Hardy, Man. Bud., p. 430; Koeppen, p. 327.

which is the characteristic of true Mysticism?" Yes, so it is; strong as the current rolled which carried along a whole society down the vortex of moral destruction, the reaction was almost as powerful; and if the names of Voltaire, Dupuis, Diderot, and Boullange sounded "as familiar as household words" to the young France of 1789, there were not a few more sober individuals who learned better doctrines from M. de Bonald, M. de Maistre, and the illustrious man whom we would now introduce to the friends of metaphysical speculation, Louis Claude Saint Martin, *le philosophe inconnu.* We have just said better doctrines; but from the remarks which, in a former number of this journal, we were led to offer on the author of *les soirées de Saint Petersbourg*, it will appear quite evident that we are not prepared to indorse the whole system of philosophy *he* constructed, including his denunciations of Lord Bacon and his advocacy of ultramontanism; the sequel of the present article will show no less clearly, we hope, that the theories of M. de Saint Martin are open to objections of the strongest character; at the same time some of the truths of Christianity these men undoubtedly held, and they claim the great merit of having entered a protest in favor of spiritualist doctrines at a time when such a course was neither popular nor even safe.

In opening his biography of M. de Saint Martin, M. Caro remarks, with much truth, that a revival of Mysticism was quite in the order of things toward the end of the eighteenth century. "Superstition is the last creed of an unbelieving age. . . . It seems that in virtue of a fatal law man only shakes off the yoke of belief to fall under the sway of illusions." When Plotinus proposed his dreamy metaphysics to the Grecian world, the popular faith had long ago lost all the hold it ever had on the mind of the community, while the dogmatism of the great schools of moral philosophy had expired under the subtle criticism of Carneades and Ænesidemus. It was in a precisely similar juncture that Saint Martin appeared and preached to the followers of Baron d'Holbach the essential doctrines of man's fall and of the necessity of a Divine expiation. No age that ever boasted of its intellectual progress was so much taken up with all the extravagances of false prophets and the quackeries of designing knaves. Swedenborg, Cagliostro, Mesmer, the Count de Saint Germain were committing themselves by impostures which rendered miracles (if the adepts might be believed) a matter of every-day occurrence; *illuminism*, under various forms, seemed to be throwing down deep roots in Germany, Switzerland, and England. The books of Jacob Bœhm had long been supplying an unwholesome food to minds over-excited by the events which agitated the political world; M.

d'Eckartshaüsen, Kirchberger, Baader on the other side of the Rhine, Lavater at Zurich, Dutoit-Membrini at Lausanne, and a host more besides, were busy explaining the symbolism of numbers; while the Berlin *aufklärer*, headed by Weishaupt, professor of canon law at Ingoldstadt, entertained designs of a far more ambitious nature; their aim being the regeneration of Europe and the destruction of Christianity, which they considered only as a last form of idolatrous worship. These *aufklare*, we see, were in fact the allies of the Encyclopedists, as far as the work of destruction went; but the creed they wished to erect on the ruins of Christianity was a modified form of Neo-platonism, while the analytical formulas of the Condillac school ended in the deification of matter. M. Caro has sketched this extraordinary ebullition of Mysticism so completely in the first chapter of his work, that the readers should study it with the utmost care; at the same time he has done it so forcibly, that we rise from the perusal of his remarks with the sensation of a man who has been witnessing the mighty throes which precede some awful convulsion of nature.

The wisest of all modern Mystics, Louis Claude de Saint Martin, was born January 18, 1743, at Amboise, in Touraine. The particulars of his life are not of that exciting character which render the biography of a man like Voltaire, Calvin, or Byron more interesting than the best constructed novel. Instead of mixing with the outward world, he spent most of his time in meditating upon the great problem of man's connection with the unseen; his voluminous correspondence was chiefly on points of psychology or of recondite illuminism; and, in short, the history of his career is more valuable as a psychological study than a detail of facts and events; but that it is interesting no one will deny, and it forms an important part in the development of modern philosophy. The first book which had some influence on his mind was Abadie's *Art de se Connoitre Soi-même*, a work still esteemed as one of the best manuals of devotion ever written. He read it with the greatest care, commented it, almost learned it by heart; and he has acknowledged himself that his first acquaintance with the Protestant divine marked in his own existence the decisive hour which revealed to him his aspirations, his destiny, and the nature of his vocation. After having finished his college education, and prepared himself by the study of the law for the various posts at that time open to the ambition of young noblemen, Saint Martin, then twenty-two years old, all of a sudden manifested a desire to enter the army. His parents had destined him for the bar, but the squabbles of the law-courts were not congenial to his imagination, full of dreams of harmony and general good-will, and

he never could overcome the disgust which he felt at the mere idea of some of those long-lived cases upon which barristers rejoice, and which have ended in these latter days with the "ever memorable Jandyce *v.* Jandyce." At first sight the military profession does not seem much more favorable to quiet meditation and to philosophical studies; but we must bear in mind that the life of a young officer was at that time chiefly spent in garrison duty; and where active service is only the exception, the somewhat erratic life of a soldier is perhaps the most convenient to study men and to analyze character. Vauvenargues and Descartes were both soldiers, nor do we find that the nature of their occupations prevented them from pursuing those metaphysical researches for which they are both so justly celebrated. The protection of the Duke de Choiseul had secured to M. de Saint Martin a commission in the regiment of Foix, then quartered at Bordeaux. It was in that city that our young Mystic made the acquaintance of the Portuguese Jew, Martines Pasqualis, whose whimsical exploits in cabalistic and theurgic lore had obtained for him a high reputation among the illuminati. But M. de Saint Martin never felt any sympathy for that sort of Mysticism which finds its expression in tricks of legerdemain and feats similar to those recorded by Philostratus in his life of Appolonius Tyaneus. "Is all this necessary," said he to Pasqualis, "if we wish to know God?" The idea that the knowledge of the Infinite can only be reached through means which are, after all, only impediments in the way—that idea struck him as contrary to the intention of God himself; he therefore gradually shook off the influence of Martines Pasqualis, although we perceive that, especially in his earlier works, he still retains some traces of the teaching which he derived from the Jew, his first master. For the same reason we can easily understand that M. de Saint Martin always declined having any idea in common either with Mesmer or Cagliostro; he dreaded nothing so much as manifestations which appeal to the senses; it was his mind, his soul, that he wished to bring under the influence of truth, not his eyes nor his ears. Swedenborg, even, whose system he studied with the utmost care, seemed to him deficient in his appeals to the intellectual part of our nature. During a stay of several years at Lyons he gave lectures on the views of modified Mysticism which he had been led to entertain, and he wrote the book entitled *Des Erreurs et de la Vérité*, one of his best works.

We must notice that although opposed to all the outward signs which the generality of *illuminati* made use of to symbolize their doctrines, M. de Saint Martin had already, at that early stage, formed, respecting the mystical meaning of numbers, some strange concep-

tions borrowed from Pythagoras, Proclus, and Jamblichus. Anxious to devote himself altogether to his beloved pursuits, and to spend his life entirely in the search of truth, he threw up his commission and came to settle in Paris. That period of his life is marked by his intercourse with the celebrated mathematician Lalande, whom he had wished to see on some point connected with the philosophy of numbers. The interview must have been a singular one. Let our readers fancy a scientific conversation between two men, the one of whom adopted as his starting point the most exalted Mysticism, while the other reduced life to a mathematical formula from which God was completely eliminated. "Lalande, with the most presumptuous levity," says Saint Martin, "refused to consider even for a moment the first mystical theorem on the revelation of numbers." There could be no sympathy on the part of the cold-hearted algebraist for a man whose whole powers, so to say, were concentrated in his affections.

Marshal Richelieu had promised to introduce M. de Saint Martin to Voltaire, that incarnation of the eighteenth century; but the philosopher of Ferney died within a fortnight of the intended visit. Jean Jacques Rousseau was a man with whom our Mystic had many points in common. We find constant references to him in M. de Saint Martin's works, both published and unpublished, and these references contain very just appreciations of that gifted but often most mistaken writer.

We have not yet alluded to the event which may be said to have stamped the Mysticism of M. De Saint Martin with its distinguishing features. The doctrines of our *philosophe inconnu* were characterized by no peculiarity strong enough to separate them from all the numerous systems of philosophy traceable to Neo-platonism or illuminism up to the year 1791, after an excursion in England, in Italy, in Germany, where he became acquainted with the celebrated William Law, and with the Prince Galitzin, who was also entirely wrapped up in metaphysical studies. M. de Saint Martin had visited Strasburgh, and was still pursuing his theosophic education, so he calls it, when a friend of his, Madame Boechlin, translated before him a page from the writings of Jacob Böhn. This served at once to drive his thoughts into a new channel; Boehm became for him the great guide to the spiritual life, the prophet, the wise man, the teacher, *par excellence;* and in order to make himself master of all the riches (!) contained in the works of the Gorlitz shoemaker, behold M. de Saint Martin, at the age of fifty, sitting down to learn German! Soon after another circumstance added to his happiness in giving him a bosom friend, who altogether sharing his views and his aspira-

tions, kept up with him during seven years a correspondence, in which the abstrusest problems of Mysticism are discussed, though, we must add, not often solved. Kirchberger, Baron Liebisdorf, was quite a man of Saint Martin's own stamp, and his voluminous epistolary communications with the *philosophe inconnu* are so much the more precious, because when Mystics address themselves to the common herd of mortals, they never, if we may so say, go beyond the threshold of the sanctuary. If we would understand fully the meaning of this system; if we would know their *esoteric* doctrines, we must study, when we can obtain them, documents such as the one we are now alluding to, letters only intended for their intimate friends, and the motto of which might be most appropriately "*Procul este, profani.*"

How strange a contrast! The outward world is rent by the convulsions of war; empires, dynasties, creeds, are all swept away to the wind by the torrent of a mighty revolution; the reign of terror is inaugurated, the strains of La Marsellaise are driving to the frontier the whole population of France; and yet M. de Saint Martin can forget all this, and go on quietly studying Jacob Bœhm's *Signatura Rerum*, or with long disquisitions to his friend Kirchberger on the subject of the *ternary*, the *quaternary*, and the various hierarchies of angels. Not without danger, notwithstanding, at a time when every person conspicuous by merit of any kind, was placed on the list of suspected individuals. M. de Saint Martin could hardly escape notice, and a warrant even, it seems, was actually issued against him; fortunately no *commissaire de police* ever put it into execution. On several occasions his letters to Kirchberger, and those of Kirchberger to him, had been stopped by the *comité de suretée générale*, as containing sentences of doubtful meaning, and, therefore, of an anti-revolutionary character. Such was the construction given to mystical lore by the sans-culottes of 1793, and yet M. de Saint Martin had sent in his adhesion to the new government. Although a noble by birth, he had not emigrated; he had mounted guard at the prison of the Temple, where was detained the unfortunate dauphin, son of Louis XVI., and, three years before, his name had been placed by the National Assembly on the list of candidates for the post of tutor to that young prince. The same list included Berquin, Sieyès, Condorcet, and Bernardin de Saint Pierre; a curious combination, forsooth, and one which strikes us by the contrast of character which it suggests. When M. de Saint Martin heard that his own name figured among the candidates, he said, "The idea of such a choice can have proceeded only from a person who does not know how perfectly unqualified I am for the situation."

We now come to one of the most important events in the life of M. de Saint Martin. The Convention, after the death of Robespierre, seemed anxious to illustrate, by some beneficial institution, a name which had become a terror to the country. The Normal schools, established in Paris for the purpose of training an efficient band of teachers in the various branches of literature and science, were a result of that thought. The decree of Brumaire 3d, year III of liberty, a decree subsequently modified and improved by Napoleon, reconstituted throughout France the whole system of public instruction. Each district was to name one pupil, who, after having been sent to the metropolis with the view of undergoing a course of regular and systematic training, would return home sufficiently qualified to impart to others the principles and the doctrines sanctioned by government as being the most adapted to the intellectual wants of the country. M. de Saint Martin was selected as a pupil by the district of Amboise; he went to Paris, and there engaged with the *idéologue* Garat that celebrated discussion in which he exposed and refuted so brilliantly, so completely, the sensationalism which had been the only acknowledged system of philosophy professed in France since Condillac. Some persons claim for M. de Bonald, some for M. Royer Collard, the honor of having first shaken and thrown off the yoke imposed by Condillac. It is to M. de Saint Martin that this merit belongs; he entered the earliest protest against the degrading doctrines of the Encyclopedic school, and the revival of spiritualism in France may be properly said to have began at the *Ecole Normale*, Paris, on the 9th Ventôse, year III, when *le philosophe inconnu*, before two thousand persons assembled, rose to refute the professor whose lessons he came to attend.

"The course of lectures delivered by Garat," says M. Moreau,* "was nothing else than a perpetual hymn in honor of Condillac, an ingenious paraphrase of the *Traité des Sensations*. It is difficult to meet with a disciple more submissive, more disinterested than Garat; he goes so far in his reference that he never brings forward a thought which might be called his own; the shadow of an original idea frightens him. I read on every page conventional phrases on the liberty of inquiry on the state of reason, happily freed from the yoke of tradition and authority; but it seems as if the lecturer asserts that independence only for the purpose of sacrificing it to *one* individual, a voluntary victim; he crowns himself with all the flowers of an elegant rhetoric, to commit intellectual suicide on the altar of the master." Unfortunately, it very often happens that the best causes are compromised by the foolishness of the persons who

* Réflexions sur les idées, pp. 41, 49.

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* Réflexions sur les idées, pp. 41, 42.

system; it is connected with all, and this it is which renders it more solid, more irrefutable." Garat's sophism must strike our readers as ingenious, but it is nothing else. The professor does not admit that the spirituality of the soul is a condition of its immortality, and he does not consider immortality as the basis of morality; in other terms, he is quite inclined to deny both.

M. de Saint Martin's refutation of Garat, begun in the sitting of Pluviose 23, was resumed and concluded during the next meeting, Ventôse 9. It is a complete refutation both of the professor's own teaching, and of the sensational philosophy in general. The *philosophe inconnu* opens fire by showing the fundamental error of reducing all our faculties to the intellect alone. The *arbitrii libertas*, mentioned by Lord Bacon, is quite distinct from the *illuminationis puritas;* for if they were both identical with one another, then the *intima sympathia* of the English philosopher would have no meaning whatever. No sympathy can exist where there are not at least two definite and separate objects. After having proved the necessity of the moral sense in man, M. de Saint Martin goes on to demonstrate the divine origin of language, against the opinion maintained by Condillac, and exposing the contradictions which the illogical Garat indulges in. He concludes by showing that matter cannot have the power of thought. It was, of course, impossible for the professor of ideology to allow his opponent's refutation to pass unnoticed; he made a long reply, which, however, is scarcely anything else but a new development of the theory of sensation reproduced with increased zeal. This elicited in its turn a counter reply, which closed the controversy for the present. Garat, our readers will remember, had declined for himself the epithet materialist, while, at the same time, he professed a complete antagonism to spiritualist doctrines. "If," said Saint Martin, "you repudiate both matter and spirit, you must at all events let us know to what principle you commit the government of our thought, for such a principle must necessarily exist."

"As for me, I could not be satisfied with so equivocal a position, and therefore I shall be bold enough to lay your own mind open before you. You have thoroughly studied neither of the conflicting systems, and at the first glance you have felt yourself estranged from both; from materialism, because you could not find there any demonstration sufficiently solid to satisfy your judgment; from spiritualism, because the sacerdotal robes and all the obscurities which surround them formed a sort of obstacle in your way, and stopped you in your search after truth."

The whole of the final reply opposed by the *philosophe inconnu*

to the materialist reveries of Garat is conducted in the spirit of perfect good temper, which is apparent in the above extracts; but it is, we repeat, a most searching critique of the favorite metaphysical doctrine of the eighteenth century, and Saint Martin has the great merit of having, before Royer Collard and M. de Bonald, rehabilitated in France the nobler tenets of spiritualist philosophy.

The *bataille Garat*, as it was called, is almost the only occasion on which M. de Saint Martin mixed himself with the strife and contention of public life. When the institute, founded by article 298 of the constitution of the year III, proposed for the subject of the metaphysical prize the question of the influence which signs have on the formation of ideas, the *philosophe inconnu* once more entered the lists, and most triumphantly too, against the disciples of Condillac. With these two exceptions he spent his time in the quiet and solitary studies he was so fond of, and although the system he propounded is essentially erroneous in more than one respect, it is nevertheless certain that a great many subjects discussed by him have very seldom been examined with the same power. M. de Saint Martin died at Aubray, near Paris, October 13, 1803, (22 Vendemiaire, year XII.)

It would be quite useless to examine in detail here all the works published by M. de Saint Martin. Supposing, besides, time and space allowed of our undertaking this critique, we are not quite sure whether our readers would have patience enough to venture, under our guidance, throughout all the obscurities of a Mysticism in which the Kabbala, the fancies of Plotinus or Jamblichus, and the *Ars Magna* of Raymond Lull are combined and quintessentiated. We shall therefore merely name as our author's best works *Le Ministere de l'Homme-esprit*, (Paris, an. xi, 8vo.;) *l'Homme de Desir*, (1st edition, Lyons, 1790; last edition, Metz, 1802, 2 volumes 12mo.;) *L'Esprit des Choses*, (Paris, an. viii, 2 volumes 8vo.) *L'Homme de Desir*, as M. Caro remarks, is written in a sort of Oriental style, and seems sometimes as an imitation of the book of Revelation; but many parts of it are extremely remarkable, and breathe the spirit of genuine piety. The *Ministere* and the *Esprit des Choses* display on the part of the author extraordinary powers of imagination; they are, if we may so say, the epics of the infinite. Besides his printed works, M. de Saint Martin left behind him a mass of papers, including a species of autobiography, entitled *Mon Portrait Philosophique et Littéraire*, a copy of which is in the hands of the author of the present article. It has been long contemplated to publish in a couple of small volumes a selection from the writings of the *philosophe inconnu;* a work of that kind, carefully prepared,

and containing nearly the whole of the portrait above mentioned, would be very acceptable, as giving us the most remarkable passages in the production of a man who, although a giant in intellect, is perfectly unreadable, taken continuously. For the analysis of his system, no better study can be recommended than that of the two works whose titles are prefixed to our own humble *résumé,* and we shall borrow from them, without any scruple, the few concluding remarks we have to offer.

In appreciating a metaphysician the very first thing we should do is to inquire into his method. M. de Saint Martin more than once insists upon the fact that experience and demonstration are the two principles from which he starts, but it is quite clear that such is not the case; all Mystics are more or less liable to mistake speculation for certainty, and hypothesis for truth; M. de Saint Martin did the same. He observed, it is true, but with the help of his own preconceived ideas; and he connected together the most eccentric analogies as so many facts logically deduced from one another, and placed beyond the reach of controversy. The soundest part in his theory is perhaps his description of men. He proves the duality of our nature, and from the very opposition which exists between the senses and the soul, he deduces, very logically, the Christian doctrine of the fall. To all this part of the philosopher's ontological system we must give unqualified praise. Whenever he refutes materialism, he is excellent, and his discussion is characterized by frankness, energy, and good temper. Unfortunately, the explanation which M. de Saint Martin proposes of creating in general is a first step in the wrong direction. *Emanation,* in all the force of the Neo-platonic term, is the system he adopts, and we know where emanation leads. "The soul of man," says Saint Martin, "is a thought of the God of creation." Elsewhere he adds that when we think, speak, or act according to the law of our being, we are "God-thought, God-spoken, God-acted." Spinosa never clothed pantheism in stronger language. Man being the thought of God imprisoned in a portion of matter, it follows that man is the *résumé,* the compendium both of the Creator and of creation; he is the microcosm. Here we fall into all the follies of illuminism and of hermetic philosophy. The analogies between the head and salt, the chest and sulphur, the abdomen and quicksilver are explained to us, and the modern Paracelsus tells us that if anatomy has not discovered these analogies, it is because it has strayed from the right path.

If we now approach the question bearing upon natural religion and theology, properly so called, we find M. de Saint Martin busy with them all, discussing them, solving them, as he thinks, and as

usual, mixing together error and truth in the most extraordinary manner. His demonstration of the existence of God is a masterpiece, and will seem the more remarkable if we think for a moment of the circumstances amid which it was propounded. At the time when the *Esprit des Choses* and the *Ministere de l'Homme-esprit* were published, the *à posteriori* proofs were the only argument admitted. Fénélon, Clarke, and Benardin de Saint Pierre had rendered them popular through the astonishing beauty of their style; and Voltaire himself, the very genius of sarcasm, professed to be a *cause-finalier*, as he said. Kant alone, with M. de Saint Martin, discarded this demonstration. Arguments *à posteriori* are insufficient to make us believe in God, because they cannot lead us to understand him. The naturalist may prove from them the eternity of nature quite as easily as the spiritualist can demonstrate the existence of God. What an egregious tissue of contradictions we put up with. In order to prove the existence of a being who is certainty itself, the essence of love, liberty, knowledge, and life, we take as our arguments substances which are mere phenomena, impassible, captive, unintelligent, and whose end is death. After all our demonstrations we have only proved the existence of an abstract cause; we shall then be required to show that this cause is the supreme perfection, *the* goodness, *the* life. The proofs *à posteriori*, in short, can only serve to establish the existence of an indeterminate force far different from the God whom we adore.

M. de Saint Martin's doctrines on cosmology are tainted with pantheism quite as much as his psychology. When required to state what is the essence of matter, for instance, he spiritualizes it so as to remind us very forcibly of Berkeley's ultra-idealism; physical nature, according to his opinion, is only a vain illusion, which conceals to us the real being, the world of pure essences. The *philosophe inconnu* thus goes on to deny the existence of matter; the principle of resistance is the only one which he admits in connection with it, and resolving the idea of bodies into some indescribable substance, invisible, immaterial, he ends in confounding the physical laws with those which rule the spiritual world. We need not stay to prove that here, as elsewhere, extremes meet; the Mystic, who repudiates the existence of matter, helps on the materialist in his work of destruction; for as long as we attempt to prove, as long as we believe that there is no difference between the substances which produce the phenomena of thought and those from which the phenomena of extent derive, it signifies very little whether we call it *matter-spirit* or *spirit-matter;* the equation remains absolutely the same.

Contemplation, quietism, the endeavor after a complete absorption by, or identification with God—such is the *résumé* of M. de Saint Martin's code of ethics, a code which he holds in common with all the Mystics. As a consequence of his doctrine that the nature of man is exclusively and entirely spiritual, he considers the body as being, so to say, foreign from ourselves, and something quite distinct, quite independent, but to which we are fettered for a time. "Death!" exclaims the philosopher, "is there such a thing as death? Has not death been destroyed? The fight has been fought, the victory won; we have now only to receive the conqueror's laurel-branch from the hands of the last enemy, Death! Is it the death of the body which the wise man reckons as something? But this is only an occurrence in time. What relation can there be between an occurrence which takes place in time and the man created for eternity?" This is a noble thought nobly expressed; but here again M. de Saint Martin soon splits against the rock; the worship of the present life is the folly of materialism; we may say, on the other hand, that an undue contempt for it is the fault of Mystic metaphysicians. They not only despise riches, dignities, honors, all the vanities which Christians are taught to consider as little worth; they also trample under foot the noblest effusions of the heart, and by sacrificing them to their fond dream of a transfusion of themselves into the Supreme Being, they create a kind of stoicism which, although not devoid of grandeur, is, at the same time, fraught with dangerous consequences.

We come to M. de St. Martin's sociology, to his doctrines on government and on politics. We might expect to find them resolving themselves into a system of theocracy, founded upon the great substratum upon which he erects the whole of his theory, namely, the emanation of the creature from the Creator, constituting the *at-oneness* of the one with the other. Count Joseph de Maistre, we have already seen elsewhere, had also dreamed of the regenerating of modern society by means of a theocratic government; but between the systems developed by the two thinkers there are many differences which must strike even the casual observer.

The publicists of the eighteenth century had endeavored to substitute for the account given in the book of Genesis a sort of romance, according to which mankind lived in a state of nature anterior to the organization of society. They framed fanciful accounts of a wild man wandering amid primeval forests, then associating with another individual as wild as himself. How will society spring from this association? Shall we say, with Hobbes, that it resulted from the subjection of the weak to the strong? Is violence, is phys-

ical force the principle of society? But what force has produced force can also destroy, and the system falls immediately to the ground. Or rather do we admit, with Rosseau, the mutual compact as the primary law of society? Then, in the first place, the voluntary association agreed upon by a whole nation is an impossibility, because there can be no unanimity in the manner of considering the motives and conditions of the new compact. It is perfectly absurd to expect to find something fixed in a world where everything is transitory. In the next place, let us suppose that a unanimous consent can be arrived at, we would ask whether man is at liberty, whether he has a right to make such a compact? Decidedly not; he cannot dispose of his rights. His rights, did we say? They are not his, since there is not one of them which he can alter at his will. If, therefore, he makes over to another man a right which he has not, namely, that of disposing of himself, he frames a compact which is void, and which binds neither chiefs nor subjects.

From what we have just been saying, it follows that M. de Saint Martin will have nothing to do with a republican government; the sovereignty of the people, the authority of a law proceeding from the vote of an assembly, the delegation of the national will to a few individuals—all these several points he firmly repudiates. As religion is the principle of all society, so pure theocracy, according to the *philosophe inconnu,* is the exclusive form of true government. The *Word* is the only true legislator. In Him is the basis of every species of property, the sanction of every law. Every government which does not bear the sign of the *Word* is illegitimate and false. An hereditary monarchy, consequently, is quite as unsound as a republic, because if the latter is derived from the idea of a compact, the former proceeds from that of physical force, of compulsion. Founded upon the idea of man's return to a state of absolute holiness, M. de St. Martin's government scheme is a complete chimera as applied to the politics of this sublunary world; but it contains, nevertheless, many just ideas; and certainly when the Saviour comes to be recognized as "King of kings and Lord of lords," theocracy will *then* be the only possible form of government. So far then are the most striking analogies between the political systems of Count de Maistre and of M. de Saint Martin; but here the similarity ceases. The Mystic gives shape to a dream which cannot be realized; the Ultramontanist finds God's representative in the pope—the supreme type of sovereignty, the sole power from whom all powers on earth are derived. M. de Saint Martin's εις κοιρανος is at the same time both a priest and a king. M. de Maistre places the king under the direct dependence of the Vatican, and establishes

between the temporal and the spiritual powers that relation which Pope Gregory VII. longed to inaugurate. Our readers can see now how deeply tinged with Mysticism was Count de Maistre; let them examine successively the *Considerations sur la Révolution Française* by the same author, and our philosopher's *Lettre sur la Révolution,* they will then be convinced, we trust, that if M. de Saint Martin has not obtained, as a writer and a thinker, the world-wide reputation which the author of the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg* still enjoys, it is only because there is about his systems a want of practicability which prevents them from being applied to the actual state of society.

In the remarks we have now brought to a conclusion, it has not been our object either to rehabilitate Mysticism or to write a panegyric of M. de Saint Martin; but it often happens that philosophical theories containing large portions of error have also an element of truth, which ought to be impartially stated whenever we meet it. Such is the case, we firmly believe, with that excellent man, *le philosophe inconnu.* There is nothing to astonish us in the fact that, in an age like ours, when the Christian religion seems to be passing through one of the severest ordeals it has ever been tried with; there is nothing extraordinary, we say, in the fact that some sensitive minds, weary with logomachies and endless discussions, are once more attracted by the tenets of Mysticism. But for this very reason it is imperative upon us to let those persons know what Mysticism really is. Compared with the words of unerring wisdom, how unsatisfactory are the theories of illuminism and the dreams of theosophy!

Art. VII.—EXPOSITION OF ISAIAH LII, 13-LIII.

INTRODUCTION.

The Prophet Isaiah holds a very prominent place among the writers of the Old Testament. By the Jews he was counted one of the greatest of the prophets, and the estimation in which he was held by the immediate disciples of Jesus Christ is shown by their frequent quotations from his prophecies.

All through the history of the Christian Church this prophet has been viewed as most clearly announcing the Messiah in the form and under the circumstances in which he appeared, and as declaring the great doctrine of an atonement through vicarious suffering.

Augustine[*] tells us, that when after his conversion he applied to Ambrose to know which of the sacred books he should read in preferance to all others, Ambrose replied Isaiah, because it was he who had more openly declared the Gospel and the calling of the Gentiles.[†] And in his City of God, speaking of Isaiah, he says: "In his precepts against sin, and his prophecies of tribulation for offending, he forgets not to proclaim Christ and his Church more fully than any other, so that some call him an evangelist rather than a prophet."

The Hebrew name of the prophet (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ) denotes the help or salvation of Jehovah, a name suggestive of the comforting words he uttered, and the glorious visions he saw in the future of the Church of God.

We know but little of the times in which this prophet lived, except what we can gather from his own writings. The title of his prophecies speaks of him as the son of Amoz, and he tells us that he saw his prophetic visions in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. He lived during a most eventful period of his nation's history, and seems at times to have acted a prominent part in the direction of public affairs. He probably held the prophetic office for a term of more than sixty years.

The book of Isaiah is divided by critics into different sections. In the first six chapters we have an account of the prophet's ministry under Uzziah and Jotham. That portion from the seventh chapter to the fourth verse of the tenth belongs to the time of Ahaz. During the reign of this ungodly king Isaiah was the bold denouncer of sin, although his reproofs and warnings were unheeded. From the tenth chapter to the close of the thirty-fifth, the prophecies relate to the Assyrian invasion in the time of Hezekiah. During the reign of the good Hezekiah the prophet was treated with great respect, and took an important part in directing public counsels.

The section from the thirty-sixth chapter to the thirty-ninth, is a narrative of the Assyrian invasion. In this the prophet gives an account of the destruction of the Assyrian army and the death of Sennacherib. Here too the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah are told.

The prophecies which commence at the fortieth chapter are to be regarded as the most interesting and important in the Old Testament. The section commencing with this and closing with the sixty-sixth constitutes the second part of the book.

In this section we have the most full and satisfactory references to the promised Messiah, sometimes described in his humiliation, and again as crowned with the glory of his spiritual kingdom. So

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[*] Aug. Con. ix, 15.

[†] De Civitate *Dei*, xvii, 29.

fully are many of the circumstances in the life and death of Christ foretold in this portion of the prophecy, that rationalistic criticism has attempted to disprove its genuineness. *

Lowth thinks this was written in the latter part of the reign of Hezekiah. We are more inclined to agree with Hengstenberg, that it was written in the reign of the wicked Manasseh. At that time Isaiah, far advanced in life and taking no part in public affairs, seeing his country almost wholly given over to idolatry, in his inspired vision is told both of a temporal and spiritual deliverance. And he passes from the local and temporary things that affect his own nation and times to such as are to pertain to the whole race. The promised Deliverer is not alone for the Jew, but the kings of the nations are to do him reverence. He is to be the deliverer of the race from the bondage of sin.

This is the proper Messianic portion of Isaiah. True, in several of the preceding chapters there are predictions of a coming Messiah. but nearly all that is related in the first thirty-nine chapters has reference to the times in which the prophet lived.

In our exposition of the passage we have placed at the head of this article, it is our design to give the results of the latest criticism, though we shall probably notice the views of some of the earlier commentators.

This passage is almost complete in itself. We have set before us the humiliation and the exaltation of the servant of God. In chapter lii, 13–15, the prophet represents Jehovah as speaking; and these verses form a brief outline of what is more fully expressed in the next chapter.

EXPOSITION.

LII, 13. *Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high.*

יַשְׂכִּיל, the imperfect Hiphil of שָׂכַל, is rendered by Hengstenberg very much the same as in our version. He says this form always means, *to act wisely*, never *to be successful.* But Gesenius gives the latter meaning. Compare its use in Joshua, i, 7, 8; 2 Kings, xviii, 7; Jer. x, 21; Prov. xvii, 8. Lowth renders it, *shall prosper.* The parallelism, which is in the form of a climax, sustains his translation.

14. *As many were astonied at thee, (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men.)*

The primary idea of שָׁמֵם is that of silence. Hence, *to be struck*

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* This point is fully discussed by Hengstenberg, Christology, vol. 2.

dumb, to be amazed, Hengstenberg translates the expression by *were shocked at thee.*

מֵאִישׁ. The preposition מִן, which is here in combination with the noun, is constantly used in Hebrew to denote the comparative degree. Hengstenberg says it serves to designate the distance "from man," "from the sons of men," so that the servant of God is no more a man. He illustrates his view by the third verse of the following chapter, and by Psalm xxii, 7: "I am a worm and no man." We think the more common rendering preferable. The verse is to be taken in connection with the following: the clause, "his countenance was so much more disfigured than any man's," is parenthetical, and gives the reason for the astonishment. מִשְׁחַת, properly *defacement,* is here used the abstract term for the concrete. It seems to refer not alone to the bodily appearance of the servant of God, but also suggests the travail of his soul; for the *marring of his visage* we may consider as caused by that bitter agony which he endured, and which forced him to exclaim: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death."

15. *So shall he sprinkle many nations. The kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see: and that which they had not heard shall they consider.*

כֵּן is used as the correlative of כַּאֲשֶׁר in the preceding verse; so that the two clauses would mean, As many would be shocked at his appearance, amazed at his sorrows, so would many be sprinkled by him; as many would look upon him as the most abject of men, so, on the other hand, would kings in reverence keep their mouths closed before him. יַזֶּה, which is the Hiphil of נָזָה, is variously rendered by the different versions and commentators. The Septuagint translates it by *ϑαυμασονται, shall express admiration at him.* Gesenius renders the passage, *so shall he cause many nations to rejoice in himself.* He says the sense of *to sprinkle,* that is, *to make expiation for,* does not so well accord with the parallel verb שָׁמַם. The Vulgate has it *asperget.* The Syriac and Luther's version also correspond with the English translation.

There can be no doubt that the verb נָזָה is often used in the sense of *to sprinkle,* especially with the blood of atonement and the water of purification. The passage, we think, means my servant, the Messiah, shall make expiation for many nations. How suggestive of the priesthood of the Son of God is this expression: "He shall sprinkle many nations." The priest before the Jewish altar sprinkled water

and blood as typical of a purification that could be secured only through Christ.

Kings shall shut their mouths *before him*; עָלָיו might better be rendered on account of him. The whole expression occurs elsewhere as a sign of reverence and submission. *For that which had not been told them shall they see, and that which* they had not heard *shall they consider.* Here is given the reason for the reverence which kings shall pay him. Paul quotes this passage in Rom. xv, 21, to justify his preaching the Gospel where it was before unknown.

These few verses form a brief outline of what is more fully expressed in the following chapter:

Chapter liii, 1. *Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?*

The word שְׁמוּעָה is properly a feminine form of the passive participle, meaning, *what is heard.* Hengstenberg translates the clause, *Who believes that which we hear,* and connects it with the last verse of the preceding chapter, thus: "Those understand what they formerly did not hear; Israel, on the contrary, does not believe that which they have heard."

The expression זְרוֹעַ יְהוָֹה, *arm of Jehovah,* is often used as a symbol of strength; thus, in Psa. x, 15: "Break thou the arm of the wicked;" and Psa. xcviii, 1: "His holy arm hath gotten him the victory." Evidently in this place the manifestation of the power of Jehovah in the person of his Son is referred to. In Romans i, 16, the Gospel is called δυναμις θεοῦ, the power of God.

In this verse the almost universal unbelief of the Jews is intimated.

Those who are reluctant to explain this passage as referring to Christ, are compelled to give it a very forced construction. Thus Rosenmuller considers the heathen to be here represented as saying, "Had we merely heard and not seen, no one of us would have believed;" and in the expression, "To whom is the arm of Jehovah revealed?" he supplies what he deems an ellipsis, and then paraphrases the passage so as to make it mean, "To whom was ever such a manifestation of Jehovah's power made known as we now see in this wonderful change in the affairs of the Hebrew nation?"

2. *For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.*

The subject of the proposition is taken from the preceding chapter, the servant of God, who shall grow up before him כַּיּוֹנֵק *as a*

sprout. The figure suggests the origin of the Messiah from a family once noble but now decayed. Here the Messiah, in his humiliation, is compared to the hardly noticed shoot, to the *root out of dry ground;* that can have no strength or beauty. On the other hand, in Ezekiel xvii, 23, the Messiah in his exaltation is described as "the highest branch of the high cedar," which God will plant, and which becomes a goodly cedar "in the shadow of whose branches dwell all fowl of every wing."

3. *He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.*

חֲדַל, rendered in our version "rejected," is more properly *forsaken.* Hengstenberg translates the clause, "Despised and most unworthy among men."

וִידוּעַ חֹלִי, *and acquainted with grief,* is literally *acquainted with disease.* The passive participle which is here employed implies intimate knowledge. This may refer not only to Christ's own sufferings, (for חֹלִי may mean *pain* as well as disease,) but also to his acquaintance with every form of disease in his ministry of love here on earth.

מַסְתֵּר is the Hiphil participle. The clause may be rendered, *as one covering his face from us.* Others translate it, *as one from whom men hide their faces.*

With the first rendering there is a very clear reference to the leper; thus, in Lev. xiii, 45, it is said that the one on whom is the plague of leprosy shall have his mouth and beard covered. There is a passage in the Talmud where the Messiah is described as sitting before the gates of Rome among the sick and leprous. And when the question is asked, What shall the Messiah be called? the answer is, The leper.

How forcibly this clause suggests the great doctrine of the atonement; for by the law the leper was considered the living embodiment of sin.

4. *Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.*

These sufferings were endured, not on account of his own sins, but for ours. How clearly in this verse the vicarious sufferings of the servant of God are pointed out. In the Septuagint חֳלָיֵנוּ is rendered by ἁμαρτίας. In Matt. viii, 17, the passage is evidently quoted, but the reading is ἀσθενείας. Alford, after alluding to the

views of those who make the passage refer merely to the healing of bodily infirmities, or to the exhaustion which our Lord felt on account of these cures being long protracted into the evening, says: "But I believe the true relevancy of the prophecy is to be sought by regarding the miracles generally to have been, as we know so many of them were, lesser and typical outshowings of the great work of bearing the sin of the world which he came to accomplish; just as diseases themselves, on which those miracles operated, are all so many testimonies to the existence and types of the effect of sin. Moreover, in these his deeds of mercy, he was touched with the feeling of our infirmities. Witness his tears at the grave of Lazarus, and his sighing over the deaf and dumb man, Mark vii, 34. The very act of compassion (as the name imports) is *a suffering with* its object; and if this be true between man and man, how much more strictly so in His case who had taken upon him the whole burden of the sin of the world, with all its sad train of sorrow and suffering."*

נָגוּעַ is the passive participle, and denotes *smitten*, as with some blow or plague from God. Thus in Psa. lxxiii, 14: "For all the day long have I been *plagued*." And in 2 Kings, xv, 5, it is said of Uzziah, who was smitten on account of his sin, "The Lord *smote* the king so that he was a leper unto the day of his death." The leprosy, which was considered to be sent from God upon the subject as a punishment, was termed נֶגַע. And in this verse נָגוּעַ is translated by Jerome by *leprosus*. Some of the Jews inferred from this passage that the Messiah would be a leper.

In the expression מֻכֵּה אֱלֹהִים, *smitten of God*, the genitive denotes the efficient cause. The ellipsis to be supplied to complete the sense is *on account of his own sins.*

5. *But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.*

The word מְחוֹלָל is the passive participle of חָלַל, *to pierce*. The Syriac renders the passage, he *was slain on account of our sins*. There is no need of departing from the primary meaning of the word, so that he may read the passage, *he was pierced on account of our transgressions.*

The term מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו, literally, *the chastisement of our peace upon him*, means, the punishment by which our peace is secured was inflicted upon him. Some have translated the expression by *instruction of our peace was upon him*, which takes away the idea of the vicarious sufferings of Christ.

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* See Alford's New Testament, *in loco*.

נִרְפָּא־לָנוּ. Literally, *it is healed to us*. By his wounds we are healed. As disease was employed for sin, healing is used to denote deliverance from sin.

6. *All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*

In this confession of sin the prophet gives the reason why the servant of God took upon himself the burden of human sorrows, and the penalty of human guilt. We all, as sheep without a shepherd, had gone astray. A very appropriate figure, often employed to denote the desolateness of the soul without God's protecting care. Thus, in 1 Kings xxii, 17: "I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd."

The verb פָּגַע, which in Kal means to *strike against*, is used in the Hiphil, the form here employed, to denote *to cause to fall upon any one.* עֲוֹן in this passage, as in others, means the punishment due to sin. The meaning is not that the servant of God became a sinner, but he endured the penalty of sin.

7. *He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth.*

The prophet in this verse describes the manner in which the servant of God bore his sufferings. The first clause is variously rendered. Lowth translates: *It was exacted, and he was made answerable; and he opened not his mouth.* Hengstenberg: *He was oppressed, and when he was plagued he does not open his mouth.* The Septuagint: *And he, on account of his affliction, opened not his mouth.*

The expression, *he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter*, seems to point out the servant of God as the true paschal lamb. The Baptist calls him, in John i, 29, "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." And in 1 Peter, i, 17, we are said to be redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." The second comparison, *as a sheep before her shearers is dumb*, most forcibly portrays Christ's patience under his sufferings.

8. *He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken.*

The different expositions of this verse are worth noticing. The general idea is apparent, namely, that the Servant of God meets with a violent death as the termination of his sufferings for the sins of the people. Hengstenberg renders the first clause: "From oppression and from judgment he was taken, and his generation who can think it out." Lowth has it: "By an oppressive judgment he was taken off, and his manner of life who would declare?" Nordheimer translates it: "For the sake of oppression and condemnation he was seized, and who considered his race?" The Septuagint reads: "In his humiliation his judgment was taken away, and who shall declare his generation?"

In this passage it is a matter of some difficulty to decide upon the meaning of דּוֹר. Our version has it *generation*, in which sense it is generally used. Gesenius translates it here by zeitgenossen, *cotemporaries*. Lowth, to sustain his translation of it, *manner of life*, quotes from the Mishna and Gemara of Babylon, where it is said that before any one among the Jews was punished for a capital crime, it was proclaimed, "Whoever knows anything about this man's innocence, let him come and make it known."

Some have thought that by דּוֹר, his posterity, the number of his spiritual descendants was meant. Others that the humanity of the Messiah and his miraculous conception were referred to.

We think the whole clause may be freely rendered: For the sake of a judicial condemnation he was seized, and who considered his manner of life?

מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֶגַע לָמוֹ, *for the transgression of my people the stroke was upon him.* לָמוֹ consists of the preposition and the plural suffix, though it is sometimes employed as a singular; so it is here renered in the Syriac version also by Jerome. Hengstenberg concedes that it has a plural meaning, but renders the whole clause so as to save it from a rationalistic interpretation: "For the transgression of my people whose the punishment;" that is, upon whom the punishment would have fallen.

The Septuagint reads as though from a MS. which had לַמָּוֶת instead of לָמוֹ, and there the passage reads, For the transgression of my people he was led to death. This is the reading adopted by Lowth and many others. The only argument by which it is defended is, that Origen so quoted the passage in controversy with a Jew, and from that it is inferred that this was the reading of the Hebrew text in his day, which is not a necessary conclusion. We prefer to translate the passage as it is in our version. Enough passages to prove the use of לָמוֹ in the singular might be cited.

9. *He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.*

יִתֵּן is here used either impersonally, as we often find the Hebrew verb, or a subject, as עֲמִר, may be supplied. Hengstenberg says the meaning of the passage is: "Men fixed for him the ignominious grave with criminals; by the providence of God he received the honorable grave with the rich, and that for the sake of his innocent suffering."

We learn from Josephus that criminals were not only ignominiously executed, but an honorable burial was not allowed them. Thus in Antiq., b. iv, ch. 8, sec. 6, we read: "He who has blasphemed God shall, after having been stoned, be hung up for a day, and be buried quietly and ignominiously." Maimonides also says: "Those who have been executed in accordance with the decree of the court are not buried in the graves of their ancestors; but there are two graves appointed for them: one for the stoned and burned, the other for the beheaded and strangled."

The different expositions of this verse require notice. Lowth translates the first clause:

> "And his grave was appointed with the wicked;
> But with the rich man was his tomb."

This reading views בְּמֹתָיו, which our version renders *in his death*, as a plural noun with the pronominal suffix. Whereas our version considers it composed of the preposition בּ, with the noun מוֹת and the suffix. Gesenius considers it as the plural of בָּמָה, a sepulchral *mound*, like the Greek *βωμός*.

עָשִׁיר Gesenius makes to mean the *ungodly*, and thus the clause forms a more perfect parallelism than either Lowth's translation or our version. Martini translates it: "They prepared for him a sepulcher with the wicked, a sepulchral mound with the violent." Hengstenberg gives it: "And they gave him his grave with the wicked, and with a rich man in his death." But he considers *in his death* equivalent to "after he had died;" and to sustain his view quotes 1 Kings xiii, 31: "In my death you shall bury me in the sepulcher."

עַל should be rendered *although*, and not *because*, as in our version.

10. *Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.*

As the copula and suffix are both wanting in הֶחֱלִי, it is hardly in accordance with the Hebrew idiom to translate the first clause as our version has it. Gesenius in his translation makes it: "It pleased Jehovah to grievously wound him." Hengstenberg says: "The Lord was pleased painfully to crush him."

Our version renders אִם־תָּשִׂים אָשָׁם נַפְשׁוֹ, "when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin." Now תָּשִׂים can be made either in the third singular feminine, or in second singular masculine of the imperfect. If we make it third singular feminine the clause would read, "when his soul hath given restitution," which answers better to the context. Our Lord says, in John x, 12: *ὁ ποιμην ὁ καλος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀυτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπερ τῶν προβάτων;* and in Matt. xx, 28, *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀυτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*—expressions which seem to have this very passage in view.

He shall see his seed. זֶרַע here refers to the followers of the Messiah. Thus, in Matt. ix, 2, Christ addresses the paralytic by *τέκνον*; and in John xiii, 33, his disciples as *τεκνία*. The apostles counted those who had been converted through their ministry as their spiritual children. "The thought," says Hengstenberg, "is this: That in the sacrificial death of the servant of God there will be an animating power; that just thereby he will found his Church."

He shall prolong his days, is to be taken, not as referring directly to long life, but to that life which is imparted to his spiritual children. "Because I live," says Christ, "ye shall live also."

The pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. חֵפֶץ in the last clause corresponds to חָפֵץ in the first. As it pleased the Lord to bruise him for the salvation of sinners, so it is his pleasure that sinners should be justified through his vicarious sufferings, and this salvation shall go on successfully under his dominion.

11. *He shall see the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.*

The מִן in מֵעֲמַל denotes the cause, and the passage may be rendered, On account of the suffering of his soul, he shall see, he shall be satisfied. There is an ellipsis of the object after the verbs, which may be readily supplied. מִן is here used very much as *διὰ* in Heb. ii, 9: "We see Jesus crowned with glory and honor, *διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου*, on account of his suffering death."*

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* See Stuart's Commentary on Hebrews, *in loco.*

By his knowledge shall my righteous *servant justify many.* בְּדַעְתּוֹ means by their knowledge of him, the suffix וֹ being an objective genitive. *For he shall bear their iniquities.* עֲוֹנֹתָם is rather to be rendered by the *punishment* due to their *iniquities.*

12. *Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong: because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.*

The expression אֲחַלֶּק־לוֹ בָרַבִּים Gesenius translates by "I will assign him a portion among the great." Hengstenberg renders it: "I will give him a portion in the many." Lowth's is nearly the same: "I will distribute to him the many for his portion."

This first clause has reference to the ultimate triumph of the servant of God.

Because he hath poured out his soul unto death, הֶעֱרָה the Hiphil. The expression implies that he gave himself up voluntarily to death.

And he was numbered with transgressors. In Luke xxii, 37, our Lord, referring to this passage, says: "This that is written must yet be accomplished in me: And he was reckoned among the transgressors." And in Matt. xxvi, 56, after reproaching those who came to seize him, for coming with swords and staves, he says: "But all this was done, that the Scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled."

And he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors. Here Christ is represented as the offering for sin, and as interceding for transgressors not by prayer alone, but also by his atoning sacrifice. "His vicarious suffering," says Hengstenberg, "is pointed out as the ground of his intercession." What was foreshadowed under the old dispensation by the high priest, who went in with blood to make intercession for the sins of the people, was fulfilled in Christ. In Heb. ix, 24–26, Christ is represented as having entered heaven to appear before God for us, to remove the punishment due to our sins by the sacrifice of himself. So in Rom. viii, 34, it is said: "It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."

TRANSLATION:

הִנֵּה יַשְׂכִּיל עַבְדִּי	LII	Behold my servant shall prosper,
יָרוּם וְנִשָּׂא וְגָבַהּ מְאֹד׃		He shall be exalted and magnified and raised very high.
כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמְמוּ עָלֶיךָ רַבִּים	14	As many were shocked at thee—
כֵּן־מִשְׁחַת מֵאִישׁ מַרְאֵהוּ		For his countenance was more disfigured than any man's,
וְתֹאֲרוֹ מִבְּנֵי אָדָם׃		And his form more than the sons of men—
כֵּן יַזֶּה גּוֹיִם רַבִּים	15	So shall he sprinkle many nations.
עָלָיו יִקְפְּצוּ מְלָכִים פִּיהֶם		Kings shall keep silence before him;
כִּי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־סֻפַּר לָהֶם רָאוּ		For what had not been told them they see,
וַאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבּוֹנָנוּ׃		And what they had never heard they perceive.
מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ	LIII	Who hath believed what we hear?
וּזְרוֹעַ יְהֹוָה עַל־מִי נִגְלָתָה׃		And the arm of Jehovah, to whom hath it been revealed?
וַיַּעַל כַּיּוֹנֵק לְפָנָיו	2	For he grew up before him as a sprout,
וְכַשֹּׁרֶשׁ מֵאֶרֶץ צִיָּה		As a shoot out of a thirsty soil.
לֹא־תֹאַר לוֹ וְלֹא הָדָר		He had no form nor comeliness;
וְנִרְאֵהוּ וְלֹא־מַרְאֶה וְנֶחְמְדֵהוּ׃		And when we saw him, there was no beauty that we should desire him.
נִבְזֶה וַחֲדַל אִישִׁים	3	Despised and forsaken of men,
אִישׁ מַכְאֹבוֹת וִידוּעַ חֹלִי		A man of suffering and acquainted with disease;
וּכְמַסְתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ		As one that covered his face from us
נִבְזֶה וְלֹא חֲשַׁבְנֻהוּ׃		We despised him and esteemed him not.
אָכֵן חֳלָיֵנוּ הוּא נָשָׂא	4	Yet for us he endured grief,
וּמַכְאֹבֵינוּ סְבָלָם		And for us he bore sorrow.
וַאֲנַחְנוּ חֲשַׁבְנֻהוּ נָגוּעַ		But we regarded him smitten,
מֻכֵּה אֱלֹהִים וּמְעֻנֶּה׃		Stricken of God, and afflicted.
וְהוּא מְחֹלָל מִפְּשָׁעֵנוּ	5	He was pierced for our transgressions,
מְדֻכָּא מֵעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ		Crushed for our iniquities;
מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו		The punishment for our peace was upon him,
וּבַחֲבֻרָתוֹ נִרְפָּא־לָנוּ׃		And by his wounds we are healed.
כֻּלָּנוּ כַּצֹּאן תָּעִינוּ	6	We all like sheep have gone astray;
אִישׁ לְדַרְכּוֹ פָּנִינוּ		We have turned, every one to his own way.
וַיהֹוָה הִפְגִּיעַ בּוֹ אֵת עֲוֹן כֻּלָּנוּ׃		But Jehovah cast on him the iniquity of us all.

נִגַּשׂ וְהוּא נַעֲנֶה	7	He was oppressed and he was afflicted,
וְלֹא יִפְתַּח־פִּיו		Yet he opened not his mouth.
כַּשֶּׂה לַטֶּבַח יוּבָל		As a lamb that is brought to the slaughter,
וּכְרָחֵל לִפְנֵי גֹזְזֶיהָ נֶאֱלָמָה		And as a sheep that is dumb before her shearers,
וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו׃		He opened not his mouth.
מֵעֹצֶר וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לֻקָּח	8	For oppression and condemnation he was seized.
וְאֶת־דּוֹרוֹ מִי יְשׂוֹחֵחַ		And who considered his life?
כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים		He was cut off from the land of the living,
מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֶגַע לָמוֹ׃		For the transgression of my people was he stricken.
וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־רְשָׁעִים קִבְרוֹ	9	They appointed for him his grave with the wicked;
וְאֶת־עָשִׁיר בְּמֹתָיו		With the ungodly his sepulcher;
עַל לֹא־חָמָס עָשָׂה		Though he had done no wrong,
וְלֹא מִרְמָה בְּפִיו׃		Nor was there any guile in his mouth.
וַיהוָה חָפֵץ דַּכְּאוֹ הֶחֱלִי	10	Yet it pleased Jehovah grievously to wound him.
אִם־תָּשִׂים אָשָׁם נַפְשׁוֹ		When his soul hath made an offering for sin
יִרְאֶה זֶרַע יַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים		He shall see his seed, he shall prolong their days,
וְחֵפֶץ יְהוָה בְּיָדוֹ יִצְלָח׃		And the pleasure of Jehovah shall prosper through him.
מֵעֲמַל נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה יִשְׂבָּע	11	Because of the travail of his soul he shall see and be satisfied.
בְּדַעְתּוֹ יַצְדִּיק צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי לָרַבִּים		My servant, the righteous, shall justify many, through their knowledge of him,
וַעֲוֹנֹתָם הוּא יִסְבֹּל׃		For the punishment of their iniquities shall he bear.
לָכֵן אֲחַלֶּק־לוֹ בָרַבִּים	12	Therefore the many will I give him for his portion;
וְאֶת־עֲצוּמִים יְחַלֵּק שָׁלָל		And the mighty shall he share for his spoil.
תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱרָה לַמָּוֶת נַפְשׁוֹ		Because he hath poured out his soul unto death,
וְאֶת־פֹּשְׁעִים נִמְנָה		And with the transgressors was numbered,
וְהוּא חֵטְא־רַבִּים נָשָׂא		And atoned for the sins of many,
וְלַפֹּשְׁעִים יַפְגִּיעַ׃		And shall make intercession for transgressors.

Art. VIII.—ROME *vs.* LIBERTY.

Historical Outlines of Political Romanism. London: Chapman & Hall.
Delineation of Roman Catholicism. By Rev. Charles Elliott, D.D. New York: Carlton & Porter.

Our free institutions, the unbounded liberty enjoyed by us, the liberal tone of public opinion, the ease with which the Americans, as a people, are dazzled by splendor and mystery, however tawdry may be the first, or empty the last, and above all, and more than all, the continual struggle of party for power, regardless of principle, which is going on in our midst, and in which both sides are but too ready to pander to the prejudices, or further the ambitious designs of any clique or set in order to "gain votes"—all these considerations offer facilities to Rome for the advancement of her prosperity, which she has not been slow to see or backward to take advantage of. Of course she does all in the most innocent manner. *She* has no desire for aggrandizement. *She* is not ambitious. *She* desires only the advancement of the glory of God. She *has* designs, to be sure; but all her designs are said to be in accordance with the immutable laws of the Church. That is to say, while Rome in her liberal moments declares that all the old oppressive and superstitious laws are mere dead letters upon her code, they are actually revived so soon as the power for their execution is attained. It becomes therefore a matter of interest to discover what laws Rome really has upon her code, so conveniently to be revivified, and how these laws affect those republican institutions which it becomes us all to defend and preserve.

What has Rome attempted and in part accomplished within this half century? In Spain she has struggled hard within eighteen years to revive the bloody horrors of the Inquisition, and this consummation has been hindered solely by the cautious fears of the government. In Germany, encouraged by the quarrels between people and rulers, she has nearly succeeded in reviving the long obsolete laws prohibiting "mixed marriages," a regulation of the Romish Church, forbidding, under ban of excommunication, the marriage of Catholics with Protestants, and shrewdly holding such marriage, when performed by Protestant ministers or by the civil law, *invalid in the Church.* In Austria, by the terms of the new Concordat, she has obtained enlarged temporal and spiritual power for her priesthood, agreeing in return to become the spy and agent of an oppressive and illiberal government. In France, though, under Louis

Philippe, the Jesuits, caught in an intrigue to obtain the mastery of the educational system, were banished, Louis Napoleon has found subservient tools in that priesthood, whom he has flattered *ad nauseam*. In Tuscany and stupid and priestridden Naples she has revived the noisesome dungeons of the Inquisition, and has tortured men and women for daring to read the Bible. In Rome itself she robbed a poor persecuted Jew of his child, on the puerile excuse that it, when an infant in arms, was clandestinely baptized by a treacherous servant maid, and thus converted to the true faith. In Mexico her priests, finding themselves a real political power, have persistently overthrown every liberal and wise government which has been established, for fear of a curtailment of their vast temporal possessions and privileges; and they have now reduced that country to a condition of anarchy which is hopeless unless it ends in the entire expulsion of the priesthood. And in the United States, at present evidently the scene of her most vigorous efforts, she has steadily but subtilely battled for extension of power, by demanding the centralization of church property in the hands of her bishops (mostly aliens;) a division of the state school funds, (for which the talk about exclusion of the Bible from the public schools is only an ingenious blind;) for the elimination, in several instances, of "objectionable passages in school *histories*;" for authority for the Roman Catholic bishops to annul marriage contracts existing between members of their Church, independently of the civil law, which properly reserves such right to itself,* and for divers other special privileges, seemingly slight, but really the groundwork for greater demands.

The Church of Rome has a special and, by its rulers, acknowledged *code*, called the *Canon Law*. This lies before the world an open book, and we are able therefore to lay its provisions before our readers, without fear that the adherents of Rome will deny either their authenticity or authority. In addition, however, to the *Canons*, the Romish Church rejoices in a never-failing *source* of law. Its head, the pope, speaks as an infallible lawgiver enlightened by the Holy Spirit; and his commands, decrees, and decisions, given not only in ages past, but even in our own degenerate days, are and must be binding upon all "true believers." That they *are* received at this day with as implicit faith as was accorded to them centuries ago, is abundantly proven by the avidity with which the comparatively recent decision of the "Sovereign Pontiff," concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, has been heralded abroad

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* Such a demand was brought before a San Francisco court in 1855, and very properly hooted out.

through Europe and America, and the readiness and respect with which that ridiculous farce has been received by "the faithful." The Pope's words are oracular. When he speaks, *infallibilis e cathedra docens*, his promulgations are binding as law upon the adherents of "the Church." "*Roma locuta est, res disjudicata est*," says a worthy eminent in the Church. And the Romish priests of our days only repeat his injunction: "If Rome has spoken the matter is decided."

The additions made to the law code of the Church of Rome by means of this papal oracle are, as may be imagined, not few. The canon law is itself quite voluminous, but the decrees added to this original law book by the bulls, letters, and allocutions issued in later times from the papal chair, are quite as numerous. It is to the canon law, and the papal bulls, allocutions, etc., then, that we must refer to obtain an insight into the laws and doctrines which govern the Romish Church, and on which she can, when occasion serves, conveniently fall back. For easier and more systematic reference, we will take first such of the laws and tenets of the Church of Rome as, having a general application, may be said to be the foundation upon which all her vast assumptions of temporal power and authority are built up.

1. *All men are, by divine command, placed in subjection to the pope.*

This principle of the Church of Rome, from which, as from a center, radiates the entire mass of papal commands and laws, is distinctly set forth in the canonical code, *Extrav. Comm., L.* 1, *Tit.* 8, *Cap.* 1, containing the celebrated bull of Pope Boniface VIII., dated 1302, (*Unam Sanctam.*) At the close of this document it is said: "We declare and determine it a principle absolutely necessary to salvation, that all human beings are subject to the pope." That the power here assumed by the popes over mankind in general is, according to the canons, a *divine* right, or one granted from the Lord, is asserted in many places. We will only mention two: In chapter 13, X, *de Judic.*, it is said: "We (the pope) rely not upon a mundane but a divine order, (*constitutio*,) because our power is not of man but of God." And in the before-mentioned bull, *Unam Sanctam*, we read: "This (papal) power is not human, or of man, but rather *divine*, because given by the Lord to Peter, and settled upon him and his successors when the Saviour said to Peter: 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind,' etc. Therefore, whosoever opposes this power, ordained of God, opposes the will of God." That the divine origin and force of this power is still maintained by the pope, and

by the prelates of the Church, and believed in by all *real* Catholics, we might cite innumerable passages to prove. But this quotation from Brownson's Review for January, 1854, which had at that time the sanction of His Eminence † John of New York, will suffice here. It is there said: "All history fails to show an instance in which the pope, in deposing a temporal sovereign, professes to do it by the authority vested in him by the pious belief of the faithful, generally received maxims, the opinion of the age, the concession of sovereigns, or the civil constitution and public laws of Catholic states. On the contrary, he always claims to do it by the authority committed to him as the successor of the prince of the apostles, by the authority of his apostolic ministry, by the authority committed to him of binding and loosing, by the authority of Almighty God, of Jesus Christ, King of kings, Lord of lords, whose minister, though unworthy, he asserts that he is, or some such formula which solemnly and expressly sets forth that his authority is held by divine right, by virtue of his ministry, and exercised solely in his character of vicar of Jesus Christ on earth. To this we believe there is not a single exception. Wherever the popes cite their titles, they never, so far as we can find, cite a human title, but always a divine title. Whence is this? Did the popes cite a false title? Were they ignorant of their own titles?" Mr. Brownson says in another place in his *Review*, (January, 1855:) "There is in our judgment but one valid defense of the popes in their exercise of temporal authority in the middle ages over sovereigns; and that is, that they possess it by divine right, or that the pope holds that authority by virtue of his commission from Jesus Christ, as the successor of Peter, the prince of the apostles, and visible head of the Church. Any defense of them on a lower ground must, in our judgment, fail to meet the real points in the case, and is rather an evasion than a fair, honest, direct, and satisfactory reply. To defend their power as an extraordinary power, or as an accident in Church history, growing out of the peculiar circumstances, civil constitution, and laws of the times, now passed away, perhaps forever, may be regarded as less likely to displease non-Catholics, and to offend the sensibilities of power, than to defend it on the ground of divine right, and as inherent in the divine constitution of the Church; but even on the low ground of policy we do not think it the wisest in the long run." Is not this plain enough?

2. *The canons of the Church are of* EQUAL AUTHORITY *with the Holy Scriptures.*

This we learn from the *Can. Violatores*, *Caus.* xxv, *qu.* 1, where we read: "He who voluntarily and consciously trangresses against

the canon laws is accursed of the Holy Ghost, at whose inspiration they were dictated. A transgression of this kind is plainly a species of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost." And in a letter of Pope Nicholas I. to the French bishops, he decided for them, and the Church in general, that "the papal decrees are of equal authority with the canon laws."

3. *The pope sits in judgment upon all, but cannot himself be brought to judgment.*

This principle of the Church of Rome is also found in the bull *Unam Sanctam*, where we read: "The highest ecclesiastical power is not amenable to human laws or human judgment. Even should he swerve (*deviat*) from the right; which is said by the apostle, 1 Cor. ii, 15: 'But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man.'" And, *Distinct.* 40, *Can. si Papa*, it is expressly said: "Let no mortal dare to accuse or arraign the pope, for he judgeth all mankind, yet cannot himself be judged by man."

4. *What is ordained or decreed by the pope may not be disputed or rejected.*

This law, closely analogous to the last mentioned, is asserted in the papal law code, *Can. Patet*, *Caus.* ix, *qu.* 3, where we read: "It is clearly impossible that any one dare object to or contradict the decrees of the pope." And also, *Can. Nulli*, *Caus.* xxv, *qu.* 2, where it is said: "If any one slight or disparage the dogmas, commands, prohibitions, appointments, or decrees of the apostolic chair, let him be accursed." And, *Can. Nulli*, *Caus.*, xxv, *qu.* 1: "It is not allowed to any one to transgress the decrees of the papal chair."

5. *The ecclesiastical law is superior to the civil law.*

This is that most important canon of the Church of Rome which has, in all ages, and particularly in our times, occasioned so many quarrels between Church and State. For in all cases of collision between the papal law and the civil law, Roman Catholics have grounded their opposition to the latter in that their conscience would not permit them to prefer the laws of the land to those of the Church, because the latter are divine in their nature and origin. The law asserting this principle is found in the canons, *Distinct* x, *Can. Lege Imperatorum*, where it is said: "The imperial laws must not be brought in use in matters of Church litigation, and particularly when the *two* laws are at variance. For the imperial law is not above the ecclesiastical, but the ecclesiastical is above the imperial. The right of the Church cannot be canceled or revoked by a decision of the civil law." That this law is still in force is proved abundantly by the facility with which the Roman Catholic bishops in this

country *refer* their disputes with the civil law to Rome, and the haste with which they cry out for "liberty of conscience" when any one of their assumed rights is disallowed by the law, or by public opinion. An instance in point is the agitation and dispute concerning the management of Church property, which troubled New York some years ago, and was made a matter of "*conscience*" by the bishops, although nothing concerning *Church property* is found in the Scriptures whereon to rest their consciences.

6. *Dissimulation and mental reservation are, under certain circumstances, useful and allowable.*

In *Caputilem, Caus.* xxii, *qu.* 2, it is attempted to be proved, from the Old Testament examples of Jehu and David, that the true Christian may, without sin, on occasions, dissimulate; and from that is deduced the doctrine that "it need occasion no surprise, if righteous men dissimulate or deceive, for the advantage of others, or for their own." And this precious piece of morality is blasphemously attempted to be bolstered up, in the same chapter, as follows: "Even our Lord and Saviour, who could be capable of no sin, dissimulated, by taking upon him the semblance of sinful man, (*simulationem pécatricis carnis,*) in order to redeem us from sin." To the question, whether this rule is yet in force in the Church of Rome, the history of our age seems to say, Yes. For to this law may be traced the readiness with which the papal power denies in one country what it assumes in another; the ease with which it breaks its own laws and acts contrary to its own principles to gain an advantage. Is it possible for priests, the consecrated teachers of men and youth, professing a doctrine such as this, to be honest and faithful citizens?

7. *Concessions made from the force of necessity, or for the sake of an advantage, cease to be valid as soon as this necessity ceases.*

This dictum, which has been found most convenient for the Church in all ages, even to the present year, which enables her consistently to be all things to all men, for a time, and for a purpose, is treated of in *Can. Quoniam quicquid can.*, and *Tali qu.* 7, *Caus.* 1; *Can. necessaria*, ibid.; and in *Can. Quod pro remedio*, ibid.; in which last occurs this significant passage: "Whatever has been enacted or permitted from the force of necessity, must, when that necessity ceases, also cease. For the lawful regulations are something entirely distinct from those forced upon the Church by the assumptions (*usurpatio*) of the times." That is to say, if in our degenerate age the Church has power no longer to burn and torture heretics, she yet reserves this among the "concessions made from the force of necessity." Nevertheless, it must be owned that where she has any country *refer* their disputes with the civil law to Rome, and the haste with which they cry out for "liberty of conscience" when any one of their assumed rights is disallowed by the law, or by public opinion. An instance in point is the agitation and dispute concerning the management of Church property, which troubled New York some years ago, and was made a matter of "conscience" by the bishops, although nothing concerning Church property is found in the Scriptures whereon to rest their consciences.

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The above mentioned laws or canons of the Romish Church form the groundwork of all her assumptions. Out of these grow many minor regulations, all of like authority and consistency. A few of these, which conflict most strongly with all true liberty of state and individual, we shall now proceed to cite, beginning with,

I. LAWS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH WHICH CONFLICT WITH THE AUTHORITY OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

1. *The civil power is subordinate to the papacy.*

The law or ordinance of the Roman Catholic Church in which this is asserted, is found in *Cap. solitæ* x, *De majoritate et obed.*, in which Innocent III., addressing himself to the Greek emperor, recapitulates that part of Genesis i, in which it is stated that the Lord created two great lights, the larger to rule the day, the lesser to rule the night; and then likens the papal power to the sun, far overshadowing by his power and glory the weaker moon, which stands for royalty or civil power. And Boniface, in his celebrated *Letter, Deum teone*, directed at King Philip of France, says: "We desire that thou shouldst know that thou art subject to us (the pope) in ecclesiastical *and worldly matters*." The same pope says in his bull of December 5, 1303, directed to the same king (Philip of France:) "God has set us over kings and countries to tear down and destroy, spoil and scatter, build up and plant. Let no one persuade thee that thou art not subject to the greatest hierarchy, the government of the Church. For he who thinks so is foolish, and he who obstinately maintains such doctrines is a convicted infidel." And, resting his assumption upon the canon law, though deprived of all civil power even in his own states, Pope Pius VII. said in his bull of June 10, 1809, directed to "all princes and potentates," "they will some time experience the fact that, according to the law of Christ, they and their powers are subject to the dominion of the papal throne."

2. *Heretical rulers or princes shall be deprived of their domains and governments.*

This law we find in numerous decrees of the canon code, and in many papal bulls. It is found set out at full length in *Can. Cum ex Apostolatus, de hæreticis in* 7, in which, after premising that the pope is "vicegerent of God and Christ, and therefore set in full power over people and governments, and not amenable to the judgment of any man," it is said that "all emperors, kings, dukes, or margraves, who shall be convicted of heresy, or falling into any schism, *shall be forever deprived of their honor and authority.*" And in order to do away with any doubt as to the present force of this law in the Romish Church, we need only mention that it is declared in the same place as *valid forever,* (*hac nostra in perpetuum valitura constitutione.*)

3. *The pope may absolve the citizen from his oath of allegiance to the state.*

This is determined in the canon *Aluis item, Caus.* xv, *qu.* 7, where it is said: "The pope absolved all the Franks from the oath of fealty which they had rendered to their king. And this is often done by the *Holy* Church in virtue of *her absolute power.*" History informs us how often and on what various pretenses this "power" has been used. That it was brought into use no longer ago than in 1809, against the Emperor Napoleon, is sufficient to assure us that *this* is one of those laws of the Church which she yet retains in reserve, as being entirely just in its nature; for surely a law which was executed so late as 1809 by one who is declared "*infallible,*" "*the vicegerent of God and Christ,*" will not in 1859 be declared obsolete.

4. *A government or prince placed under bann by the pope, has no claim to the fidelity or obedience of its citizens or subjects.*

This law, which stands in close connection with the foregoing, is pronounced, *ibid., Can. Nos sanctorum,* where Gregory VII. says: "Following the precedents of our holy predecessors, we absolve from their oath of fealty all the subjects (or citizens) of governments which are placed under bann." And in *ibid., Can. juratos,* it is said: "Soldiers, bound by their oaths of fealty to their lords, are absolved from these oaths so long as their masters are under bann And let such as have scruples concerning such oaths remember that the service of *God* (the pope likens himself here to God) comes before the service due to men. For they cannot be forced by any power or oath to render obedience to a Christian prince who stands in opposition to God and his holy ones, (the pope and his priests,) or who tramples their decrees under foot." The same law is contained in *cap. gravem* x, *De pœnis.*

5. *The clergy may defend themselves against the civil powers with the weapons of the Church.*

This is declared in *Can. Dilecto, de sententia excommunicationis in* 6, where permission is given to any ecclesiastic, threatened or oppressed by laymen or by the civil power, to turn against his oppressors the ecclesiastical sword of the interdict. Several Roman Catholic congregations in various parts of the United States have experienced the present inconvenience of the power of excommunication which is given to their priesthood. It is clear that the attempt which was so persistently made some years ago, (and will be revived in some shape or other ere long,) by the Romish priesthood, to have all Roman Catholic Church property deeded to their bishops, and to take its management out of the hands of the representatives of the congregations, and place it exclusively in the hands of the priesthood, would, if successful, place the congregations entirely in the power of the priests, and enable them to crush out, by their "ecclesiastical weapons," any spirit of free opposition which may show itself.

6. *The civil authority must not oppose the Inquisition.*

It was easily supposable that attempts would be made by many civil governments, under whose jurisdiction and by whose sanction this ecclesiastical court was established, to restrict its powers, and to protect the subjects of such powers against its severities. To prevent any such interference for purposes of humanity, we find various laws enacted by Rome. To save room here we take one as a sample of the rest. *Can. Ut inquisitionis de hæreticis in* 6, it is written that to further the labors of the Holy Inquisition in exterminating the crime of heresy, all temporal or civil powers are required to aid in the search, seizure, imprisonment, etc., of "those pestilential characters," the heretics. "And should any temporal power undertake to withdraw heretics from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, to place them at the bar of a civil court, with the purpose of opposing the Inquisition, they shall be pierced by the dagger of excommunication." We find no enactments abrogating or restricting any of these laws, and have therefore to thank, not the moderation of Rome, but the goodness of God, and an enlightened public opinion, for the fact that the Inquisition, that most formidable weapon of the greatest tyranny the earth ever saw, is not found in force at the present day in any country except in Rome itself. Even in priest-ridden Spain, although the efforts of Pius VII. were backed by his most promising pupil, King Ferdinand VIII., it could be maintained but for a short time after its re-establishment.

7. *Force of arms may be used to exterminate heretics.*

Waging war upon heretics (as she calls all Christians who differ from her in opinion,) was an early, as it has remained a favorite measure with the Church of Rome. We find this measure prescribed in *Can. Sicut excellentiam, Caus* xxiii, *qu.* 4. There is no law abrogating this command. On the contrary, in a document giving instructions from the pope to the papal nuncio at Vienna, in 1814, concerning the actions of that government in regard to the secularization of Church property in Germany, the pope confirms the law *absolutos* xvi. *De hæreticis,* according to which it is lawful to "deprive heretical princes of their domains," or governments. In the same instrument the pope complains bitterly that "on account of the present unfortunate times," (*in tempi cosi calamitosi,*) and the present humiliation of "the Bride of Christ," he is unable to enforce these "most holy principles," (*sanctissime massime.*) From these we can only infer that if for these "unfortunate times," could only be substituted the happy days of the Middle Ages, the pope and the Romish Church would be but too happy to enforce the "most holy principle" of waging war of extermination upon heretics.

8. *An ecclesiastic who takes an oath of fidelity to certain persons, may, to further the interests of his Church, act contrary to his oath.*

This piece of duplicity is distinctly taught in *Can. petitio* x. *De jure jurando,* in which it is related that in 1222 certain of the ecclesiastics of Antioch, having been obliged by the ruler of that country to take an oath, obliging themselves not in any way to act against him, questioned Pope Honorius III. whether their oaths must be kept. They received for answer that "in circumstances when their own advantage or that of the Church was concerned, they were privileged to break them."

9. *An oath which is contrary to the canon law, and injurious to the liberties of the Church, is invalid.*

The preceding law applies only to ecclesiastics, and, although shamefully immoral in its tendencies, evidently did not grant latitude enough to this species of immorality. It is therefore explicitly written, *Can. Si diligent* x. *de fòri competi:* "An oath must not be kept when its purport is contrary to the canonical decrees." Gregory XIII. speaks yet plainer, in *Can. Inter apostolicas, de juramentis in* 7. He there forbids not only bishops and other ecclesiastics, but *civil* functionaries of all kinds, under pains of excommunication, to take any oath which shall bind such person to the performance of anything not permitted, or impossible, or standing in opposition to the *liberties of the Church*, or the resolves or decrees of the Council of Trent, and makes such oaths *when taken null and void.*

10. *It is allowed or permitted to all to appeal to the pope, or refer to his judgment.*

By this law the right is given to every individual Roman Catholic to refer matters in dispute to the decision of the "Holy Father." We find this stated in *Can. Quicunque*, *Caus.* xi, *qu* 1, *c. omnes*, *c. volumnus*, *ibid.*, where it is written: "Whosoever may have a suit at law, let him be either plaintiff (*petitor*) or defendant, may avail himself at any time, either during the continuance of the suit in the civil courts, or at its termination there, of the decision of the pope; and all such cases, even should the opposing party be unwilling to refer the dispute in this manner, are to be at once taken under the jurisdiction of the bishop." It was in part for the purpose of pronouncing judgment in such cases, when final reference was made to the decisions of the the pope, that papal nuncios formerly resided constantly at all the principal European courts; and though this is no longer the case, the popes fail not to dispatch special envoys, nuncios, or legates to settle disputes in different portions of the world, which may be referred to him; as witness the journey of the papal nuncio Bedini through the United States in 1853, under authority of this very law, and avowedly for the purpose of settling disputes between various congregations and their pastors relative to the disposal of Church property. Had he been successful in his attempt to force these rebellious congregations to acknowledge his supreme authority in the premises, as a delegate of the pope, he would have taken this dispute at once out of the civil courts, where it was afterward decided, in one case at least, in favor of the congregation, and against Bedini.

11. *The civil power is not allowed to investigate the offenses or private concerns of bishops.*

It is the aim of Rome throughout the entire canon law to establish the principle that her ecclesiastics are exempt from the control or authority of any civil power, and amenable to the pope only. This principle is maintained in *Can. Si episcoporum*, *Caus* xxii, *qu.* 1, where bishops and other ecclesiastics are forbidden to lay their disputes before the civil tribunal; and those who do so, in place of referring them to the pope, are pronounced "accursed." It is on this law that a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, in Prussia, in 1852, grounded his refusal to submit himself to the judgment of the civil law, to which his acts had made him amenable. Does justice demand of us to grant to the Roman Catholic priesthood the liberty to live up to this law?

The foregoing are some of the principal of the laws of the Roman Catholic Church, which conflict with the rights of civil authorities.

They are not by any means all that do so, but we have not room here for more. All tend to establish the doctrine that the authority of the pope is superior to that of the civil government; that the canon law is superior to the civil law. That the doctrines inculcated and maintained in these canon laws are pernicious in the extreme, and that the laws themselves, if enforced, would be subversive of all recognized principles of civil government, and productive of naught but confusion and anarchy, no impartial mind can deny. It is clear that no man whose conscience is bound by them can be a safe citizen or trustworthy officer of this republic. His oaths of office or of fealty to the state only bind him so long as they do not interfere with his Church. His duty to the state is secondary to his duty to the pope, or his representative, the bishop. In all that he promises to perform for his country there is a mental reservation; and however worthy the man may appear, in times and places when the state most requires faithful servants there is no dependence at all to be placed upon him.

We come now, in conclusion, to a few laws of the Church of Rome affecting the personal liberties of citizens:

1. *Heretics are to be exterminated by the labors of the Holy Inquisition.*

By the term "Holy Inquisition," is understood an ecclesiastical court, established and retained by the popes of Rome for the extermination of heresies and heretics. The foundation for such an institution was laid in 1209, by Innocent III. by his command to the sovereigns of Europe to proceed, arms in hand, to expel the Albigenses from their dominions. Clement IV. confirmed the inquisitorial powers granted to a certain body of priests by Innocent IV. According to this charter none of the individual members were to be held responsible or amenable to the law for their conduct, without the consent of their colleagues. They were to receive, over and above their regular salaries, one-third part of the goods and moneys confiscated as the property of heretics and their abettors. They were authorized to demand the aid of the inhabitants of any locality in apprehending heretics and searching their houses. Banishment was made the punishment for offering any hinderance to the labors of the inquisitors. Houses to which the inquisitors were refused admittance were razed to the ground. The property found in such houses was to be treated as though the property of heretics. The civil authorities were bound to torture individuals apprehended as heretics by the Inquisitions in the same manner as robbers and murderers, "without however maiming or killing them," ("*citra membri diminutionem, et morti periculum,*") to make them confess their errors, and

reveal their companions in iniquity. All houses in which heretics were found were to be leveled with the ground, never to be rebuilt. Whosoever gave aid or advice to a heretic was rendered infamous from that hour, and ineligible to any public office, or to bearing witness in any court of justice, or to making testamentary provision for his heirs. The children and grandchildren of heretics were also declared ineligible to any public office. This is a synopsis of the powers granted to the first body of inquisitors by the bull of Clement IV. When, at a later period, the doctrines of the Reformation spread and found adherents in all parts of Europe, Paul III., by his bull, *Licet ab initio*, dated July 21, 1542, established a General Court of the Inquisition, constituting its members a permanent body. What monstrous cruelties, what wholesale murders and tortures were committed by this body, under the cloak of religion, and upon Christians whose only crime was that they differed in opinion on religious subjects from their persecutors, history tells us in part; and even the most zealous papists cannot gainsay this history. It is maintained, that as the Inquisition does not now exist in this country, nor anywhere in fact except at Rome, these laws should be regarded as virtually repealed. But whose fault is it that the Inquisition no longer flourishes? In what country has the pope voluntarily abolished it, canceled its powers, or even mitigated its severities? In Spain and Rome, its great strongholds, it was driven out by the victorious French, under the reign of Napoleon; and no sooner had the heretics of England succeeded in expelling the French armies, and re-establishing the legitimate sovereigns upon the thrones of these countries, than the attempt was made to *re-establish* the Inquisition in all its glories. It needs only a perusal of the General Edict of the Grand Inquisitor Acarnani, dated 14th May, 1829, (*only thirty years ago,*) to satisfy any one that the horribly cruel inquisitorial law code is neither abolished nor mitigated. For in that writing all the different tortures and other punishments devised for heretics, and to be found upon the "Holy Canons, Decrees, Constitutions, and Bulls of the popes" were declared of full force and authority; and it was made the duty of Romish ecclesiastics diligently to study this part of the law code of the Church. And, to bring the matter yet closer down to our days, it was only in 1837—not more than twenty-two years ago—that the Tyrolese, at the instigation of the priests, enforced the bull of Innocent III., the originator of the Inquisition, by forcibly expelling the Protestant portion of their fellow-citizens from their country. Have we not, in one of our western states, a colony of refugees from the Island of Madeira, whose only crime to merit expulsion from the home of their fathers was, that they were Pro-

testants? Is aught farther necessary to prove that the inquisitorial laws are *not* a dead letter upon the code of papal Rome, and that they are only not enforced in these United States, because Rome lacks the power over the public conscience which is necessary to compel obedience to her laws?

2. *The property of heretics is justly confiscate.*

This doctrine we find promulgated in *Can. Cums ecundum de hæreticus in* 6, where it is thus defended: "As the wife of a robber could not justly lay claim to the property stolen by her husband and his companions, so the property of heretics, who commit a much more heinous crime than robbery, is justly taken from them and their heirs and confiscated." To prove that this law is still upon the code, and of force, we have the words of Pius VII., in his instructions to the nuncio at Vienna, in 1804: "The Church has established, as a punishment for the crime of heresy, the consfication of all property possessed by heretics," (*la confisca e perdita dei beni dagli eretisi posseduti.*)

3. *To kill heretics through zeal for the Church is not murder.*

This law, whose like is only to be found in the Koran, was promulgated by Pope Urban II., and is found, *Caus.* xxiii, *qu.* 6, *Excommunicatorum*, as follows: "We do not hold those for murderers who, animated by zeal for the Catholic Mother (Church) have killed several heretics." It may be said that the Romish Church has not power to enforce this law—that the civil law *does not recognize* such enactments, or pay the slightest attention to them. True, but the law is there on the *sacred* law code of Rome, and as such exercises a controlling influence over the consciences of all true Roman Catholics, dissolving the bond of brotherhood which should exist between them and their fellow-citizens, and creating a spirit of bigotry which sets at defiance all the laws enacted in civilized nations for the preservation of life and property. Have we seen and felt no indications of the effect of such a law in our community?

4. *Heretics may be converted to the Romish Church even against their own will.*

What kind of conversion can take place *against the will of the convertee*, or what must be the merits of the doctrine which needs force to make proselytes, we leave to the intelligent reader to decide for himself. Enough here to say that *this law* is found in the holy canons, namely, at *Caus.* xxiii, *qu.* 6, *Can. Displicet.*

5. *Protestants are accursed heretics.*

Having placed before our readers a portion, and but a small portion, of the laws of the Church regarding heretics, we now proceed to show, *by her own laws* on the subject, *what description of persons*

come under the denomination of *heretics*. This we find very plainly set forth in several places. Aside from the bulls of Leo X. and Adrian VI., in which Lutherans are specifically mentioned as accursed heretics, we find in the notorious bull *De cœna Domini*, which, according to papal decree, is READ ANNUALLY in all the Roman Catholic Churches in the world, the following: "We place under ban, and pronounce accursed, on behalf of God the Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by virtue of the authority delegated to the sainted apostles, Peter and Paul, as well as to ourselves, all Hussites, Wiclifites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, etc., *as well as all other heretics*." This lays down the law sufficiently plainly, and annually at that, to that rather large class of our fellow-citizens who regard obedience to the pope as a conscientious duty, more important than obedience to the civil law.

6. *The civil power has no authority over the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics.*

This law, which makes the Roman Catholic priesthood entirely independent of the state or civil power, is found in *Can. Ad reprimendos, de foro compet. in* 7, where it is forbidden, under the most severe penalties, to either clergy or laity, to bring before the civil courts or powers the concerns of the ecclesiastics. A law of this kind is, of course, important only in so far as it has power over the Roman Catholic, and prevents a faithful Church-member from exposing, by means of the law, the actions of his priest, should these be contrary to the right. As the law is in the sacred code, its power over the Roman Catholic conscience seems indisputable; and if every conscientious layman must obey this law, there can be no two opinions as to its pernicious consequences, in giving a sanctity to the person of the priest which it should by no means possess. But if this law is found pernicious in its tendencies, how much worse is this:

7. *Laymen must not bear witness against ecclesiastics.* It is not sufficient that the code actually places the priesthood above and beyond the power or jurisdiction of the civil power by the preceding law, but to render them still more irresponsible to their congregation, (those over whom *they* desire to exercise the most unlimited authority,) the laity are forbid bearing witness against the priests. This we find in *Can. De cætero* x, *De testibus*, where it is said: "It is taught in the Holy Canons, that laymen must not be permitted to accuse or bear witness against an ecclesiastic, except in cases where they prosecute for wrongs done to themselves or their relations, and even in such cases they must not be admitted as witnesses, but only as accusers."

8. *A marriage contracted between a Catholic and Protestant is a crime.*

This law, which has called forth so much opposition within ten or twelve years in different parts of Europe, where the Roman Catholic priesthood have endeavored to enforce it, is found *Caus.* xxviii, *qu. c. non oportet.* It is there written: "The marriage contract must not be entered into with heretics, except they previously obligate themselves to become Christians and Catholics." Up to the middle of the last century the principle here laid down was strictly enforced by the popes and their subordinates. Benedict XIV., in a bull of date November 4, 1741, designated the mixed marriages as "a God-robbing tie, the worst of crimes, (*gravissimum scelus,*) which can only then be forgiven a Catholic when he or she converts the heretical partner to the Catholic faith." And in a bull of June 29, 1748, the same pope decides concerning mixed marriages in Poland, that "before the marriage ceremony be pronounced the heretical partner must renounce his or her heresies." The arbitrary interference in family concerns, the tyrannous control endeavored to be exercised over the holiest rights and feelings of the private citizen by means of this law, are apparent at first view. That the law is, to a certain extent, enforced in our midst already, is an indisputable fact. For the Catholic priest aims to exercise so complete a control over the consciences of his parishioners, that in this matter he can rule them without difficulty.

We have now completed our survey of a portion of those obnoxious canons and laws which have never been stricken from the sacred code of the Church of Rome, but which the force of circumstances has brought her to ignore here while she enforces them elsewhere. "The thunders of the Church only slumber," pertinently says an old theologian. The Romish priesthood in these United States lose no opportunity to proclaim aloud their love of liberty and liberal institutions. Ever attached to the political party that professes most democracy and practices the most lawless license, ever prepared to submit their vote to priestly dictation, ever wheedling the popular sentiment, so long as they possess not despotic power, they lose no opportunity to inculcate the belief in unsuspicious minds that they and their Church are persecuted, maligned, and innocent. Here Rome is liberal enough. But look at Rome itself. *Here* no one cries louder for freedom of the press than your Romish priest. But nowhere, not even in Catholic-Imperial France, is the censorship of the press so absolutely crushing as in Rome, the center of his holiness's dominions, where alone he has independent power. Here no one more zealously decries

religious persecution of all kinds than the Romish priesthood. In Rome they steal the poor Jew Mortara's child to force it into their Church; they keep up the dread, because secretly exercised, powers and penalties of the Inquisition; they imprison innocent men and women for daring to read the Bible. Here they pretend to honesty and candor; there they proclaim the invalidity of oaths, the innocence of mental reservations, the justification of all villany to heretics and Jews. What trust can be placed in the adherents and propagandists of a Church holding such tenets? Which are we to believe: professions here or facts there? Shall we indeed be aught else than criminally heedless, if we cease to watch jealously the insidious approaches of a body so grasping, so restless, so unscrupulous? Tolerance is one thing, carelessness is another. Let us not forget that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

ART. IX.—METHODISM: SUGGESTIONS APPROPRIATE TO ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

METHODISM has always possessed a notable spirit of self-encouragement, and, until within a few years, there has been some danger that its tendency to self-gratulation might become boastful, perhaps characteristic.

This disposition has not been altogether reprehensible, especially in our early history. For many years the real historical importance of the denomination was ignored by the religious world. John Wesley could not possibly be unrecognized in history, but Francis Asbury, the most important character in American ecclesiastical annals, is yet unmentioned by any historian of the New World. Treated not only with indifference, but with scarcely disguised contempt—without an educated ministry, and with few literary institutions—having, like original Christianity, its social position among the "lower classes," where it was most needed, and where, to devout observers, it deserved especial honor,—the new denomination was keenly self-conscious under its undeserved disparagement; but meanwhile it was equally conscious of its grand mission, of the invincible energy of its theology and practical system, its demonstrative usefulness among the neglected masses, and its prospective triumph. Scorned, if not persecuted, it was excusable and even admirable that its suffering but successful people stood closely together around their contemned but victorious standard. They opened their "Annual Minutes," and read their advancements with undisguised

thankfulness. They gave their sons by hundreds to the ministry. They built their humble chapels almost everywhere, filled them with their reclaimed neighbors, and had hardly got well into them before they began to rear new walls, ostensibly, face to face, with the churches of the older denominations. They put up seminaries and colleges; projected missions, foreign and domestic; and by their tireless zeal and the pittances of their poverty, soon presented before the world a great Church, devout, energetic, rich, national, and promising to become universal. If, meanwhile, they seemed too boastfully to "thank God for Methodism," it must now be admitted that both their sacrifices and their successes were not incompatible with the grateful boast.

The time has come, however, for a change in this respect. Their social position is revolutionized, and in a quarter of a century more can hardly fail to equal if not surpass that of most of their sister denominations, throughout the New World at least; they are rapidly raising up an educated ministry; they have a large, perhaps too large a supply of literary institutions. Their prosperity now takes an aspect of grave, if not of fearful responsibility, and we open the "Annual Minutes," both English and American, with joyful but with anxious gratitude. Every allusion to their success should now be made with the admonitory lesson of their responsibility; for is it too much to say, that of all English and American Protestant bodies, Methodism, considered in its manifold relations, foreign and domestic, stands chief in responsibility for the fate of the apostolic faith in the world? Can any observer doubt that it has at least a vantage ground—in its prestige, its popular masses, its theology, its disciplinary system, its educational provisions. its missions dotting the outlines of the world—which can be made more available than that of any other Protestant community? We hesitate not to assume the solemn fact in respect not only to England and America, but to the entire Protestant world. So far as the New World is concerned, no intelligent observer can hesitate to concede it; the numerical, not to say moral, precedence of the denomination being here unquestioned. In the mother country it has the same precedence among Dissenting bodies; and if, as Mackintosh and Buckle have predicted, the Anglican Establishment cannot survive the present century, Wesleyan Methodism, having the national liturgy and theology, and an incomparably superior practical system, can hardly have a doubtful destiny. In respect to the heathen world, the great mission field, it is sufficient to allude to the admitted statistical fact, that Methodism comprises more converts from paganism than all other Protestant missions combined.

Such has been its success that, in stating the facts which are the necessary data for our present purpose, we shall be liable to the charge of self-gratulation which we have wished to avoid; but we must trust that liability to the candor of the reader.

The statistics of Methodism are rendered annually with more precision than is usual with large religious bodies, as its ecclesiastical system affords peculiar facilities for the collection and classification of such facts. A comprehensive view of its numerical force would be valuable for many purposes, and would especially aid us in our present estimate of its responsibility. The following are the latest and most accurate estimates of its communicants:

Methodist Episcopal Church (North)	956,555
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	700,000[*]
Canada Wesleyan Conference	43,672
Eastern British American Conference	16,935
Methodist Episcopal Church, Canada	13,352
American Wesleyan Methodists	21,000
Methodist Protestant Church	70,018
African Methodist Episcopal Church	20,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	6,203
Albright Methodists	21,076
Total lay members in America	1,868,811
Add Traveling Preachers (except Albrights)	11,458
Total American Communicants	1,880,269

The Methodism of Europe (excepting the British and American Colonies and the American and European Missions, included above) exhibits similar though not equal vigor. The latest accessible returns show:

Wesleyan Methodists	435,308
Primitive Methodists	123,863
New Connection Methodists	27,000
United Free Church Methodists	43,000
Wesleyan Reformers (who remain independent)	12,000
Bible Christian Methodists	19,068
Church Methodists in Ireland (called Primitive Methodists)	9,158
Total British lay members	669,397
Add Traveling Preachers	3,225
Total Communicants	672,622

Besides these divisions, there are minor ones whose statistics cannot be exactly ascertained; an authority gives them an aggregate of 10,000 members, and 200 preachers. Summarily, then, Methodism throughout the world comprises 2,548,190 lay members, and 14,883 traveling preachers—an aggregate of 2,563,091 communicants. If we add three non-communicant members of its congregations for

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[*] Its last Min., corrected in Nash. Chris. Ad. So. Meth. Almanac gives 699,170.

each communicant, (a safe estimate for Methodist congregations generally,) we have a population of more than ten and a quarter millions attending its ministrations. It extends densely over North America and England; it has "Conferences" in France, Germany, Africa, and Australia; its missions are in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Turkey, South America; they dot the coasts of Africa, India, China, and the isles of the Southern Ocean. It has seen but a century in America, and not a century and a quarter in England, yet nothing can be more literally said of it than that to-day it is more rife with energy and financial liberality, and more sanguine of future success, than it has been at any other period of its singular history. And its capacity for usefulness, and its consequent responsibility for our common faith, largely as they can be inferred from its popular force and geographical outspread, can be still more justly asserted from that peculiar system of theology, as well as of ecclesiastical polity, by which it has already achieved this success; and from those more recent auxiliary means which it is now so potently wielding—its great missionary organizations, including more than 3,000 laborers; its educational institutions, comprising more than 130 colleges, theological schools, and boarding academies, and (in England) nearly 500 day schools; its more than 2,000,000 Sunday scholars, and 300,000 teachers; its 35,000 local preachers making with its "Itinerants," a ministerial force of nearly 50,000 men; its publishing houses, the largest of the religious world; its unsurpassed psalmody, and its manifold financial system.*

Again let it be said that these estimates are given, not for an occasion of congratulation, but as data for a more serious inference—the obligation that devolves upon us for the conservation and extension, through all the world, of this mighty and providential system of Christian propagandism. Methodism is not an historical accident; God enacts no casualties of this kind with our fallen humanity; it is a movement of Providence in the earth, and they who have providential responsibility for it, stand before the world, perhaps, chief in accountability for the kingdom of God among men. Let them rejoice, then, with trembling; let them look well to the future, both for themselves and their race, for they bear upon their hands the bread of life for uncounted millions, and upon their souls a responsibility whose retributions will signalize them in the "great and terrible day."

One of the first lessons which such facts suggest is the importance of maintaining the *conservative spirit* of the denomination, for a sys-

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* Our figures have been collected from the most reliable authorities. If erroneous at all they are deficient.

tem which has worked so well should not be risked by hasty experiments. It seems a providential fact in our history that Wesley himself exemplified so strongly this spirit; and doubtless much of the tenacious energy of the denomination is owing to the impression which his own personal character left upon it in this respect—as much, perhaps, as to the organic form which he gave it. It is one of the most remarkable facts of his life, that while so progressive in his principles he was so tardily cautious in their application. He early broke away from his High Church prejudices, and became the most liberal man of his day in England; but he lived and died in the national Church, clinging to its altar from a devout expediency, while incessant anathemas were uttered from it against him, and when not a single ecclesiastical dogma, nothing but a sentiment of Christian prudence bound him to it. Even when our Revolution had severed the American Church from the English Establishment, he abstained from applying his acknowledged principles to the organization of American Methodism. He refused the demands of the Americans for years; even when we were virtually breaking into schisms he hesitated. While professing a full right to ordain bishops for us, he applied to Lowth, Bishop of London, to save him from that necessity, and he delayed nearly four years after Lowth had, with scarcely dissembled contempt, declined his entreaties. No man was ever more conservatively progressive than John Wesley.

The Wesleyans of England have never lost the influence of his example in this respect. They have marched straight forward, amid whatever revolutionary tendencies, throwing off successive schisms and leaving them far in their rear, rather than risk their great inherited mission by sudden changes. Even recently we have seen them pass through a stormy agitation in which no less than a hundred thousand of their members deserted them. The changes claimed were not theoretically inadmissible, but the attempt to procure them was violent and godless. It was no time to yield while the ship was tossed by the hurricane; the helm was held by a firm hand; all loyal men, whatever might be their ecclesiastical differences, stood united and immoveable in the front of danger; pamphlets, newspapers, conventions, schisms raged; whole circuits were desolated; Isaac Taylor issued his elaborate epitaph on Methodism; to him its days were about over; but it outrode the storm; its finances were scarcely impaired; it got clear of discordant elements; it reported its fearful losses, but returned to its Conference in 1858 with universal peace, with an increase of its communicants which had been seldom equaled in any preceding year, and with a prestige, gained by its conservative victory, which guarantees, alike to its friends and

foes, a successful future for at least a hundred years. It was never more more united, more effective, than to-day. Its triumphant self-support through this great peril has secured it a confidence, both among its own people and without, which no arithmetic can estimate. No enemy now believes it possible for it to be overthrown for generations. When the storm had subsided it had the prudence to confirm its victory by making concessions which it could not safely afford in the confusion of its agitations. Methodists throughout the world have reason to thank God for this great historical confirmation, and its important lesson to themselves and to their enemies.

American Methodism has passed through similar crises, but a far-seeing conservative wisdom has always delivered it. With the crude elements with which it has had to deal, the democratic sentiments which have prevailed among its masses, the energetic temperament of its uneducated ministry, it is wonderful with what compact and solid columns it has held on its march. The great "Radical" agitation propounded principles which few of us would deny, theoretically, as relevant enough in other circumstances than our own. But they demanded changes which would have been violently revolutionary; the controversy was conducted by men whose motives were, rightly or wrongly, deemed questionable; and it was evident that to concede at the time would have risked the orderly and effective operation of our system. Democratic as we all were, we deemed it the right of good democrats to put themselves under a military regime, as it was called, for the sake of a great militant mission like that which we were evidently prosecuting with continual victories throughout the land. The Church stood firm, and therefore it stands erect to-day. Its centrifugal force has ever since been able to throw off, with hardly sensible loss, such occasional disturbances, and it has gained from them the inestimable advantage of a profound public conviction, within and without, that its ecclesiastical system cannot be effectually shaken. The "separation" of the South, founded in no ecclesiastical difference, and sanctioned by a sort of compromise, does not seriously affect this fact.

Let us then lay well to heart this lesson of a hundred years and more. The disposition to use thoroughly its actual advantages, to be cautious about hypothetical ones, to heed the counsels of age and experience, and to repress promptly erratic or theorizing leaders, has been one of the most marked historical facts of Methodism, a fact alike of sound sense and sound piety.

But just here let us not mistake our history. We have spoken of the conservative *spirit* of Methodism. Though it has moved with a steady pace, let us bear in mind that it *has moved*. While its

conservatism has stood suddenly erect against almost every violent change, and with especial vertebral stiffness against all clamorous innovators, its opposition has been chiefly to the *temper* of "reformers," so called. It would be difficult to find in the history of the last hundred years another great ecclesiastical body which has adopted more real changes. Wesley was continually accepting them, but only when their right season had obviously come. This is indeed the historical and normal genius of Methodism. Wesley's successors in England have always exemplified it. They gave to the body of the traveling ministry many of the privileges which his Deed of Declaration gave only to the "One Hundred." They adopted ordination by the imposition of hands, the administration of the sacraments, and chapel service in church hours—changes which Wesley but slightly anticipated. The Deed of Declaration, recognized in Chancery, renders lay representation impossible to Wesleyan Methodism; but in order to bring the lay talents of the denomination more into co-operation with the ministry, a virtual double session of the Conference has been provided by the genius of Bunting—an assembly of lay and clerical committees, the week preceding the regular conference, and at the place of its session, by whom its most important business is transacted in such manner as to need little more than the revision of the legal session. In no British Church have laymen a more controlling, and it may be added, a more salutary sway than in Wesleyan Methodism. Within a few months we have seen leading members of the conference courageously discussing the propriety of modifying even the ancient itinerancy, so far as it concerns the great cities.

In our own country the denomination has been continually, though cautiously progressive. About a quarter of a century after its introduction into the colonies,* it adopted, at Wesley's instance, and by a virtual revolution, Episcopacy and the two orders of Deacon and Presbyter. It afterward superseded its traveling-elders (provided for the administration of the sacraments) by the regular Presiding Eldership. It changed the District Conferences into regular Annual Conferences. It created, and after some time abandoned, the Local Preachers' District Conference and the old "Council." It adopted the Quarterly Conference, the two year's term of ministerial appointments, (for many years without definite limits,) the General Conference, the Restrictive Rules, and the almost revolutionary change of a Delegated General Conference; and in our day we have seen its supreme body sanction the admission of laymen to a qualified share in the business of the Annual Conferences.

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* Embury and Strawbridge arrived in America in 1760.

It never, however, introduced any of these changes under the pressure of a general agitation. If its great historical lesson on the subject can be more summarily stated than we have already given it, this would be its purport: namely, never to admit an innovation in a period when the public mind is in general fermentation about it; but to adopt it only when it can be coolly considered, and readily waived if seen to be perilous; for the incidental losses of temporary schisms are nothing compared with the permanent harm which may come of a wrong principle rashly incorporated into the general system of the body. The advancement of the Church has usually indicated the right moment for improvements, and indicated it by that general and considerate acquiescence which proceeds from the general consciousness of their expediency.

One of the most momentous improvements—one which, when prematurely and violently proposed, more than a quarter of a century ago, threw us into general commotion, and which could not be ignored in an article contemplating, like this, the new wants of our present advanced status, seems now to have received this general acquiescence. So reckless was the old agitation for lay representation that most loyal Methodists found it necessary to indefinitely postpone the proposition; now there is hardly one of our official journals which does not favor it in some form, and its decided advocates are found in all our ranks, from the Episcopacy down to our humblest laymen. The time has unquestionably come for the calm solution of this question. Fortunately for us no constitutional impediment obstructs it among us, as among our Wesleyan brethren, in their Deed of Declaration. Asbury himself anticipated it as a probable fact more than forty years since, and even suggested a plan for it. Those who think that, in the acknowledged absence of any express constitutional impediment, the general principles of our government would render it impossible, must admit it to be a singular fact, that the great man who had most to do with the construction of our system, could have anticipated and suggested a plan for an impracticable change! The limitations of the General Conference respecting its own composition, as well as its policy, are such as the Restrictive Rules specify, and those rules present no difficulty on this question.

A simple majority vote of the General Conference could effect the change at once. Such a vote could change Part I, chapter iii, section 3 of the Discipline, on the composition of the Annual Conferences, so as to admit lay members to them. In order that the election of delegates, from these bodies to the General Conference, should include both classes of members, all that would be further

necessary would be a simple majority vote, changing the requirement in Part I, chapter iii, section 2 of the Discipline, that each representative "shall have traveled four calendar years." This could be retained for clerical delegates, with an amendment specifying Church membership, or any other qualification, for lay representatives. A number of laymen, equal to that of preachers from each circuit or station, in the Annual Conference, and an equal number of delegates from each class to the General Conference, would be a simple, practicable, and, as we think, perfectly safe plan—much more than one complicated with minute discriminations—for every interest which the preachers have in these bodies involves the interest of the laymen. But if such discriminations are considered desirable, if two houses are deemed proper, we need not quarrel about that; such an arrangement can be detailed in the plan devised by the General Conference, and its simple majority vote will suffice for the purpose, so far as our constitutional law is concerned. The most simple arrangement for a second house would perhaps be to have it consist of the bishops and a fourth, or any other proportion of the delegates, to be chosen by ballot from the whole number at the opening of the session. We are not fastidious about the plan on which this improvement should be made; we wish the change on any plan the General Conference can devise.

After the thorough discussion which the subject has received in our Church journals, we need hardly examine here at length the objections to this important reform.

The supposition that it will enlarge too much the General Conference is irrelevant; that body need not be larger than it now is, for it has the power to regulate the ratio of representation according to the growth of the annual conferences.

The objection of increased expense is equally irrelevant, for as the conference need not be increased, its expenses need not be a dollar more than at present; and it can hardly be doubted that with lay representation the usual collection for these expenses will be decidedly more popular and more ample. It would probably relieve the Book Concern of the heavy drafts now made upon its funds to meet the deficit of this collection.

The fear that the change will spread among our societies a spirit of electioneering demagogueism is unfounded. The lay delegates should be chosen by the quarterly conference, as those of the Protestant Episcopal Church are by its vestry. The latter Church experiences no injurious excitement from its elections; ours could certainly be as quietly conducted. In the annual conferences the delegates could be chosen equally from their lay and clerical mem-

bers with as little inconvenience as they are now elected from the latter.

The apprehension that rich and demagogical laymen will usually be chosen, and the Church be thereby corrupted, has been expressed more unfortunately than justly. Our most prominent laymen are now usually in the quarterly conferences, from which it is proposed to elect these lay delegates, and we do not find that fact a disadvantage to the Church. They are prominent, because of their devotion to our denominational interests, their private and public character, and their capacity and success in business. Should these be reasons of alarm to us?

If it be said that few lay delegates will be able to attend the sessions, it may be replied that, should this be the case at first, yet doubtless the arrangement will sooner or later grow into effectiveness; that we shall at least have the services of those who may attend; that a full attendance, of either preachers or laymen, is not indispensable, for our conferences are generally too large; and, lastly, that whatever may be the attendance, the right to attend will at least be secured; our laymen will feel that they no longer suffer any grievance in this respect, and the reproach which their exclusion now occasions us, among sister Churches, will cease. There is no Methodist citizen who should not desire earnestly this last advantage, for say what we may, the anomalous fact of their present exclusion cannot be made satisfactory to public opinion; it is a solecism to the American mind, and an unquestionable, though undesigned detraction from that vast and capable mass of devoted laymen who now assemble around our altars, and who have taken rank among the best of our citizens in the professional and municipal, as well as in the humbler reponsibilities of American life. The practical talent which such men would bring to our conferences, the increased interest which they would feel in our affairs, the conservatism which their well known loyalty would infuse into our Church councils, would render this change, we soberly believe, an epoch to which the future historian of the Church would refer as one of its most signal improvements, and one of the best guarantees of its successful destiny. It has been said that secessions from the denomination have occurred, upon an average, as often as once in every fifteen years, and that nearly every one has seized upon this question against us. Happy shall we be if, with all the other advantages of the improvement, we can also disarm our enemies of this weapon.

In fine, there is but one plausible, and yet far from valid objection to this reform, namely, that the Annual Conferences, being doubled, will find it difficult to obtain local accommodations for

their sessions. As this difficulty, were it real, would arise from a concession to the laity, and as they have the expense of such accommodations, we believe it can be safely left to them. We doubt not they would effectively meet it. But we do not admit it to be real. We could well afford to multiply the Annual Conferences by dividing the largest of them, for the sake of such advantages as the reform would confer. But even this would seldom be necessary; the Wesleyan Conference has never been divided; it assigns its sessions to a few of the larger communities, but its very size gives it an importance which makes it welcome among them. Most of our conferences would not be inconveniently enlarged by the proposed change, especially as many lay delegates would probably be absent most of the time. The larger bodies could be divided, or could confine their sessions to their largest towns. And in any event, we repeat, the whole difficulty can be safely left to the management and hospitality of the laity, in behalf of whom it would be incurred.*

We place this question hardly second in importance to the great events of the Episcopal reorganization of the Church, and the formation of the delegated General Conference. So grave is it, so momentous as an inevitable provision and security for our future history, that we cannot dismiss it here without expressing the hope that the next General Conference will signalize itself by deliberately but courageously enacting it. It would indeed be a memorable fact in the ecclesiastical history of the Protestant world—an honor to the whole Christian ministry of modern times—a magnanimous concession from the clergy to the laity, which could not fail to secure forever the grateful attachment of our people, the admiration of the religious world, and the refutation of the common reproach of clerical love of power. Could we ever be in better circumstances to make the grand concession? The peculiar and honorable difficulties of our early history fully justify the past exclusively clerical construction of our great public bodies; but those difficulties, let us thank God, are no more; our loyal people, gathering in hundreds of thousands around us, and endowing our cause by their liberality, have lifted us out of them all. Let us honor ourselves and our people, and fortify for ages our common cause, by this great measure. The good providence of God has brought us safely and calmly to what seems to be the precise moment for it; and the men who shall, with devout firmness and statesmanlike wisdom, take the lead in it, will be commemorated in our future history as among the chief benefactors of the Church.

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* See these views more fully discussed in the Christian Advocate and Journal, November 17, 1859.

4. So paramount do we deem this improvement that we hesitate to add any further suggestions respecting changes of our Church "economy." The General Conference will wisely demur to numerous innovations at any one session, however hypothetically desirable they may seem; and the friends of reform may defeat all their designs by urging too many. One other, however, has received too much favor to be omitted here. Several annual conferences have voted for an extension of the term of ministerial appointments. The demand for it is somewhat general, especially in our Atlantic cities, and it may not be too much to urge it in conjunction with lay representation. On this, as on so many other subjects, the precedents of our history justify a progressive spirit. Wesley yielded the change, though at one time he declared that he himself could not preach longer than two years, with the best advantage, to the same congregation. Two years was the maximum term of his own conference appointments, except with clergymen of the Establishment; but in his Deed of Declaration, made in the latter part of his life, he provided for three years, and the Wesleyan Methodists have ever since availed themselves of the salutary change. His Deed even allows indefinite appointments to such of the educated or regular clergy as might join the conference, and he himself appointed such, without limitation, to his city congregations. His brother, Charles Wesley, and Coke, Creighton, and Dickinson were examples. It is a fact that our present definite terms were an innovation. The popular demand for itinerancy was found to be too eager; preachers were changed, sometimes in six months, from Philadelphia to New York, from Baltimore to Philadelphia. The present limitations were enacted as a protection to the appointing power against this popular love of change.

The advocates of a longer term should be cautious of demanding too great an extension; a reform of this kind should be made with care, and an incautious demand will be likely to provoke opposition to any change whatever. An indefinite period should especially be not claimed. Without pausing now to argue about its perils to our whole itinerant system, it is sufficient to say that it evidently will not be conceded. The three years term has been demonstratively experimented in England, and along our whole northern border, in Canada; if not what all would desire, it would at least be an advancement, and a sufficient one, to prepare the way for any further change, if any should be found expedient. We believe, also, that it would meet the present necessities of our Churches in this respect. In large portions of our territory it is doubtful whether any change is desirable, but the General Confer-

ence could provide that the Annual Conferences may have discretionary power to avail themselves or not of the new law.

An ample provision of substantial, well located, and unencumbered church edifices is among the most important material guarantees of a religious denomination. Methodism affords some striking results in this respect. Within its short history it may be said to have twice supplied itself with chapels or churches. Its earliest structures were of the humblest pretensions; many of us who are yet comparatively young can remember when it had scarcely a stone building in the New World, and not one with a steeple, bell, portico, or any pretension to architectural taste. In this, as in most other things, it consulted only its contemporary necessities. Its chapel sites were generally in suburban and obscure localities where its labors were most required; its houses were cheap, free seated, and but temporary accommodations. Within little more than a quarter of a century it has renewed almost its entire chapel provisions in the New World, and within little more than a half century in England. The aggregate of its expenses in this respect, if it could be accurately presented, would afford one of the most extraordinary examples of liberality known in the modern Church. The census of the United States for 1850 reported the property of the Methodist denominations (churches, not parsonages) at $14,636,671.

The annual Minutes now show the valuation of the churches and parsonages of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) alone at $21,249,808, a gain of $3,341,624, or nearly 17 per cent. in two years. The churches alone of the two Episcopal bodies, North and South, number about 14,000.* This aggregate gives an average of more than 150 churches built each year since the erection of the first (Old John-street) in 1768: three each week. During the last two years the increase of churches in the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) alone was 970, giving 9½ per week, or more than 1½ for each working day of the two years. During the same period 366 parsonages were built—about one for every two days. When it is remembered how large a proportion of these edifices have been rebuilt, or superseded by new structures on new sites, their number and expenditure must exceed vastly the above estimates.

Three suggestions are appropriate to this subject.

First, the ambitious spirit for chapel improvement, which is now becoming rife among us, should be guarded against excess. Our mission has been chiefly to the poor; our chief glory will depart

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* Those of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) are ascertained to be 8,335. The Church, South, does not report its churches. We give them at two thirds of those of the Northern section.

when we lose sight of this our chief historical distinction. Cheap chapels, thrown up among the neglected suburban population, should be the rule not the exception with us.

Second, "free sittings" should be our rule, pews the exception. Both are necessary, but we forfeit our providential designation when the latter become the rule rather than the exception, as it has already in most of the Eastern States.

We have not here space for the emphatic remarks which we would fain utter on these two suggestions. One of the most grateful facts of our history is the elevating effect of Methodism on the social position of its multitudinous people; it has given them tastes and means for better religious accommodations than they at first had, but let us bear in mind that the moral wants of the neglected masses *are now actually greater*, especially in this country, than they ever have been, and that *our original mission to them must be a permanent one.* Not only is this the case in our dense cities, but along our whole frontier, and indeed throughout the whole continent. As to the Atlantic cities, when did they more need our old modes of labor and cheap church accommodations? And as to the interior and the great West, who can doubt that for indefinite generations they will need the old extemporary but energetic expedients of Methodism? Who can glance over this whole New World without seeing that our original mission is but begun, and our primitive instrumentalities are yet, and for generations, indispensable? The increase and dispersion of our population create here a moral exigency such as the human race has seldom witnessed. It is sublime, we were about to say, appalling—this amazing growth of a nation—this exodus of the European peoples into our mighty wildernesses. We could once estimate somewhat its ratios, but now it almost defies our calculations. A few years ago it was ascertained that our western frontier line moved forward at the rate of about thirteen miles a year; and this march of a nation—extending from the Northern Lakes to the Mexican Gulf—bearing with it all the ensigns of civilization and liberty—felling the forest, dispelling at every step aboriginal barbarism, planting fields, building cities, erecting temples and schools, constructing canals and roads of iron—was considered one of the sublimest spectacles in the history of man; but now the line of march is broken into detached columns which have taken the extreme points of the field, and the overcoming accessions observe no rules of progression. What practicable Christian agencies can meet the wants of these foreign hosts? Can we think for a moment of abandoning in this vast region any of the effective apparatus of Methodism, under such circumstances? The

thoughtful man, who reminds himself of the ignorance and moral corruption of the European hordes arriving among us, can hardly suppose that the better moral characteristics of the nation, already sadly degenerating, can survive the contagion of such overwhelming vice, or the better institutions of the republic withstand such a flood of semi-barbarism. One thing we must be sure of, namely, that every moral resource at our command will be needed to maintain, in its present relative status, the moral and intellectual position of the country.

It is to the West, we say, that this overwhelming flood sweeps, and thither moves with it the power of the nation—the political forces which will take their moral character from these multitudes, and impart it to us all. The center of representative population is continually tending westward. In 1790 it was twenty-two miles east of Washington; it has never been east of the national metropolis since, and never can be again. At the census of 1800 it had been transferred to thirty miles west of Washington; in 1820 it was seventy-one miles west of that city; in 1830 one hundred and eight miles. Its westward movement from 1830 to 1840 was no less than fifty-two miles—more than five miles a year. During about fifty years it has kept nearly the same parallel of latitude, having deviated only about ten miles south, while it has advanced about two hundred miles west. Thus move the political destinies of the country into what is also becoming the arena of its moral and religious conflicts. With our territorial enlargement and increased accessions of European population, the national population, indigenous and foreign, is destined to swell into aggregate magnitudes truly amazing—magnitudes which it would seem must hopelesssly transcend any moral provision we can make for them. If the ratios of our increase hitherto can be relied on, the population of the United States will be in 1900 more than *one hundred millions* —exceeding the whole present population of England, France, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark. A step further in the calculation presents a prospect still more surprising: by 1930—only seventy years hence—this mighty mass of commingled races will have swollen to the stupendous aggregate of *two hundred and forty-six millions*, equaling the present population of all Europe. According to the statistics of life, there are hundreds of thousands of our present population—one twenty-ninth at least—who will witness this result. It is hardly possible to restrain the pen from uttering the spontaneous and overwhelming reflections which these statistics suggest; but we leave them in their own naked yet startling significance. Such, then, according to the mathematics of the argument, is the domestic field of evangelic

labor opening before us. These calculations have no episodal irrelevancy here. We have chosen to present them as far more relavant than general remarks. They sustain with startling force our position, that the energetic methods of early Methodism are still needed, *that there is a larger field for them now in our own country than there ever has been.* The facts are clear, then, and now the direct question is, shall Methodism retain its primeval glory by maintaining its original mission to the "lower classes"—those classes which, like the primary geologic granite, form the lowest foundations of the moral world, but lift highest to the heavens their mountain peaks, catching the first light of coming eras, and reflecting the last glories of declining nations? If so, our cheap chapels and free sittings must still prevail—must be the rule, not the exception.

But, third, we have admitted that a guarded church improvement is desirable. In all our older communities we need it. Methodism is as good for the rich and cultivated as for the poor, and it should not exclude the former by ignoring those conveniences, or even elegancies, which legitimate taste creates. Christ refused not Nicodemus, and glorified the tomb of the "rich" Joseph of Arimathea by his resurrection. He uttered no word against the solemn splendor of the Temple, and mourned over its coming desolation. In all our great cities we should erect churches which shall extort the admiration of the best taste of truly cultivated men—not pretentious with extravagance, but genuinely beautiful, grand even, and prominently placed. They mistake blindly who think beauty is incompatible with utility. Beauty itself is often the highest utility. Whenever genuine, it includes a moral element which elevates it above most other utilities. Newton's Principia is great in its severe practical utility; but who shall say that Milton and Shakspeare have not advanced the intellectual status of the Anglican world equally with Newton? Strike these two last names from the roll of English literature, and you change the relative position of the Anglican race in modern civilization. God has decked all the universe with beauty. All nature is effluent with it, and her severer utilities are covered, and almost hidden under its superabundant attractions. Quakerism, with its many inestimable virtues, is dying, because it has sacrilegiously ignored nature and genuine taste. True Christianity does not ignore them; she humbles sinful man, and requires him to walk before God with penitence and self-denial; but she bids him thus walk with nature's effulgent stars over his head, and its mighty sublimities and infinite beauties all around him. While inculcating personal meekness and lowliness, she proscribes not the dignities of magistracies, the imposing forms of public life, the elegancies of art, or the refine-

ments of literature. She would not thus impose comparative barbarism on evangelized nations. States, great cities, and all great bodies, civil and religious, should ennoble their corporate life, and elevate the popular mind by befitting edifices and monuments. We admit the repetitious commonplaces usually uttered as qualifications to such remarks; but demand that they shall not, as usual, qualify utterly away the just view of the question. Happy should we be, were we able to say to-day, that the noblest, not the most extravagant, church edifice in each of our chief cities, from Bangor to San Francisco, was a Methodist one—noblest, we say, in every sense of genuine architectural style, location, and practical accommodation. It is befitting our relative position among American religious bodies that it should be so. And every such church should, as soon as possible, be a "free-seated" one—the head-quarters of all our great public occasions, the resort of our traveling people, and our contribution to the taste and adornment of the public life. The practical problem to be solved on this subject, is whether we can provide the necessary church improvements for our advancing people, and still maintain our characteristic mission to the unimproved masses? It would be contrary to both nature and Christianity to suppose that we could not. The papal Church, while amassing around it all the glories of art, holds on more tenaciously to the common people than to the higher classes; beggars and princes bow, side by side, in her great, unpewed, European churches. Her corruptions do not affect the argument. They are not owing to the freedom of her temples, or her patronage of genuine taste and art; they are in spite of these. Methodism itself has already made the grateful discovery that its improved church building affords it improved means of prosecuting its humbler work. Its advanced families are saved to it; and its growing wealth (one of the inevitable results of its salutary influence on the common people) is more at its command for church extension, missions, and other denominational purposes. Our later history affords many striking examples of the fact. Let us, then, in respect to this subject, thank God, and take courage; but let us devoutly understand ourselves, and as we now enter our hundredth year, with auspicies such as we never had before, let us bear in mind that the personal regeneration of souls, the reclamation of decayed religious communities, and the preaching of the Gospel to the demoralized millions, here and everywhere, is our providentially designated work.

There are other and more important suggestions relating to our more spiritual interests remaining to be discussed, but we must postpone them to our next number.

ART. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—THE MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND are evidently advancing; an interest in the missionary cause is on the increase. The report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for 1859, gives a list of four hundred and fourteen ordained missionaries, supported wholly or in part by the society, in addition to upward of seven hundred lay teachers, students, and catechists. The receipts of the last year were £90,701 for general purposes, and £12,521 for special funds. The colonial episcopate has been extended by the erection of the new sees of British Columbia, (which was endowed at the sole cost of Miss Burdett Coutts,) St. Helena, Brisbane, (Australia,) and Waiapu, (New Zealand,) making a total at present of thirty-eight colonial bishoprics. According to a recent decision of the colonial secretary, the colonial bishops will be in future at liberty to consecrate missionary bishops for countries not within the boundaries of the English dominion. One of the first missionary bishops of this kind will be selected for Central Africa, where the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge will conjointly establish a mission, in behalf of which a numerously attended meeting was held at Cambridge on November 1. THE DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND still continue. A synod was held at Edinburgh in October, when the appeal of the Rev. Mr. Cheyne against the judgment of the Bishop of Aberdeen, which suspends him from all ecclesiastical functions, and the appeal of the Dean of Moray against the revocation of his appointment by his diocese, came up. A decision on both was postponed to November. A new complaint will be brought forward against the Bishop of Brechin for false doctrines on the Eucharist. On the whole, the High Church party seems continually to lose ground in Scotland. THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND has continued to extend during the past months, and has embraced many districts not before visited. Many cases of extraordinary physical phenomena, as spasms, swoons, and trances have occurred, causing much excitement. The movement has not only been noticed by the most popular and widely-circulated papers of the United Kingdom, but the press teems also with pamphlets on the subject. The meeting of the BRITISH BRANCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE at Belfast showed a great harmony among the Protestant Churches of Ireland. Bishop Knox, of Belfast, presided not only in the business meetings, but also in those of devotion. The meeting entered a decided protest against the claims of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland to a new organization of public instruction on a strictly denominational basis. At the WESLEYAN CONFERENCE an interesting discussion took place in reference to the modification of itinerancy. The novel aspects of modern preaching occupied the chief attention in this discussion. The net increase of members in the Wesleyan Societies in England was officially reported as 15,706, and in Ireland as 325. The total number of members in Great Britain is now 292,797.

The Roman Catholic Church.—A MEETING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF IRELAND was held at Dublin in August. Several resolutions were agreed to, and the whole of them embodied in a pastoral address, to be read from every pulpit and altar. The bishops demand among other points that the schools for Catholic youth should be so subordinated to bishops in their respective dioceses, as that no book may be used in them for secular instruction to which the ordinary shall object. They refer to the concession of grants for exclusively Catholic schools in Great Britain and in the British Colonies as conclusive evidence of the fairness of their claim. THE THIRD PROVINCIAL SYNOD of the Ecclesiastical Province of Westminster, which comprises all the bishoprics of England, was opened on July 13th with the usual solemnities, and presided over by Cardinal Wiseman. All the bishops were present, as well as the representatives of the chapters, the theologians of the bishops, and the provincials of the monastic orders.

GERMANY.

The Protestant Churches.—THE REFORMED CHURCH of Germany has been more successful than either the Lutherans or Roman Catholics in effecting a national organization, and has held annually, since 1857, a General Conference, attended by deputies from all parts of Germany. The conference of the present year met, in June, at Enden, Hanover, and was attended by about ninety members and several guests from Holland. It is hoped that these annual conferences will gradually prepare the way for a closer union of the Reformed Church of Germany with the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, Great Britain, and America. THE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ASSOCIATION, the most popular among all the religious societies of Germany, has had no general assembly during the present year. The revenues of this association are more and more assuming a dimension equaling that of the leading religious societies of Great Britain and America. In 1857 they amounted to 101,000 thalers, in 1858 to 107,000; during the financial year just closed to 130,000. As the Austrian government has recently given the permission, so often refused in former years, that in all the Protestant Churches of the empire an annual collection may be taken up for the purposes of the Gustavus Adolphus Association, it is likely that the year now entered upon will witness a still greater increase of its receipts. The partial influence which the Church of Rome has gained over the courts of several German princes, has occasioned, on the part of the bishops, some ATTACKS ON THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF PROTESTANTISM, which have made a deep sensation among the Protestant population, as indicating the intentions of the Catholic hierarchy. In two Protestant States, Hesse Darmstadt and Baden, Protestant authors have had civil suits brought against them for articles against doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. In Hesse Darmstadt two lower courts, consisting mainly of Catholic judges, found the defendant guilty, but the Supreme Court at Darmstadt acquitted him. The long-expected decree of the Austrian emperor on the reorganization of the PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN HUNGARY and the adjacent countries, has at length been published. Some of the grievances are redressed by this decree, which concedes in general to the Churches for which it is given a greater amount of self-government than any European State Church, except those of Scotland and Holland, enjoy. Yet the Hungarians fear, by an unconditioned acceptance of the imperial decrees, to forfeit the claims of the Church to autonomy, and they demand as a right what the government offers to them as a gift. While thanking the government, therefore, for its good intentions to improve the situation of the Protestant Church, they have resolved to petition the emperor that a General Synod may be convoked as soon as possible, and the imperial decrees submitted to it, in order that thus, by a compromise between the wishes of the Church and the proposals of the government, a Church constitution may be formed that will give general satisfaction.

Roman Catholic Church.—The eleventh GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION met at Freiburg in September, and was attended by deputies from all parts of Germany and Austria, and guests from France and Switzerland. This assembly has now the character of a diet of all the various associations established for religious purposes. The proceedings consist mostly in reports on the progress of the several religious associations and on the condition of public opinion among the Catholic population; and the main advantage expected from them, is to awaken a new interest in religious associations, especially in the district in which the General Assembly is held. The place for holding the assembly changes therefore every year. For next year Prague is chosen, and in case of any hinderances, the capital of Bavaria, in which country no General Assembly has been held as yet, as it was feared that the government would refuse permission. The assembly of the present year received letters of approbation from the pope and a considerable number of the German bishops. A marked progress of some of the religious associations was reported from Prussia, where, for example, in the archdiocese of Cologne the Society of St. Boniface has seen its income raised from 3,000 thalers to 22,000 thalers. THE CONCORDATS with some of the states in southwestern Germany still occupy the public attention to a high degree. That with Baden has not yet been published, but the general expectation is, that the concessions made by the government to the Church are very large, and that, for example, all the faculties of the state university of Freiburg will be placed under

the control of the archbishop. A rumor prevails that the concordat with Baden, as soon as officially published, will be adopted also by the Duchy of Nassau, whose Catholic population belong to the same ecclesiastical province with Baden. The government of Wurtemberg has commenced to carry out a part of the provisions of the concordat, without heeding the very decided opposition of the Chambers to it. THE REFORMATION OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS in Austria had at length been brought to a close, and the resistance of a majority of the monks to a reinforcing of the old discipline has, after a struggle of seven years, succumbed. All the orders will be gradually brought back to their old rules, by introducing the reformation into the novitiates and successively in every convent in which the monks pledged to the reform shall have a majority. An important point in this reformation is the restoration of the connection between the Austrian convents and the Superiors General and General Assemblies in Rome. The cardinal archbishop of Gran, in Hungary, informs the clergy of his diocese that a part of the reformatory decrees will be obligatory for all the members of the religious orders, expressing however at the same time his regret that the sharp iron has been made use of, instead of pouring the oil of mercy into the wounds.

SWITZERLAND.

Protestant Churches.— THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF BASEL reported at the last General Assembly the income of the past year as amounting to 642,000 francs, a sum considerably exceeding that of any preceding year. All the missions except one have made progress, and the number of baptized pagans has increased to four thousand seven hundred and nineteen. At the annual meeting of the EVANGELICAL SOCIETY OF GENEVA, at which usually the foreign attendance is more comprehensive than at the meetings of Basel, there was this year a great want of visitors from abroad. There was, however, no lack of interest, and the meetings received an additional interest from the circumstance of the ordination of four young ministers, prepared in the theological school, and one of whom will soon be employed in Canada, his native country. The School of Theology, which was founded and is still controlled by the Evangelical Society, continues to prosper under the presidency of Merle d'Aubigne. This year seven young ministers have been licensed, making up for the last three years sixteen ministers. At the same time the number of students has increased, and ranges now between thirty and forty, who belong, as formerly, to various countries and Churches. The school tends in particular to become more and more the theological seminary of the Protestant French Churches in Canada. THE RATIONALISTIC PARTY is improving its organization, and thereby gaining ground in a number of cantons, especially among the younger clergy. In the Canton of Berne the members of this party have formed a "Theologic Ecclesiastical Society," whose meetings have been attended by about thirty clergymen. At the twentieth annual meeting of the General Preachers' Society, held at St. Gallen, in August, the influence of the party made itself felt more strongly than in any preceding year. Some of its representatives avowed their disbelief in a personal God and the immortality of the soul. They display a great literary activity, and some of their works, as a "System of Christian Doctrines," by H. Lang, the editor of their central organ, and a "Manual of Religious Instruction for the higher Classes of Colleges," by Professor Biederman, of Zurich, are attracting some attention both in Switzerland and Germany. It is believed that a hard contest between the Rationalistic and the Orthodox parties throughout Switzerland is approaching. As yet, it seems, greater forbearance is shown to the Rationalists within the State Church than to the FREE EVANGELICAL CONGREGATIONS. After the precedence of several other cantons, the Synod of Berne recently resolved, with thirty-two votes against twenty-four, to petition the Grand Council of the Canton for a new law, protecting the State Church against the progress of the Free Churches.

The Roman Catholic Church.— The second GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PIUS, OR CATHOLIC ASSOCIATIONS met in August at Schwyz, under the presidency of Count Schezer. It was attended by about two hundred members, representing eighty associations. The most conspicuous part of the proceedings was a speech of the celebrated Capuchin monk, Father Theodosius, the most prominent and active man of Catholic Switzerland, on the task of the association and the duties of Catholics with regard to society. According to a work recently published on

the STATISTICS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH of Switzerland, the number of Roman Catholics amounts to 971,809, among whom there are 4,047 ecclesiastics, or one for every 243 inhabitants. The number of monks amounts to 527, that of nuns to 1,411. Among the monks the Capuchins are the most numerous, counting 378 members.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches.—The SECOND SCANDINAVIAN CHURCH DIET was held at Lund, Sweden, in September. The attendance was not as numerous as was expected. Many of the leading High Lutherans of Sweden and Norway showed themselves opposed to it, and even the theological faculty of the University of Lund refused to attend. It was presided over by Bishop Thomander, of Lund, who is regarded as the most prominent representative of evangelical principles among the Swedish bishops, and by Professor Hammerich, of Copenhagen. The proceedings consisted mostly in accounts of the religious life of the three countries, viewed from the two different standpoints (High Lutheran and Evangelical) which were represented in the assembly. Visitors were present from the Lutheran Church of France, and from that of Finland. Among the suggestions thrown out we mention one by Dr. Kalker, to unite in the establishment of a common Scandinavian Foreign Missionary Society.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE VISIT OF THE BISHOP OF OSNABRUCK, who is at the same time Provicar Apostolic of the Northern Missions in Denmark, is considered an event of some importance, as it is the first appearance of a Catholic bishop in that country since 1542, when the last Bishop of Roeskild died. The bishop met with a favorable reception on the part of the king and the crown prince, was invited to the royal table, and declared himself entirely satisfied with regard to the result of his visit.

FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The DISSATISFACTION OF THE CATHOLIC PARTY with the government has been greatly increased by the policy of the emperor in the Italian question. In pursuance of an invitation of the pope, the bishops have issued circulars to their dioceses, in which they prescribe public prayers for the pope, denounce "the wicked attempts" to strip the head of the Church of a part of his temporal power, and treat every effort to induce the papal government to grant political reforms as an encroachment upon the rights of an independent sovereign. The differences which have occasionally shown themselves among the bishops have disappeared in this question, and it has been remarked with general surprise, that one of the most violent documents has been issued by Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, who was heretofore considered as one of the most moderate and learned French bishops. Some of the bishops have even taken the ground that the papal states belong among the best governed of Europe. The government have repeatedly reprimanded the manifestations of the Catholic party. In a reply to a public harangue of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the emperor has emphatically reiterated his belief in the necessity of reforms in the government of the papal states, and requested the bishop to calm rather than to excite the public sentiment. The leading Catholic papers, the "*Univers*," the "*Ami de la Religion*," and the "*Correspondent*" have again received official warnings, the two latter for having published an article of Count Montalembert on the Italian question. Next to the embarrassed position of the pope, the DEATH OF THE CURE D'ARS, a village priest, who recently died in the odor of sanctity, has been the most talked-of event in the Catholic Church. The examples of medieval and ancient asceticism have become in modern times exceedingly rare, and it was therefore natural that a man who imitated and equaled the strictest ascetics of former times, would become a subject, partly of curiosity, partly of admiration. His diocesan, the Bishop of Belley, in a circular letter addressed to the clergy on the day of his death, says of him that he neither slept nor ate, contenting himself with three or four ounces of nourishment per day and one or two hours' sleep. He entered the confessional long before daybreak, and except to say his mass, give a short instruction, and eat his meal, rarely left it much before midnight. The influx of pilgrims from all parts of France was so great, that they had generally to wait at least forty-eight hours before they had a chance of speaking to him. Already powers of healing and conversion have been imputed to his earthly remains, a pilgrimage has been organized to his tomb, and it is the general expectation of the people, that these imputed privileges

will soon meet with an official seal and recognition from the authorities of his Church.

The Protestant Churches.—THE PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTS still continues in many parts of France, mostly owing to the great influence of the bishops on the subaltern officers of the state. In a town of northern France a soldier has been punished with fourteen days of imprisonment, for refusing to bend his knee before the elevated host. He had previously applied in vain to his officer to be exempted from doing military service during the mass. The minister of war, however, who is a Protestant himself, has annulled the punishment. THE FRENCH BRANCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE has held an annual assembly at Lyons from October 31 to November 2. The interest of the French Churches in the objects of the alliance is still very great, and many efforts are made to establish a closer union between the several denominations. To the same end a monthly is devoted, which was established in January, 1859, under the title, *La Croix, feuille mensuelle, consacree à l'union Chretienne et au develloppement de la vie dans l'eglise.*

ITALY.

The Protestant Churches.—FULL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY for all Protestants has been proclaimed by the legislative assemblies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Legation. Naples, Venetia, and the Papal States remain now the only Italian States in which the free organization of Protestant congregations is still forbidden or impeded. At Florence the Italian service, began by Mr. Malan, late Moderator of the Waldensian Church, has been regularly continued. Father Gavazzi has recommenced preaching in Bologna. In Milan the necessary arrangements have been made for the establishment of a Waldensian Church.

SPAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—PERSECUTION still continues. A Spanish Protestant, Senor Escalante, has been arrested in Andalusia, at the instance of the priests, for hawking copies of the Spanish New Testament. He is an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said to be a native of Gibraltar, which would entitle him to British protection. He was at first put into a local prison with the first malefactors, but he has since been removed to the prison of Cadiz, where he has been well treated and allowed to be visited by his friends.

TURKEY.

The Greek Church.—THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH has, ever since the beginning of the present year, continued to be the subject of grave deliberation. The Council of Reform, consisting of the most prominent laymen of the Church, has remained in permanent session, and is supported by the sympathies not only of the Turkish government but also by those of the Patriarch of Constantinople. A passionate resistance, on the other hand, has been made to the measures of the Council of Reform by those metropolites who are members of the Holy Synod, and who have long been accustomed to live in Constantinople. When the lay representatives resolved to abolish the taxes heretofore levied by the higher Greek clergy on the laity, and to assign to the bishops fixed salaries, they entered a solemn protest. To overcome their resistance, the Turkish Minister of the Interior, Fuad Pasha, ordered them to leave the capital, and to take their residence, in accordance with the canons of their Church, in their own dioceses. The metropolites again protested against this measure, representing it as an attack of the Mohammedan government on the immunities of the Greek Church. They communicated their protest to the Synods of St. Petersburgh and Athens, and in the latter place they met with an almost unanimous support of the press. But the Council of Reform at Constantinople have prepared a refutation, and intend to carry through the reorganization. Already the salary of the Patriarch of Constantinople has been fixed at six hundred thousand piastres. Simultaneously with these efforts of abolishing old abuses, the DECENTRALIZATION OF THE CHURCH is constantly engrossing the attention of large portions of the Church. The Bulgarians have again sent petitions, covered with more than six thousand signatures, to the government, to obtain their independence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the appointment of a national patriarch and national bishops. Their indignation against the Greek clergy has been recently greatly increased by a decree of the patriarch to close their churches in Constantinople on account of one of their priests having failed to pay certain customary fees. The "*Presse d'Orient*," a French paper of Constanti-

nople, reports even that a whole Bulgarian district, in order to get rid of the oppressions of the Greek clergy, has declared its intention to join the Church of Rome. The National Assembly of Servia has prohibited the begging of the monks, and subjected the administration of their property to the inspection of lay committees. All the convents are moreover to be transformed into parish churches. NUMEROUS ADDITIONS to the Greek Church have been made in the pashalic of Trebizonde, in Asia Minor, where about seven thousand members of a tribe which since 1461 has been apparently Mohammedan, have declared themselves publicly as Christians. The Turkish government has laid no obstacles in their way, mostly induced by the consideration, that in case of the continuance of compulsion, the whole tribe would have emigrated to Russia.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE GREEK CATHOLIC (MELCHITE) BISHOPS, who are opposed to the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar, have held a synod at Endor, near Zahle, and declared themselves independent of the authority of the papal delegate, Valerga, who attempted to force them to submission. They have organized themselves as an independent ecclesiastical body, and sent delegates to Constantinople, to obtain from the government the recognition as the Eastern Melchite Church.

The Protestant Churches.—THE NUMBER OF PROTESTANTS IN TURKEY, according to a recent Turkish correspondence of a Church gazette of Berlin, amounts to about seventeen thousand, comprising about eleven thousand evangelical Franks and six thousand natives. It has been recently increased by the immigration of a number of Molokans, from Russia, who are believed to possess, to a large extent, a sound Protestant creed. Driven by persecution, several of them have entered Turkey, and arrived in the neighborhood of Sivas, and there is every probability both that they will be permanently resident in Turkey, and that their numbers will be from time to time augmented by new accessions from Russia. The Auxiliary Bible Society of Constantinople has already taken steps which may lead to the supply of their wants. THE PROTESTANT ARMENIAN COMMUNITY is greatly suffering from pecuniary embarrassment. When they were excommunicated from the Patriarch of the Armenian Church, they had to choose a civil head, who, as their official organ, represents them with the government. On account of their poverty they find it hard to collect the tax levied on them for supporting this civil organization, which, therefore, it is feared, may be entirely dissolved, a circumstance which would expose them to new persecutions. THE BULGARIAN MISSION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH has been much encouraged by the reception of two thousand copies of the New Testament in the simple Bulgarian language, and by the circumstances under which their circulation has been commenced.

ART. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, October, 1859.—1. Rev. Mr. Lee's Eschatology: 2. Notes on Scripture: Matthew xxii–xxiii.: 3. The Judgments Foreshown under the Vials: 4. The Deluge a Cause of Geological Change: 5. The Doctrine of Christ's Coming and Reign soon to be held by the Evangelical Church generally: 6. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chapters xlvi, xlvii, and xlviii.

II. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, October, 1859.—1. Revised Book of Discipline: 2. Life and Writings of Maimonides: 3. Natural Science and Revealed Religion: 4. An Educated Ministry: The Board of Education: 5. The Church a Spiritual Power: 6. The Revival of the Slave-trade: 7. The General Assembly of 1859: 8. Breckenridge's Knowledge of God, Subjectively Considered.

III. Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, October, 1859.—1. The Rev. Thomas Arnold, D.D.: 2. An Attempt to Preserve the Catholic Faith in its Purity: 3. The Divine Covenants: 4. Dr. Schaff's Church History: 5. Scientific Import and Value of the First Chapter of Genesis.

IV. Brownson's Quarterly Review, October, 1859.—1. The Immaculate Conception: 2. Charlemagne: His Scholarship: 3. Ecclesiastical Seminaries: 4. Divorce and Divorce Laws: 5. Romanic and Germanic Orders: 6. The Roman Question.

V. The Christian Review, October, 1859.—1. Dr. Carson and the Romish Controversy: 2. The Philosophy of History: 3. The Old Testament in the Discourses of Jesus: 4. Ministerial Success: 5. The Angel Jehovah: 6. Remarks on Matthew, xi, 2-14: 7. The Relation of Christ's Death to the Law, or Righteousness of God.

VI. The Southern Baptist Review, July—September, 1859.—1. Able Ministry: 2. Who Vote in a Congregational Church: 3. Conduct in the Kingdom of Christ: 4. Divine Love *vs.* Universalism: 5. Ordinances Administered by Pedo-Baptists: 6. The New Heavens and New Earth: 7. Notes on the Revelation: 8. China Mission: 9. Eclectic Department.

VII. The Evangelical Review, October, 1859.—1. The Christian Ministry: 2. English Lutheran Hymn Books: 3. Schmid's Dogmatic of the Lutheran Church: 4. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 5. Justification by Faith alone: 6. The Relations of the Vegetable to the Animal World, etc.: 7 and 8. Baccalaureate Addresses: 9. What is the Result of Science with Regard to the Primitive World? 10. Schmucker's Catechism.

VIII. The Mercersburg Review, October, 1859.—1. Religion and Christianity: 2. Christian Union and the Liturgical Tendencies of the Times: 3. Anglo-German Life in America: 4. Faith and Knowledge: 5. The Idyls of Theocritus: 6. The Eutychian Churches: 7. Every Man is the Lord's in Death: A Discourse. By Dr. Rauch.

IX. The Congregational Quarterly, October, 1859.—1. William Phillips: 2. Adaptation of Congregationalism for the Work of Home Missions: 3. Congregational Churches and Ministers in Windham County, Ct.: 4. Mortuary Statistics of the Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, during the First Fifty Years: 5. The American Home Missionary Society, and the New School General Assembly: 6. Ventilation of Churches: 7. The Creeds of the World: 8. Architecture and Christian Principle: 9. American Denominational Statistics: 10. Congregational Theological Seminaries in England: 11. A Lesson from the Past: Catechising: 12. Gilbert Richmond: 13. Books of Interest to Congregationalists: 14. Congregational Necrology: 15. Congregational Quarterly Record.

X. Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository, October, 1859.—1. Comparative Phonology; or, the Phonetic System of the Indo-European Languages: 2. The Atonement, a Satisfaction for the Ethical Nature of both God and Man: 3. Breckenridge's Theology: 4. India: The Bhagvat Geeta: 5. The Angel of Jehovah: 6. The Oneness of God in Revelation and in Nature.

XI. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1859.—1. How should Natural Ability be Preached? 2. Popular Objections to Divine Goodness from the Existence of Evil: 3. The General Assembly's Plan for Increasing the Ministry: 4. Humboldt: 5. The Princeton Review's Criticism on "Barnes on the Atonement."

XII. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, October, 1859.—1. Sir William Hamilton: 2. A Nation's Right to Worship God: 3. The Old Testament Idea of a Prophet: 4. The Presbyterian Church in Ireland: 5. Sunday Laws.

XIII.—THE NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1859.—1. Christianity a Strong System; 2. Robertson's Sermons and Extempore Preaching; 3. Development and Evolution; 4. Dr. Taylor on Moral Government; 5. Dr. Bellows on the Suspense of Faith; 6. Dr. Osgood on the Broad Church; 7. The New Northwest; 8. Co-operation in Home Missions—The American Home Missionary Society and the Church Extension Committee; 9. Agricultural Education; 10. The Moral of Harper's Ferry.

THE article on Dr. Taylor on Moral Government, by Professor Martin, occupying nearly seventy pages, presents the New Haven theology with much ability, in a very favorable light. The most remarkable part is its discussion on the Divine admission of sin. Until Dr. Taylor, the doctrine has passed as an uncontradicted maxim in Calvinistic theology, that sin was necessary, or at least conducive to the highest good of the universe. The logical result of course is, that good and evil are but two classes of actual good, and that Satan fulfills his mission of peculiar good as approvably as Gabriel. Dr. Edwards's formula was that "sin was the occasion of the greatest good." Dr. Hopkins held "sin through Divine interposition an advantage to the universe." Dr. West, with an affirmative meaning, queried, "Whether the existence and taking place of sin are not the occasion of more and greater good in the system than could otherwise have been effected and produced?" Dr. Taylor introduced into Calvinistic theology the Arminian view that the free moral agency, involving the possibility of sin, was necessary to the best universe; yet the actual commission of sin by the moral agent was neither necessary, nor most conducive to the best estate of things. Did the agent always will right, the universe might be better; and yet this may be the best universe in the nature of things possible. The writer, if we understand him, supposes this doctrine to be original with Dr. Taylor.

He endeavors to sustain Dr. Taylor's originality by misstating the Wesleyan view; first quoting an irrelevant passage from Wesley, which he misrepresents, and then quoting Bledsoe "as sympathizing with Wesley." The passage from Wesley quoted by him is as follows: "Yea, mankind have gained by the fall a capacity, first, of being more holy and happy on earth, and secondly, of being more happy in heaven *than otherwise they could have been.* For if man had not fallen, there must have been a blank in our faith and in our love." Now this passage affirms only what everybody holds to be true, that in our remedial system a particular evil has been overruled by God so as to eventuate in a higher good to our race, all the thanks being due to God and none to the evil. The good has not its cause in the evil, but in the power and goodness of God, who made it a sequence of the evil. But Mr. Wesley's real doctrine was that it was the *possibility* of evil (involved in free moral agency) and not its *reality*, which was necessary to the best system. Thus he says: "Why is there *pain* in the world; seeing God is 'loving to every man, and his mercy is over all his works?" Because there is sin; had there been no sin, there would have been no pain. But pain (supposing God to be just) is the necessary effect of sin. But why is there sin in the world? Because man was created in the image of God; because he is not mere matter, a clod of earth, a lump of clay, without sense or understanding; but a spirit like his Creator, a being endued not only with sense and understanding, but also with *a will exerting itself* in various affec-

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As to Mr. Bledsoe, he "sympathizes with Wesley" just so far as he agrees with Wesley, and no further; but agreeing or not, he is no Wesleyan authority.

After Dr. Taylor had vindicated the Divine Government by introducing into his system the Arminian view of sin, it is sad to see how he is obliged, by his Calvinistic position, to overthrow his own work by the admission of the principle of "pre-ordination." "Evil being connected with the system by no necessity of the system itself, and by no connivance of God or preference of it to holiness, not only this providential permission of evil, but the most complete and universal foreordination of it, are explained and vindicated. If sin is to occur, then, as Edwards argues, it is doubtless better that the time and manner of its occurrence should be under the guidance of Infinite Wisdom, in order that this element of evil may be reduced within the narrowest limits. Such arrangements of motives and influences as will most effectually check its spread, and contribute to the recovery of those infected by it, become in the highest degree desirable; and thus the complete foreordination of events, the universality of the Divine decrees, stand above all serious objection." If it be thus true that God not only determinately selects that system in which there is the free possibility of sin, but also foreordains each particular sinful volition, then that agent is omnipotently limited to that volition, and the volition is made objectively necessary, and freedom is objectively destroyed. The only safe and true view here, also, is the Arminian one. This view is, that God, foreseeing how each and every possible free agent, in any possible case, will freely act, so positions all free agents in existence and so adjusts his own course as that from their free, unnecessitated, undecreed actions he may educe the best possible result. Particular foreordination makes God the approver of the particular sin. It makes God will that particular sin in preference to holiness in its stead. That particular sin is fixed by the particular Divine volition; every other supposable act of the agent instead is by the Divine volition excluded, and the one sin receives the Divine sanction and necessitation. Thus at last these elaborate defenses to vindicate the Divine government are—*omnis effusus labor!*—overthrown by the hand that constructs them.

II.—*English Reviews.*

I. The Westminster Review, October, 1859.—1. Militia Forces: 2. Rosseau: his Life and Writings: 3. Spiritual Freedom: 4. Modern Poets and Poetry of Italy: 5. Physical Geography of the Atlantic Ocean: 6. Garibaldi and the Italian Volunteers: 7. Tennyson's Idyls of the King: 8. Bonapartism in Italy.

II. The Quarterly Review, October, 1859.—1. Architecture of all Countries: 2. New Zealand: its Progress and Resources: 3. Geography and Biography of the Bible: 4. Order of Nature: Baden Powell: 5. Tennyson's Poems: 6. Strikes and their Effects: 7. Farm Weeds: 8. Orchard Houses: 9. The Three Bills of Parliamentary Reform.

III. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1859.—1. The Book of Daniel: 2. Arnauld, Reid, Hamilton: Immediate Perception: 3. Trench on Revision: 4. Theology: Its Idea, Sources, Uses: 5. The United States a Commissioned Missionary Nation: 6. Language as a Means of Classifying Man: 7. The Distinctions in the Godhead Personal, not Nominal: 8. The Hypostatical Union: 9. Nineveh: The Historians and the Monuments: 10. Murchison's Siluria: 11. Anselm and his Theory of the Atonement.

IV. The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, October, 1859.—1. Bain's Psychology: 2. A Visit to England in 1775: 3. Sir Emerson Tennent's Ceylon: 4. Carlyle's Frederic the Great: 5. The Graffiti of Pompeii: 6. The Virginians: 7. The Italian Campaign of 1859: 8. Unpublished Correspondence of Madame du Deffand: 9. Senior's Journal in Turkey and Greece: 10. Secret Organization of Trades.

V. The North British Review, November, 1859.—1. State Papers—Memoirs of Henry VII.: 2. Canning and his Times: 3. New Poems: 4. Professor B. Powell's Order of Nature: 5. Novels: Geoffry Hamlyn and Stephan Langton: 6. Students of the "New Learning": 7. Japan and the Japanese: 8. Libraries: 9. New Exegesis of Shakspeare: 10. Life-Boats: Lightning Conductors: Lighthouses: 11. The Italian Question.

VI. The Sacred Journal of Literature and Biblical Record, October, 1859.—1. Modern Prophetical Literature: 2. On the Descent of Christ into Hell: 3. Bunsen's Egyptian History: 4. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John, Rev. xi.: 5. The Theology of Revelation and of Heathenism: 6. Slavery Condemned by Sacred and Profane Writers.

VII. The National Review, October, 1859.—1. George Canning: 2. The Teneriffe Astronomical Expedition: 3. Senior's Journal in Turkey and Greece: 4. Royer-Collard: 5. Tennyson's Idyl's: 6. The Navy; its Want of Men: 7. Tudor Legislation: Mr. Froude and Mr. Amos: 8. The Poetry of the Old Testament: 9. John Stuart Mill.

VIII. The London Review, (Wesleyan,) October, 1859.—1. Literature of the People: 2. Natural History of Architecture: 3. Idyls of the King: 4. Bushnell on Miracles: 5. Social Science: 6. Life Assurance Institutions: 7. Ten Years of Preacher Life—W. H. Milburn: 8. Romish Theory of Development: 9. Small Farming: 10. Parliament and Reform.

Our English friends seem to possess much the same relish for our Western preacher race as a metropolitan epicure cherishes for wild game. Mr. Bull is an admirer of Peter Cartwright—blessings on his taste—and Mr. Heylin publishes a *caveat* against unauthorized editions. When, however, Bull gives a genial welcome to so rare a phenomenon from the western wild as Milburn, we will indorse his *notion*. The article on Mr. Milburn's *Ten Years* is appreciative, justly so, we think, in every respect. So abundant, we will say, are the laudatory paragraphs, that the exception upon one point which this article, like our own book notice, makes, must appear extorted by a sense of duty and

justice. Without the slightest intention of the kind, Mr. Milburn's book bears testimony from which, as the reviewer well remarks, an uncorrupted mind "would form a darker idea of the effect of slavery upon the dominant class than from Mrs. Stowe's fiction." And it suggests both an aggravation of the seducing influence of "the system" and a palliation of the individual case, when we see how its deep subtle poison can blend with and shed its pervading taint through one of the otherwise purest and noblest natures existing; so unconsciously indeed that the victim's very transparency shall make it all the more clearly apparent to all true eyes but his own.

The concluding paragraph is excellent:

> "The book must be a favorite, by force of its talents, its stories, and its amazing variety. It is not without serious drawbacks as to its moral effects, in the zest with which coarse, and wild, and bad actions are sometimes told. It will, however, breathe a manly respect for preachers of the Gospel, and for a working style of piety, free from moroseness and cant, into many a youth and man of the world. It is a remarkably good transcript of W. H. Milburn, not by any description it gives of him; but because it is the exact representation, as a whole, of his mind and character, as shown in what things he loves to dwell upon, and how he views and depicts them. We ought to add, that, after six years spent in the South, ill health drove him back to the North; that he has since been chaplain to Congress again; has narrowly escaped being secularized into a mere lecturer, a regular and lucrative profession in America, and is now pastor of a flourishing church in Brooklyn. This statement brings us far beyond the ten years with which the book closes. Let us hope that his next ten will not end without as completely blowing away his Southern dazzle, as the last did his metaphysical mists; and that his preacher life will mature in its progress, and leave at its end good seed, to be reaped with gratitude hereafter by the generations that are warning us of the present day, with the shadowy but retributive hand of the future."

One remark upon Mr. Milburn's style will amuse all pure utterers of the President's Yankee, as well as of the Queen's English: "At a place called Bloomington they 'had to lie over till two the next morning, in order to make connection with another stage line.' This is one of the most perfectly Americanized sentences in the book; for in style, as in speech, Mr. Milburn is remarkably free from the peculiarities of the country." And then our reviewer luminously translates this specimen of Americanism: "It means that they *had to wait till another conveyance came up.*" Perhaps we do not understand the English language; we certainly doubt whether we correctly understand this last English sentence. But if we do understand it, Mr. Milburn's language has a different meaning expressed in better English. And now our English brother may quote upon us, if he pleases, the Edinburgh Reviewer's witticism, that we resemble "the mountebank who claimed that he could squeal a little better than piggy himself."

IX. The British Quarterly Review, October, 1859. — 1. Unitarianism.—Mr. Martineau: 2. Tennent's Account of Ceylon: 3. Shelley: 4. The Buddhist Pilgrims: 5. Raindrops: 6. Novels and Novelists: 7. Financial Resources of India: 8. Tennyson's Idyls of the King: 9. Metternich.

The leading article of the British Quarterly Review is a very able discussion of the present condition of Unitarianism, and the inferences as to the truth of that system thence to be derived. At the head of the article are placed the various leading publications of Rev. James Martineau, whom it names as the

present head of the "Unitarian Church." "Our reason for naming *him*, rather than any other of his brethren who are the known leaders of the religious communion to which he belongs—and for naming *him alone*—is what he must think complimentary, and can, in his view, be no bad evidence of our taste and sense of literary merit. Let Mr. Martineau understand us, therefore, in this sense. We think that, on several grounds of preference, he stands far in advance of any recent Unitarian writer, at least of any on this side the Atlantic."

Modern Unitarianism is now about a century old. Its history was opened by a number of learned and able men, some of whom attested their honesty by personal sacrifices of worldly advantage. It may be in a proper sense conceded that its rise was a demanded reaction from certain points in the style of orthodoxy once dominant. But with all its initial advantages what are the results? So insignificant, it is argued, as to justify the inference, without any insidious feeling, that its mission is completely accomplished and farther existence unnecessary.

The Reviewer supports his inference by an appeal to the census. It is, indeed, to be conceded that there are many who might plausibly be claimed as Unitarian who are not so enumerated in the census registry. Quite a large "Invisible Unitarian Church" there may be, consisting of persons whose belief if not Unitarian, can scarcely be claimed as, in fact, anything else. The census man, however, does not find them in the Unitarian chapel. Where are they on Sunday morning? Many, strange to say, are uttering from the Liturgy of the establishment the most solemn reiterations of the doctrine of the Trinity, in the most explicit forms that human language can attain, in the dread presence of the Searcher of hearts!

> "Other some of the Invisible Unitarian Church, we may suppose, are frequenters of the Sunday services of the orthodox Dissenting places of worship. What has been said of such Conformists to the worship of the Established Church, might be said also of these; only with this difference: except in the hymn, those present are less directly implicated in the ritual; and one may quietly listen to a tune and forget the words. But then, if the participation in worship be less, the *implication* in the doctrinal profession of the society is more immediate and significant; the religious sociality and the interchange of sentiment is more active; and therefore the Unitarian communicant in a Dissenting church must either be practicing an unworthy concealment of his opinions in his family and among his religious friends, or else he must at once endanger and scandalize them by freely avowing what he thinks. He either offends his own conscience by his concealments and evasions, or he puts a stumbling-block in the way of the worthy man his minister, who is tempted to wink at his heterodoxy, for he may be a 'leading man' in the congregation.
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> "But no doubt the larger number of this Invisible Church are spending their Sunday mornings more at their ease: they are, perhaps, at the drawing-room window, amused to watch the streams 'of fanatics' on their way to listen to stale expositions of 'obsolete books;' or they are abroad in the fields, worshiping the blue sky and the green fields; or they are at home, conversing with 'inspired writers'—one of the series from Isaiah to Shelley; or with any others who have given us aid in conversing with 'Eternal and Absolute Truth.' These persons are the most to be commended, or they are the least open to blame of the three sorts. But the three alike are faithless to their convictions; even these last are so, if they profess to listen, with approval, to Mr. Martineau, who insists upon the duty, not merely of openly avowing one's opinions, but of frequenting public worship, and of giving it a generous support. . . . In fact, if we look to the instances in any circle that may be known to us, we shall find

present head of the "Unitarian Church." "Our reason for naming *him*, rather than any other of his brethren who are the known leaders of the religious communion to which he belongs—and for naming *him alone*—is what he must think complimentary, and can, in his view, be no bad evidence of our taste and sense of literary merit. Let Mr. Martineau understand us, therefore, in this sense. We think that, on several grounds of preference, he stands far in advance of any recent Unitarian writer, at least of any on this side the Atlantic."

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that these *non-chapel-going* Unitarians are, nineteen in twenty of them, not so much *free*-thinking as *loose*-thinking persons; persons who, according to the mood of the moment, and with a listless indifference, take up either the *Studies in Christianity*, or Mr. F. Newman's book on *The Soul*, or Theodore Parker's volumes, or anything else of the sort; and who, it is likely, bring their religious readings to a close with a chapter from Auguste Comte or Mr. Holyoake. On any supposition concerning the *faith* of such persons, this is manifestly certain, that, judging of it by its fruits, their faith is a 'dead faith;' and that at any time, if the practical test were applied to them, by making an appeal, either to the conscience or to the purse, to avow manfully their convictions, and to give aid, nobly, for the maintenance and spread of *Religious Truth*—on any such occasion, when a man of generous temper will show what stuff he is made of, it will turn out that this member of the Invisible Unitarian Church retreats as quickly as possible, and becomes 'invisible'—or, as we say, *he is not at home.*"

The Unitarian communion, in a reckoning of numbers, is not to be held as "one of the (about) twenty recognized religious communions, each of which differs in doctrine from the nineteen as widely as Unitarians differ from the nineteen."

"In relation to the doctrines which are distinctive of Unitarianism, and which hedge it about, and which segregate it, it stands opposed to eighteen communions that explicitly and firmly profess the faith which Unitarians reject. For the sake of brevity, and to speak in round numbers, let us say there are, in England and Wales, twenty sects—twenty religious persuasions worshiping in churches and chapels, distinctly designated. Of this number, two are Antitrinitarian; eighteen are orthodox, or, as we say, Trinitarian. . . . Christian profession in England and Wales offers itself to view under as many as eight varieties, not more, namely: 1. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND, which is Episcopalian, Liturgical, and *Trinitarian.* 2. The INDEPENDENTS, Congregational, Pædobaptist, and *Trinitarian*, and Evangelical. 3. The BAPTISTS, Congregational, Antipædobaptist, and *Trinitarian*, and Evangelical. 4. The WESLEYAN METHODISTS (Presbyterian substantially,) Liturgical, (in part,) and *Trinitarian*, and Evangelical. 5. The MORAVIANS, Episcopal, Liturgical, and *Trinitarian*, and Evangelical. 6. The Calvinistic Methodists, (Congregational?) Liturgical, and *Trinitarian*, and Evangelical. 7. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (?). 8. The Unitarians, Congregational, Liturgical, (in part,) and ANTITRINITARIAN. . . . The *sittings* provided in places of worship of all classes are 10,212,563; which number will give, for the entire population of England and Wales, *eight years ago*, 57 per cent. The proportion of sittings provided by *each* denomination, as compared with the sittings provided by *all*, is, in some instances, as follows: The Church of England provides over 52 per cent. The Independents and Baptists together about 16 per cent. The Wesleyans about 22 per cent. The Quakers provide 0.9; and the Unitarians 0.7 of the whole, or 68,554 sittings in all. . . . In the half-century preceding the census, Wesleyan places of worship increased from 852 to 11,007; those of the Independents, from 912 to 3,244; the Baptists, from 652 to 2,789. It does not appear that—England and Wales taken together—the Unitarian communion has made any advance; much less has it held its position as related to the increase of the population, which has increased from nearly nine millions to nearly eighteen millions."

Such being the showings of the statistics in regard to the experiment of Unitarianism during an entire century, what, he asks, are the causes, and what the inferences? The causes lie in the nature of the system, as the writer with no little acuteness demonstrates. Doctrinal principles may be divided, according to the immediateness and force of the operation upon human action, into ulterior and proximate. In philosophy the nature of consciousness, for instance, or of personal identity, is abstract and ulterior. Its discussion even among philosophers results in "We don't know." Then "let us forget the difficulty, and go on as if we had never heard any such question stated." The

doctrine of animal life, or gravitation, is ulterior and even beyond knowledge; but the aliments by which animal life is supported, the manner by which the center of gravity in a building must be adjusted, are proximate matters lying close upon the spring of human action. And so it is in religion.

"Abstract theology, or pure theism, although it be put into propositions in the best, the most severely logical terms, does not powerfully affect the human mind; it takes a feeble effect upon a few minds, exceptionally constituted, and anchoretically trained. Pure theism has never been popularly carried forth on the highways of life and set agoing as an effective religion for the people. Many of us have wondered and vexed ourselves in finding it so. 'Why will not men listen to what is true, and good, and wise?' This perplexity or vexation has been misplaced. Pure theism is an ultimate or ulterior principle, right in itself, and demonstrable, but not adapted to the requirements of the human mind as the spring or the solid ground of its energies. The human mind (such is the unalterable law of the intellectual world) must reach *far-off truths* through the *near-at-hand-truths:* it must first come into vital and effective correspondence with things certain, *or held to be certain;* it must touch proximate principles, and, when thus quickened, the moral nature expands itself, and there is a product, there is life, and there are the fruits of life.

What is now the ordinary course of things? The mass of persons in a Christianized country, that is, the church-and-chapel-going people around us, on a Sunday morning, accept the Scriptures, the books of the Canon, as 'the Book of God'—a book differing by the vastness of an immeasurable interval from all other books, however wise and good and edifying such other books may be. The mass of persons, individually incompetent as they are to come to such a conclusion for themselves, take it on trust, and they do well in so taking it, knowing, as they do, that men of all communions, fully instructed and learnedly informed, have accepted the Bible as the book of God, notwithstanding all showing to the contrary on the part of captious men. Thus accepted, the Bible, fraught with its historical realities, comes into a place that, in secular science and art, is occupied by proximate truths—principles that have long been subjected to trial, and that may now be relied upon in practice. Thus possessed of *a sure holding in the religious life,* the mass of persons become, insensibly, and, as one might say, unconsciously, possessed *also* of those ulterior truths which breathe harmony throughout the inspired writings. They come to be theists as they tread daily the sure pathways of the Gospel. Truth near at hand coalesces with the truth afar off, graciously, noiselessly, and illogically, perhaps, but yet rightfully: so it is that the Bible reader comes to know, what no philosophy has known."

Now, Mr. Martineau's system is a successive negation of all the positive and proximate forces that religiously affect the actions of men. From the Bible it takes its inspiration; from Jesus his miracles and saving power. The errors of the apostles and of Jesus reduce them to the level of ourselves, sunk to the level of a semi-civilized age. Uncertainty is made to pervade the whole matter of religion, and the main function of the preacher of Christianity is simply reduced to the delivery of a lecture upon his own individual views upon questions in which he is earnest to show that there is little positively reliable truth discoverable.

And now, why should secular and laboring men expend their means and their time upon the edifices, the salaries, and the performances of a body of intellectual men, for the purpose of hearing them ventilate their round of ulterior abstractions and uncertainties? Something of a zest may, indeed, arise from a zealous antagonism with orthodoxy, and thus there may exist temporary relative strength where there is truly no absolute life. Heterodoxy, indeed, as it is an antithesis, does generally derive its factitious life and nourishment from the orthodoxy it opposes. Opposition is with it the life of doctrine of animal life, or gravitation, is ulterior and even beyond knowledge; but the aliments by which animal life is supported, the manner by which the center of gravity in a building must be adjusted, are proximate matters lying close upon the spring of human action. And so it is in religion.

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What is now the ordinary course of things? The mass of persons in a Christianized country, that is, the church-and chapel-going people around us, on a Sunday morning, accept the Scriptures, the books of the Canon, as 'the Book of God'—a book differing by the vastness of an immeasurable interval from all other books, however wise and good and edifying such other books may be. The mass of persons, individually incompetent as they are to raise or work a question for themselves, take it on trust; and they do well in so taking it, knowing, as they do, that men of all communions, fully instructed and learnedly informed, have accepted the Bible as the book of God, notwithstanding all showing to the contrary on the part of captious men. Thus accepted, the Bible, fraught with its historical realities, comes into a place that, in secular science and art, is occupied by proximate truths—principles that have long been subjected to trial, and that may now be relied upon in practice. Thus possessed of a new feeling *in the religious life*, the mass of persons become, insensibly, and, as one might say, unconsciously, possessed also of those ulterior truths which breathe harmony throughout the inspired writings. They come to be theists as they tread daily the easy pathways of the Gospel. Truth near at hand coalesces with the truth afar off, gradually, unconsciously, and illogically, perhaps, but yet rightfully: so it is that the Bible reader comes to know, what no philosophy has known."

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From all this it is inferred that Unitarianism is not the true Christian system, if there be one. It is absurd to suppose that Christ, if a true founder of a divine system, lived to bequeath a religion furnished with no immediate motive power upon human action. From the historical experiment, and from the interior analysis, failure is its fate, and, therefore, error must be its nature.

III.—*French and German Reviews.*

I. Revue Chretienne, August 15, 1859.—1. La Liberté de Conscience et le Christianisme Primitif: 2. Staupitz et la Réformation de Luther: 3. M. Renan, Moraliste: 4. Etude sur Quelques Mystiques du Moyen Age.

September, 15, 1859.—1. De la Nouvelle Ecole Matérialiste en Allémagne: 2. La Liberté de Conscience et le Christianisme Primitif: 3. Les Ecrits Récents de M. L'Abbé Bautain: 4. L'Ancienne Religion Persané.

II. Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1, 1859.—1. Le Roi Ferdinand II. et le Royaume des Deux-Siciles.—I.—La Royauté a Naples Depuis 1815: 2. De la Liberté Moderne, a propos d'un Livre Récent sur l'Angleterre et la France: 3. Georgy Sandon, Histoire d'un Amour Perdu, Dernière Partie: 4. Le Missisipi, Etudes et Souvenirs.—II.—Le Delta et la Nouvelle-Orléans: 5. L'Eglise et les Premiers Empereurs Chrétiens (l'Eglise et L'Empire Romain au IV. Siècle, de M. Albert de Broglie): 6. Des Populations Rurales en France Depuis 1789: 7. Madame Henriette D'Angleterre: 8. En Touraine, Paysages et Souvenirs: 9. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 10. La Musique des Bohémiens, de M. Liszt.

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Paysages de l'Océanie.—II.—Les Mœurs des Insulaires et l'Occupation de l'Archipel: 4. De l'Espirit du Temps a propos de Musique: M. Meyerbeer: 5. Des Forces Electriques et des Nouvelles Applications de l'Electricité: 6. Littérature Russe: Les Trois Rencontres, Souvenirs de Chasse et de Voyage: 7. Pages de Jeunesse d'un Rêveur Inconnu: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 9. Essais et Notices: La Vie et les Femmes en Toscane.

October 15, 1859.—1. Les Bachi-Bozouks et la Cavalerie Irrégulière, Souvenirs de la Guerre D'Orient: 2. La Nouvelle Poésie Provençale: Mm. Roumanille, Aubanel et Mistral: 3. Le Protestantisme Moderne et la Philosophie de l'Histoire, d'après les Travaux de Mm. Bunsen et de Pressensé: 4. La Papauté et le Droit Impérial en Italie: 5. La Politique Commerciale de l'Allemagne: Le Zollverein et l'Autriche: 6. Jean de la Roche, Première Partie: 7. La Légende des Siècles, de M. Victor Hugo: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 9. Affairs de l'Italie Centrale: 10. Revue Musicale.

III. THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, 1859.—Herausgegeben von D. C. Ullman und D. W. C. Umbreit. Jahrgaug 1860, erstes Heft. Gotha, bei Friedrich Andreas Perthes. *Treatises.*—Rothe on Dogmatics. Third Article.—The Holy Scriptures. *Thoughts and Observations.*—1. On the Gift of Tongues at Pentecost. By Wieseler. 2. Deliver us from Evil. By Krummacher. 3. The Doctrine of Original Sin in the Old Testament. By Kleinert. 4. 1 Corinthians xv, 29, 30. 5. Genesis iv, 1. Umbreit. *Reviews.*—1. Von Rudloff's Doctrine of Man as to his Spirit, Soul, and Body. By Schœberlein. 2. Moll's Johannes Brugman. By Fink. 3. Caspers' (a) Symbolum Apostolicum and (b) Diaspora.—Thoughts from the Scriptures. By C. 4. Piper's (a) Mythology and Symbolism of Christian Art (b) on the Extent of Christian Paintings; (c) The Christian Museum of the University at Berlin. By H. Merz. 5. Balmer-Rinck's Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple. By Auberlen. 6. Auberlen's Schleiermacher. By Kling.

Dr. Rothe's Treatise on Dogmatics, commenced in a previous number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, will not be concluded until the next issue. His high standing as an evangelical theologian and Church historian is well known, and entitles whatever he says to our earnest attention. We hope to be able to give an analysis of his entire paper in the April number of the Quarterly. Pastor Krummacher, of Duisburg on the Rhine, in his brief essay on "Deliver us from evil," defends the view that *πονηροῦ* (Matt. vi, 13) is masculine, and not neuter, as our translation has it. So did Tertullian translate it: Erue nos a maligno—Deliver us from the Evil One, the enemy, Satan. This has been held by many learned theologians since his day; among others, Erasmus, Beza, Zwingli, Musculus, Socinus, Chemnitz, and Bengel. The French translation of Osterrwald also reads: Délivre nous du malin; and the Dutch: Verlost ons van den Boosen. The Review of Dr. Piper's works on Christian art is, in some respects, the most interesting article in the entire *Heft*. He divides its history into three parts. The first extends from the beginning of Christian art to Charlemagne, embracing from the third to the eighth century; the second, from Charlemagne to the end of the twelfth century; the third, from the thirteenth century to the completion of Christian art in the sixteenth century. During the first period Italy took the lead by old mythological representations on coins, reliefs on sarcophagi, and by mosaics. In the second, Germany, France, and England made great advances in miniature-reliefs in ivory. The third was again marked by the precedence of Italy, as exemplified in mythological pictures in mosaic, carvings in wood and stone, coins, and fresco-paintings It is instructive to observe how long mythology lingered in

its old European homes. On the monument to Pope Sextus IV., erected in 1493, in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in St. Peter's Church, Antonio Pollajuolo represented theology by a Diana, as a woman with bow and quiver, and with nude legs. In the twelfth century Alanus ab Insulis, in his poem *Anticlaudianus*, terms God the "Thunderer" and "Jupiter," besides calling heaven "Olympus." Petrarch invokes God as "vivo and eterno Giove;" and Dante, the greatest poet of Catholicism, prays: "O Most High Zeus, who wast crucified on earth for us." In another place he invokes "Apollo" as the propitious one, and the Muses as the "nourishers of the poets;" and while he prays to the Holy Spirit, he lifts his voice to "Apollo" and the "choir of Muses." The subject of Christian art has engaged more attention in Germany than elsewhere. There it is made of especial use to the Church historian; and most assuredly it is at once suggestive and reliable. The geologist reads on the rocks the traces of long-past ages; and the student of ecclesiastical history can, with equal pleasure and propriety, find in the works of the artist true indices of the times and safe data from which to draw his conclusions. Sometimes a few little legacies of art are more truth-telling and decisive than scores of volumes. The concluding paper is a portraiture of Schleiermacher. There is a touching incident concerning the death of his only son, a child of four years old. His father said to him just before his death, "Nathaniel, do you love me?" "Yes, father, but my Saviour more," replied the boy. Schleiermacher was one of the most remarkable men whom Germany has produced, though we Americans are as yet but little acquainted with him. On some points he was defective, according to the evangelical standpoint; but considering the state of German theology at the time, we wonder at his soundness. Now that he has gone we can see that he did much good. His *Festpredigten* are among the most earnest and purest fruits of the German pulpit. It was well for Schleiermacher that he never forgot his Moravian training at the Padagogium of Niesky.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

> It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*A Treatise on Theism, and on the Modern Skeptical Theories.* By Francis Wharton, Author of 'A Treatise on American Criminal Law,'" etc., etc., and Professor in Kenyon College, Ohio. 12mo., pp. 395. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1859.

Mr. Wharton is author of some works in Jurisprudence, which are esteemed authority, we believe, in the profession, and of various able articles in the North American and other Reviews; but this is the first volume of his that we have

encountered in Theology. It is a welcome incident. He brings to his work something of a judicial mind. Manly thought, clothed in a clear, grave, solid style, pervades its pages. Many of his illustrations are taken from fresh sources, or are new and apposite conceptions of his own mind. As a whole it is a lucid, concise, systematic presentation of a great subject. He is neither at heart, nor by argumentative position, a cold rationalist. The deep truths of the Gospel he not only recognizes, but professedly realizes and feels. As a text-book the work would, but for an objectionable trait or two, exert a favorable intellectual, moral, and religious influence.

The work is divided into two general parts. The first part presents the positive evidences for a Deity, the second discusses the skeptical theories opposed to theism. The positive theistic arguments are derived from Conscience, from Mind, from Law, from Matter, from Design in Nature, from Social Progress, and from Geology. The second part refutes the theories of an Imperfect Creator, Positivism, Fatalism, Pantheism, and Development.

The first chapter, founding the argument for theism upon conscience, is elaborated with unusual clearness and force. Some of the points adduced by Professor Wharton are, we believe, new, not only to this argument, but originally suggested as illustrations of the faculty itself. Conscience, as truly "incessant," even when *latently* acting, and as "unconditioned" by time or matter, is presented in a striking light by analyses and facts. Of the *incessant* action of conscience, he remarks:

> "We may be only conscious of that action at particular moments; but whenever the curtain which covers it is lifted we see its machinery, as we see that of a steamer when the engine door is unclosed, moving with an activity none the less incessant from the fact that it had been unobserved. The agencies by which this spectacle is uncovered, and proof thus given of the incessant activity of conscience, will be examined under a subsequent head. It is sufficient here to advert to the effect of the discovery of guilt by others as recalling the consciousness of remorse in its pristine vigor in the criminal himself, as well as to the similar effect produced by coming suddenly upon the spot where a crime was committed, or by having any of the implements or incidents of that crime recalled. Conscience, observed or unobserved, proceeds unceasingly in its task of pronouncing and registering a decree of approval or condemnation on each particular act. This process of registry is in nowise affected by its escaping our notice."

This fact of the latent continuity of action is susceptible of a variety of impressive applications. It shows how deep, how impregnating every particle and interstice of our system, is our moral nature; and how every sin, unspecified by the conscious action of conscience, makes that indelible mark upon our moral system which the moment of awakened consciousness may disclose, as the action of heat brings out the lines of an invisible ink. The misdoing, even, which does not attract the conscious moral notice, still infringes against the moral being. And, we may add, when that moral nature so suffusing us becomes at last awakened into the agency of conscious *remorse*, that is the lake of fire which envelops and burns without consuming us—that is hell. And so how deep is sin! How necessary to keep our moral nature awake and alert! How important the purifying power of a redemption!

The argument from law the author adduces not from astronomy, nor from organic nature; but from the great unity of plan in the system of life through the successive periods of geology. This argument is remarkably reinforced

by some valuable quotations from Professor Agassiz. It bears much the same relation to time that the argument from astronomy does to space.

In the chapter upon an Imperfect Creator Professor Wharton introduces the discussion of freedom and necessity, in the mazes of which he seems fairly bewildered. He is indirectly himself a necessitarian without the power of reconciling his theory with responsibility. He states the issue between freedom and necessity with little precision; his arguments against free-will are unrealities; he anticipates an approaching compromise between the two theories which can never exist, and finally takes refuge in the imagination of two contradictories equally true, whose reconciliation is in the clouds—a virtual confession of self-contradiction and self-cancellation. The chapter on fatalism, by a continuance of the thread of error, mistakes the nature of fatalism, in order to conceal from the Professor the fact that he is himself a fatalist. He defines fatalism as "excluding the agency of individual will," whereas it may be abundantly shown that fatalism implies a causality including within its fixation the agency of all individual wills. And this error results in still sadder catastrophe in his chapter on pantheism. After having shown how the necessary cosmical evolutions imagined by pantheism obliterates the real distinctions of right and wrong, and of good or evil deserts, he states an objection: "'But,' it may be said, 'is not this very much the same view as that which results from necessitarianism, a system considered an open one by the great body of Christian orthodox theologians?' The reply to this is decisive. The necessitarian, whenever, at least, he accepts the Christian orthodox formulas, recognizes the individuality and responsibility of the human will." Now, of what is this answer "decisive?" The author has demonstrated that pantheistic necessity excludes responsibility; and when it is replied, "So does theistic necessity," the Professor's "decisive" rejoinder, forsooth, is, Yes; but the theistic necessitarian actually holds to responsibility. That may be a very commendable trait in the theistic necessitarian—to hold to responsibility in contradiction to his system; but it neither exculpates his system nor answers the retort of the pantheist. To both necessities belong the same nullification of responsibility, and either is equally capable of maintaining responsibility by a contradiction. But in either case the union of endless penalty with necessity forms one of the most malignant dogmas that a diabolic nature could imagine. And from the "sublime" picture which the Professor draws on the next page of a being shaped by theistic necessity to be at eternal war with God, with eternal woe in its destiny, we shrink as from a blasphemous libel on the Divine Being. Could no better view be given of Divine justice than this, a belief in pantheism or atheism would be obligatory upon every sound mind.

The chapter on positivism, requiring no metaphysical disquisition, is one of the best in the book, and one of the best refutations extant of that system. We must, however, conclude this too extended notice by extracting the following valuble disproof of the eternity of matter:

"The rudimental atoms are impressed to an eminent degree with the marks of a Creator. We have fifty-four or fifty-five substances which are indivisible and final, and which form the individual syllables of which the great book of nature is made up. But each one of these syllables shows a contrivance whose exquisiteness appears the more vividly as we contemplate the vast number of com-

binations to which they are adapted. First we have, as the marshaling agents of these atoms, three primary physical forces—polarization, chemical affinity, and cohesion. Then we find, as the manual by which these marshaling agents are to act, laws prescribing certain proportions, definite as to number and weight, in which alone these atoms unite. In the august economy and simplicity by which these elements, in the various combinations of which they are capable, are made to serve the almost infinite purposes of cosmical creation, we may find additional reason for concurring in the remarks of Sir John Herschel: 'These discoveries effectually destroy the idea of an external self-existent matter, by giving to each of its atoms at once the essential characteristics of a manufactured article and a subordinate agent.'"

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(2.) "*Theodore Parker and his Theology;* a Discourse delivered in the Music Hall, Boston, Sunday, September 25, 1859. By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE." 8vo., pp. 23. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

Mr. Clarke is a leading minister among our Unitarian friends. His pamphlet is a graceful and often eloquent composition, abounding in those qualities of refined taste and clear thought for which American Unitarianism is so celebrated. It delineates the character of Theodore Parker and of his theology with a masterly hand, with a friendly, yet fearless spirit, and with a fine skill at drawing delicate psychological distinctions. He pays to Mr. Parker a noble tribute for his boldness as a reformer. He accepts, as we do, the three great intuitions upon which the absolute religion is based, and thanks Mr. Parker for the power with which he has authenticated them. But he takes issue with Mr. Parker's rejection of Christianity, tracing it to his want of realization of the depth of sin. He then states the reasons for his own acceptance of Christ's divine and miraculous mission, which are those of a refined and subtle moral thinker. Mr. Clarke differs with Mr. Parker not only without the least hostility to the man—which is right; but without any more earnest reprobation of his doctrines than if the subject of difference were a point in æsthetics—which is not so clearly right. How deep may be—should be—our disapproval, reprobation, abhorrence of erroneous doctrines in religion? Proportioned, doubtless, to the moral enormity or injury of the doctrines. And how truly should we hold the false doctrinary himself responsible or guilty? Liberalism says, and we fear Mr. Clarke says, Not at all. But is this said truly? This is a delicate, but if firmly approached, perhaps not so difficult a question.

With a frankness which we honor, Mr. Clarke says: "If Christ be God the Son, second Person in the Trinity, I had rather stand before his bar with Theodore Parker, who denies him, but follows in his steps, serving humanity, than with any orthodox doctor who writes Southside books to turn our sympathy for the oppressed into approbation for the oppressor." Yet how so? May not Dr. Southside just as clearly see and just as honestly affirm the proposition, *the continuance of American slavery is necessary to the attainment of a higher civilization*, as Theodore Parker affirms *Jesus Christ was a mistaken man?* May not the latter proposition be attained at a greater individual moral sacrifice, and be more truly adverse to the well-being of society and the best interests of the race? May not the advance of a true and pure Christianity be more important to the moral well-being of the world, its moral claims upon adherence immensely more imperative, than the immediate emancipation of the Southern slave? To us Mr. Clarke's moral graduation seems a

little aristocratic. He abhors, doubtless, physical crime, as committed by the single low ruffian, but is merciful to the high doctrinary who cuts the moral cord by which myriads of ruffians are let loose from sense of obligation. The single Thug who garrotes his victim is an assassin; but the founder of Thugism, who caused a million of murders without perhaps committing one, is a pardonable errorist. The men who crucified Jesus were plainly criminals; but not quite so the scribes and Pharisees who rejected him on the doctrinal theory that his miracles were diabolical, and under whose teachings the crucifiers acted. These scribes were *mistaken men*, who were led by inquiry and evidence to the conviction that Jesus was in covenant with the prince of the anti-theistic powers; just as Mr. Parker is led to the earnest conviction that he was a Jewish sage. Nevertheless, neither Jesus nor the apostles seem to have taken that view of it. The sentences, if quoted, would fill pages, in which Jesus holds them responsible for their doctrinal rejection of his Messiahship; and the Jewish nation is held by the New Testament writers as being cast off for refusing faith in him. Is not false opinion the spring of all vice and of every individual crime? Did not the crucifiers of Jesus believe they were doing the right thing? The murderer in his wrath momentarily sees his murder delightfully just. The thief, with his present views of property, believes the exposed article ought to be appropriated. The rumseller scorns the mean philanthropy that sacrifices solid profit for cant. All villains commit their crime for the element of excellence they detect in its perpetration.

But Mr. Parker, (whom let us take *exempli gratia*,) while "he denies Jesus, follows in his steps." Mr. Parker is a reformer, which he should be; possessed of all the faults of a fierce reformer, which he should not be. Reformers are noble men; they are a valuable class of men; but it is wonderful how often they are, in other points, almost as wicked as the culprits they would improve. We seldom see one who is not, in some sense, a specimen of "diamond cut diamond," which is nevertheless no disproof of their necessity. The arraigner of sin is himself a sinner; and how if his Redeemer reject him because rejected by him?

The Westminster Review, not long ago, affirmed that no one could be responsibly guilty for rejecting a historical fact, such as Jesus and his divinity can only claim to be. Then Dr. Southside cannot be responsible for disbelieving the enormity of American slavery, for that is a historic fact. Then the murderers of Jesus, or of Socrates, or of John Huss cannot be to blame for not recognizing the fact that their victims were excellent men. Most principles which men reject or accept, can be viewed as historic facts, past, present, or future, or one, or all. Most principles which men accept or reject are, however apparently abstract, probably found only in some historic concrete. The wickedness of an assassination, a treason, a robbery, is a historical fact, and yet the perpetrators are bound to recognize and accept the truth, and obey the obligation that truth imposes. God is a historical fact through eternal ages. His existence, his administration, his incarnation are all historical facts, which only need in like manner to be properly authenticated to impose a corresponding obligation. The truth of Christ's divine mission may just as clearly authenticate itself as the guilt of American slavery; it may impose

obligations as much more imperative as it is a more stupendous fact; its rejection may aggravate guilt in the degree of the importance of its prevalence over the world; and that same rejection, inexcusable in its nature, may produce ruin as a natural consequence of its rejecting the Redeemer and his redemption. And if the agravation of the guilt of that rejection be proportioned to the importance of the prevalence of that religion, and that religion be for the redemption of the world from ruin, then does it follow, as by an involution, that the guilt of that rejection deserves the ruin in which it tends to involve the world.

If a man be responsible for the guilty use of his hand, is he not responsible for a misuse of his brain? If the unholy use of the eye be guilty, is not the dishonest use of the intellect? Are all our powers responsible save our truth-seeking faculty? And how know we that God has never propounded a *test-truth* to probationary men, by the acceptance or rejection of which the honesty of each man's truth-seeking faculty is infallibly decided? When such a *test-fact* is presented the act of rejection reveals the reprobate, decides his moral ruin, and works a series of disastrous and responsible consequences. Such a *test-fact* the Divine Incarnate does announce himself to be, and surely no more suitable *test-fact* in the universe can exist. *For a discrimination am I come into the world, that they which see not* the truth they seek *might see it; and that they which see* with a truth-avoiding spirit *might be made*, in fact, what they are in purpose, *blind.* John ix, 39. Under that assumption his rejecters are by himself and his apostles throughout the New Testament placed under the ban of moral condemnation. Rejection of him is the parent sin which produces all other sins, and prevents their expiation or pardon. "He that believeth not shall be damned." Some are *led away by the error of the wicked.* There is a *deceivableness of unrighteousness.* There are those who *deny the Lord that bought them.* In fine, "There is a way that *seemeth right* to a man, but the end thereof is death." Nor do the New Testament writers ostentatiously display their friendship for the deniers of the great *Test.* Neither St. Peter, St. Jude, nor St. John speak blandly of them. They know no innocent unbelievers, no excusable infidels. In fine, pleasant as the sunny theology may seem, which holds antichristian doctrine to be the venial error of a man as honest and as well off as believers, it has no authority in Scripture nor in reason. There is a solemn, awful side to God's word; a dark and terrible phase in God's moral system, at which it becomes us to tremble; nor can we ignore it wisely, any more than we can ignore the tragic depths of woe that lie entombed in the whole groaning creation that travaileth until now.

Thus much, indeed, is true, that crimes of action are tangible by the magistrate; sins of opinion, however responsible, like dispositions of the heart, are safely amenable to God alone. This arises, not from the different guilt of the two, but from the imperfection of the magistrate. Punishment of pure opinion is doubtless persecution; not because opinion is less guilty by nature or by consequence than action, but because the punishment of opinion belongs to an infallible judge. Yet when it comes to argument and moral criticism, we cannot hold our difference with a Theodore Parker, a Dr. Bellows, or a David Hume, to be as unimportant as a variance in a matter of

taste or science. It is a difference high as heaven and deep as hell. That difference, however it justify not hatred, involves moral reprobation. Nor is this a time to concede the veniality of the skeptical error preached from the pulpits of our cotemporary Antichrist. When eloquent semi-infidels, with Rev. prefixed to their names, propose to inaugurate in our midst their "Broad Church," it is in perfect charity that we hold their edifice to be "the synagogue of Satan." The inscription upon its archway, placed by their own hands—Broad—may well be held as the first word of the monitory line: "Broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat."

(3.) "*Vetus Testamentum Græce, Juxta LXX. Interpretes.* Recensionem Grabianam ad Fidem Codicis Alexandrini Alioromque Denuo recognovit, Græca secundum Ordinem Textus Hebraei reformavit, Libros Apocryphos a Canonicis segregavit Fridericus Field, A.A.M., Coll. SS. Trin. Cantab. olim Socius. Sumtibus Societatis De Promovenda Doctrina Christiana." Pp. 1,088. Oxonii: Excudebat Jacobus Wright, Academiæ Typographus. MDCCCLIX.

It was some two centuries before the Christian era, and therefore more than twenty centuries ago, that the Jews of Alexandria speaking the Greek language made a translation from the Hebrew of the Old Testament books, called, from the imaginary number of the translators, Septuaginta, The Seventy. During the long contest between the Syrian and Egyptian successors of Alexander the Great, a Jewish population speaking Greek was diffused over Asia Minor as well as Palestine, by whom the Septuagint was in ordinary use. Hence it was that the larger number of the citations made from the Old Testament by the evangelist and apostles are in the words of the Septuagint. When St. Paul traveled through Asia Minor, and John made his residence there, it was among the Jewish readers of the Septuagint that Christianity made its greatest triumphs, which rendered those provinces a garden of early Christianity. The Greek fathers, ignorant of Hebrew, used the Septuagint as the Western Church did the Latin translation by Jerome, called the Vulgate. Hebrew has indeed become so properly a dead language, that the Sacred Original would hardly be an intelligible book but for this providential version. Made by Jews before the rise of Christianity, it is a great aid in the argument both against Judaism and infidelity in behalf of Christian verity.

English scholars are congratulating themselves on the publication at Cambridge of a noble edition of the Septuagint, in which the derangements of the order of the Greek text, which have been almost superstitiously retained hitherto, have been corrected. Though the translation was made under the auspices of a benevolent society, and for a foreign field, it will doubtless be preferred by both English and American Biblical scholars for ordinary use. The following extract from the Report of the "Translation Committee, July 1859," will furnish some explanation:

> "This edition of the Septuagint, it will be remembered, was undertaken with the sanction of the Board five years ago, when the Foreign Translation Committee stated that their object should be to produce such a text as might be both serviceable to Biblical students at home, and also acceptable, at the same time, to the Greek Church, for whose benefit they had already printed one edition of the Septuagint at Athens. The Athens edition, in four volumes, was printed

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"The Codex Alexandrinus is the basis of the Moscow text, which is, in fact, nothing else than a creditably accurate reprint of Grabe's, or rather of Breitinger's revision of Grabe's edition of the Septuagint. To accomplish the double object, therefore, proposed by the committee, it was necessary to adopt this text; and it was determined, in this newly revised edition, not only to separate all the apocryphal matter from the canonical books, but also to remove the inconveniences arising from the unaccountable dislocations of chapters and verses, which occur in certain books of the Septuagint, by rearranging them according to the order of the Hebrew text. This desideratum the committe trust it will be found that Mr. Field has skillfully and successfully accomplished. And he has so accomplished it, as still to show what the previous arrangement of the Greek text was. For while, for the manifest convenience of Biblical students, the text of this edition reads, chapter and verse, side by side with the Hebrew, and with all translations from it; an additional and collateral numbering of chapters and verses, where necessary in brackets, shows what was before the order of the Greek. In one case, that of the thirty-sixth and following three chapters of Exodus, where the confusion of the Greek text is so great that the two separate arrangements could not be distinctly marked in that manner, the text *in extenso*, just as it stands in the Septuagints hitherto in use, is printed in a smaller type, below the arranged text of this edition. The additions to the books of Esther and Daniel are removed and placed with the apocryphal books, as in our English Bibles; and all those shorter apocryphal interpolations in other books, which could not be conveniently removed and printed by themselves, such, for instance, as the allusion to the bee, in the sixth chapter of Proverbs, are, in this edition, marked with inverted commas."

(4.) "*The Words of the Lord Jesus.* By RUDOLPH STIER, Doctor of Theology, Chief Pastor, and Superintendent of Schkenditz. Volume 1, translated from the second revised and enlarged edition. By the Rev. WILLIAM POPE. London. New Edition." 8vo., pp. 439. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.

We expressed a wish some months ago that Stier should be *naturalized* in our country, and this magnificent volume, from the enterprising house of Smith, English, & Co., has appeared as a *sequence* certainly, if not a *consequence*. If we are rightly informed, the success of the publishers of Olshausen was such as to indicate that the publication of Stier would be a promising investment. The work is to be carefully revised and stereotyped under the supervision of the translator. It is to be issued by subscription in five volumes, embracing the entire eight of the English edition; with the addition of the author's recently published "Words of the Risen Jesus," to constitute the fifth volume. For the first four volumes the price will be three dollars per volume; and for the fifth, two dollars. Twenty per cent. discount is allowed to clergymen and theological students when forwarded at the purchaser's risk and expense. The work will be sold by booksellers generally.

With a mannerism which at first may repel the reader, and a diffuseness which is sometimes watery and feeble, Stier's work presents a peculiar blending of searching criticism with rich and magnificent amplification. He utters volumes of thought, expressed or implied in the sacred text, and suggests other volumes for the thoughtful reader's own exploration and evolution. Confining his range of commentary to our Lord's own words, no disciple was ever more reverent; no apostle, we could almost say, ever deduced more solemn enunciations from divine lips. His theory of inspiration is uncompromising; his applications of prophecy rigorous and demonstrative. His spirit is evangelical as that of Fletcher himself; and his maintenance of the Gospel standpoint has received rather a dogmatic firmness from his German surroundings than a relaxing latitudinarianism, like that of Neander. We are not certain that he will suit the tastes of every American student; but there will be found many a mind among us which will be not only instructed, but stimulated to living thought by the rich and cumulative pages of Stier.

It would have been well, perhaps, if English equivalents had been given for the Hebrew and Greek phrases.

Since writing the above we have received the second volume, being volumes third and fourth of the author's edition. It closes with the third chapter of John's gospel.

(5.) " *Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints*, Illustrated in a Series of Discourses from the Colossians. By THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D., Author of 'The Gospel of Ezekiel,' 'The City, its Sins and Sorrows,' etc., etc." 12mo., pp. 344. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.

Dr. Guthrie has been termed "the greatest living preacher in Scotland" With the knowledge of this, whether it be fact, or only the laudation of an admirer, it is pleasant to know how the man thinks and talks. He has become known to the American Church chiefly by the part he took in the institution of the Free Church of Scotland, in connection with Drs. Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish, and by the publication of a couple of volumes of sermons, to which is now added a third. The discourses are twenty in number, from Colossians i, 12–20, upon some of the loftiest themes of the New Testament. Theological disquisition is almost entirely eschewed. The great aim seems to be to exhibit the person, character, and work of Christ in a descriptive and imaginative style. Thoroughly evangelical in sentiment, and devotional in spirit, the book cannot be read without interest. Still, as we lay it down, we are dissatisfied. We are filled to satiety with sweetness and beauty, with dewdrops and diamonds; but the lack is of truth fastening more strongly upon the mind, of confirmed purposes of a holier life, and of a melting of the soul into tenderness and love. We are charmed, but not fed. The style may, perhaps, be well enough adapted to please a popular audience which seeks pleasure rather than instruction; but the hearer or reader of only ordinary power of attention will find it not easy to keep "the thread of the discourse," while the preacher is wandering through his gardens of flowers. Besides, if the end of preaching be to stir the depths of the soul, rouse the conscience and will, and move to newness of life, this style is not the most favorable to its attainment. The truth may be hid by its adornings. Its power may utterly fail

because of the multitude of words employed to express it. Dr. Guthrie is therefore, not a fit model for a young minister. W.

(6.) "*A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospel of Luke*, for the use of Ministers, Theological Students, private Christians, Bible Classes, and Sabbath Schools. By JOHN J. OWEN, D.D." 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Leavitt & Allen. 1859.

This solid volume, devoted to a single Gospel, furnishes room for a very complete commentary. Dr. Owen has the research of a thorough scholar, and the analytical acumen as well as the imparting skill of a professional instructor. His aim is to furnish the abundant results of a searching philological study of the sacred text to the merely English scholar, without a parade of Greek and Hebrew type, or the display of his exegetical apparatus; and this aim he very successfully accomplishes.

(7.) "*Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Acts of the Apostles.* By MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, Professor of Biblical Literature, etc., in the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany City, Pa." 12mo., pp. 430. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859.

We have had occasion to commend the previous volumes of Mr. Jacobus upon the Gospels. The present is in the same excellent style. The latest authorities are laid under contribution. It is prefaced with a valuable introduction, synopsis, and view of cotemporaneous history. It is copiously illustrated with woodcuts.

(8.) "*The Holy Bible*, containing the Old and New Testaments, translated out of the Original Tongue, and with the Former Translations diligently Compared and Revised. In which all the Proper Names are Pronounced, and a Copious and Original Selection of References and Numerous Marginal Readings given, together with Introductions to each Book, and numerous Tables and Maps." 8vo., pp. 1,017. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

Carlton & Porter have furnished us with a superior Octavo Bible. The pronunciation of proper names has been revised and marked. References merely verbal have been displaced for references relating to subject. New references have been added so as to make this department complete. Marginal readings have been inserted. Dissertations of real utility are placed at the beginning of the volume, and a preface to each book. Chronological, historical, and archæological tables are supplied. The whole is illustrated with several accurate and beautiful maps. A noble edition of the book.

(9.) "*Sermons by* RICHARD FULLER, D. D., of Baltimore." 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Dr. Fuller has long sustained a high reputation as a pulpit orator of the Baptist denomination in South Carolina, but is now a pastor in Baltimore. He became most noted at the North by his discussion with Dr. Wayland of a great cotemporary question, where his failure resulted, not from want of talent, but from want of right in his cause. The present sermons fully sustain a great reputation. They are not of the class of sermons in which you look in vain for the cause of the effect produced in the delivery. They are grand

sermons to the reader as well as to the hearer; and one feels that such discourses, coming from the soul of the man, and enforced with the power of the orator, must be great from the pulpit.

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(10.) "*The Model Preacher;* Comprised in a Series of Letters illustrating the best mode of Preaching the Gospel. By Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference, Author of 'Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco,' 'California Life Illustrated,' 'Address to Young America,' etc." 12mo., pp. 403. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe. 1859.

Mr. Taylor's images, pictures, reflections, and suggestions are not the distillation of second-hand ideas through other men's books, but are freshly taken from nature and real life. Few of his precepts for composition and sermonizing are found in Blair or Claude. He has chapters on Arresting Attention, Surprises, Surprise Power, Surprise appropriate to the Pulpit, well worth study and practical adoption by our pulpit routiners. We give the work a hearty commendation.

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(11.) "*The Ministry of Evil:* An Examination of the popular Bitter-Sweet Theology. Delivered before the Literary Societies of the Methodist General Biblical Institute, Concord, N. H., Tuesday Evening, June 7, 1859. By WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN, of the New England Conference." 8vo., pp. 30. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.

The address of Mr. Warren is a vigorous discussion of the question whether "all evil, natural or moral, is, all things considered, an advantage to the universe—a divine means to a divine end, both as it respects the individual and the universal."

He takes a range through literature, theological and secular, and culls an anthology of passages, in which is essentially conveyed the doctrine of Longfellow:

"—— Lucifer,
The son of mystery;
And, since God suffers him to be,
He too is God's minister,
And labors for some good,
By us not understood!"

Mr. Warren solves the problem of non-prevented evil on the principle that its *possibility* (included in moral agency) was necessary to the highest good, not its *actuality*. The address is the fullest and ablest discussion of the topic that we remember in our theological literature. Perhaps Mr. W. states in terms too unqualified, certainly too unexplained, the maxim, "that holiness cannot be a product of power."

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(12.) "*Substitutional Atonement* Admissible by Reason, Demonstrable by Scripture. A Sermon preached at the Annual Commencement of the General Biblical Institute, Concord, N. H., June 13, 1858. By Rev. D. D. WHEDON, D.D. Published in accordance with a Resolution of the Corporation." 12mo., pp. 24. New York: Printed at 200 Mulberry-street.

The occurrence of Mr. Warren's address reminds us of an obligation due to our Concord friends to notice this publication. The sermon was constructed for the purpose of presenting the doctrine of the Vicarious Atonement, strictly

and uncompromisingly upon its permanent Scripture foundation, and yet so adjusted to the modern modes of thought as to relieve difficulties existing in many reflective minds at the present day. The ground taken is that of true substitution—even perhaps what is sometimes reproached with the epithet *commercial.* A case of actual human substitution of life for life is taken as a parallel, and the process is explained, sustained, and defended. Scripture proof is then adduced, and argument stated to show that the inspired language used will admit no lower view. We suppose no charge of vanity is incurred in our saying that the author values it as about his best production.

Let us improve the occasion to say that our Institute at Concord is doing a great and good work; and that the ability of the professors and the success of their self-sacrificing labors entitle them to the thanks and the liberalities of the Church. Students are in attendance there from various parts of the Church, and many even from the southern sections of our Union; and the institution is entitled to a grateful and solid remuneration from every conference of the eastern half of our Church.

(13.) "*The Palace of the Great King;* or, The Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, illustrated in the Multiplicity and Variety of his Works. By Rev. HOLLIS READ, Author of 'God in History,' 'India and her People,' 'Commerce and Christianity,' etc." 12mo., pp. 408. New York: C. Scribner.

Mr. Read contemplates the universe as a great palace, in which resides the Almighty Sovereign. He expatiates with animated style over the vast varieties of its furnishings, and thence draws themes of wonder, faith, and reverence for the Divine Being.

(14.) "*Sermons.* By the Rev. H. GRATTAN GUINNESS." 12mo., pp. 363. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

Mr. Guinness has been popularly named among the several ministers of the English pulpit whose labors have been attended with large success. The sermons themselves are richly imbued with the evangelical spirit, which in a great degree accounts for their effect.

(15.) "*The Crucible;* or, The Tests of a Degenerate State, designed to bring to Light Suppressed Hopes, expose False Ones, and Confirm the True. By Rev. J. A. GOODHUE, A. M. With an Introduction by Rev. EDWARD N. KIRK, D.D." 12mo., pp. 352. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

The natural effect of a glance at such works as "Edwards on the Affections," is a conclusion that the being a Christian requires a profoundly metaphysical discrimination, and that a course of geometry could be mastered with far less difficulty. On some minds, such works may be beneficial; but we doubt whether perpetual self-introspection is not productive of an unhealthful self-consciousness. The New England Theology made all Christian life consist very much in studying the question, Am I a Christian? A man led a holy life not so much to be a Christian as to afford himself an evidence that he was one. Our impression is, that works like this of Mr. Goodhue, founded on such a basis, are of equivocal value in the practical Christian's life.

II. *Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(16.) "*The New American Cyclopædia*, a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. 7. Edward—Fueros." 8vo., pp. 786. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The present volume opens with the paper upon Jonathan Edwards, by Bancroft, of which some have complained that it was a eulogy rather than a biography. We have articles on Bishop Emory, Robert Emory, Dr. Floy, Dr. R. S. Foster, and Dr. Fisk.

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(17.) "*The Physiology of Common Life.* By GEORGE HENRY LEWIS, Author of 'Seaside Studies,' 'Life of Goethe,' etc. In two volumes." 12mo., pp. 368. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

This is a first volume, and is the commencement of a work very successfully applying the truths of science to the practices of common life. Hunger and thirst, food and drink, digestion and indigestion, structure, circulation, and uses of blood, respiration and suffocation, heat and cold, are the topics. It is clothed in a free and simple style, and abounds with diagrams.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(18.) *The History of Herodotus.* A new English Version, edited with copious Notes and Appendixes, Illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most Recent Sources of Information; and embodying the Chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by COLONEL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., and SIR J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. In four volumes, with Maps and Illustrations. 8vo., first and second volumes, pp. 563, 514. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

The republication of this edition of the father of history will attract the general attention of scholarly men. Mr. Rawlinson commenced the work some seven years ago for the purpose of producing a translation worthy of the present advanced state of Greek scholarship. Meanwhile the rich results of the investigations in Egyptian and Asiatic antiquities poured in a fund of illustration upon the work which delayed indeed its progress, but lent an extraordinary value to the enterprise. Happy indeed was it that the translator should receive the aid of those two great masters, Sir Henry Rawlinson, in Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, and Persian discoveries, and Sir J. Wilkinson, in Egyptian monuments. All that could be derived from those two wonderful sources of illustration, under such guidance, has of course been put in complete requisition and embodied in the present valuable work.

The two volumes before us embrace the first three of the nine books of Herodotus. The first volume opens with a life and critique upon the work of the great historian, embracing one hundred and thirteen pages. All that eru-

dition and critical judgment can do upon the subject is here accomplished. The translation of the first book, as of the others, is furnished with foot notes elucidated with graphic illustrations. After the translation comes an appendix forming more than half the volume, embracing eleven illustrative essays. The subjects of these essays are as follows: Early Chronology and History of Lydia; The Physical and Political Geography of Asia Minor; Chronology and History of the Great Median Empire; The Ten Tribes of the Persians; Religion of the Ancient Persians; Early History of Babylonia; Chronology and History of the Great Assyrian Empire; History of the later Babylonians; Geography of Mesopotamia and the Adjacent Countries; Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians; Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia. Our American reader will see from this list of topics that a valuable summary of the results of Eastern discovery as bearing upon history is brought by this volume within reach.

The second volume is richer in illustration still. In his second book Herodotus introduces us to Egypt, where Wilkinson is ready with the spoils of her archæology. Eight chapters are appended to this book. Of the last two the first discusses Egyptian Geometry, and the other furnishes a valuable Historical Notice of Egypt. The third book of Herodotus blends Egyptian and Persian history together. To this is appended four more essays, embracing topics of much interest. Particularly valuable here is a summary of Egyptian Chronology and History. The Index to the Maps and Illustrations in this volume fills eight octavo pages. Twenty-four pages are occupied by the Great Inscription of Darius at Behistun, of which the following note is explanatory:

"Behistun is situated on the western frontier of the ancient Media, upon the road from Babylon to the southern Ecbatana, the great thoroughfare between the eastern and the western provinces of the ancient Persia. The precipitous rock, one thousand seven hundred feet high, on which the writing is inscribed, forms a portion of the great chain of Zagros, which separates the high plateau of Iran from the vast plain watered by the two streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. The inscription is engraved at the height of three hundred feet from the base of the rock, and can only be reached with much exertion and difficulty. It is trilingual: one transcript is in the ancient Persian, one in Babylonian, the other in a Scythic or Tartar dialect. Colonel Rawlinson gathers from the monument itself that it was executed in the fifth year of the reign of Darius, B.C. 516. The subjoined is the Persian transcript, as deciphered by Colonel Rawlinson, Roman letters being substituted for the original cuneiform."

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(19.) "*The Christian Lawyer.* Being a Portraiture of the Life and Character of WILLIAM GEORGE BAKER." (12mo., pp. 320. New York: Carlton & Porter.)

It is accomplishing life's mission well when a man spends his years in service to the world, and leaves behind a character presentable as a *model.* Such did William George Baker, as the reader of this volume will with pleasure learn. Our Christian young men can find no better publication to inspire a true emulation to aid in shaping their character to the noblest, purest style of manhood.

Mr. Baker was a native of Maryland, descended from a respectable ante-revolutionary ancestry, whose portraiture and history form a suitable brief prelude to his own. By education and by adult profession a Methodist, he entered the practice of law, and, without engaging himself in active partisan

politics, became one of the legislators of his native state. The details of his youth, courtship, marriage, and subsequent private history are given with a minuteness, yet delicacy, investing them with something of the freshness of romance and something of the interest of sorrow. The traits of modesty, purity, integrity, piety, and nobleness blended in his character, and exhibited in his professional and political career, are portrayed in a graceful style. Would that we could put a copy of the book into the hands of every ambitious, intellectual young man in our Church and country!

Can a lawyer in the active practice of his profession be a Christian? is a question that we have received from more than one conscientious young man, discussing the subject of his future profession. It would be a sad matter, indeed, if it were impossible. There cannot be a doubt that a court is best aided in attaining the ends of justice by the established method of having each side thoroughly argued by the learning and ability of counsel, and a sad constitution of things it would be if the counselor's duty could not be performed without a forfeiture of Christian integrity. We are not in the secrets of this the most dignified of secular professions; but our judgment would be, that both integrity and the reputation of integrity are an aid to the success of legal talent. The legal maxim that *all is fair in law*, is on a level with the maxim that *all is fair in politics;* and both are parallel with the depraved maxims that sanction wickedness in every department of life. But not only do we believe that a practicing lawyer may be a Christian, but we think that Christian lawyers are a great want of our times. They should be men who should share and sustain the Church, not only in her benevolent operations, but in her immediate religious exercises, and thence carry their Christian influence into the court; and men whose deportment at the bar would render their sharing the most devotional parts of religious exercise perfectly congruous and influential. A body of such lawyers would do much to convert the world.

(20.) "*Life of Thomas à Becket.* By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's." 24mo., pp. 246. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

This neat little volume is extracted from Milman's great work, the "History of Latin Christianity." It is written in the luminous style of Milman; yet, unless altered by the editor, as we presume they are not, the structure of its periods is remarkably less elaborate than that of his History of Christianity.

Becket's life and character form a characteristic passage of the medieval history of England, remarkably embodying the principles and spirit of the times. The rare spirit of the man, his heroic resistance amid universal desertion to royal power, his tragic fate, his wonderful posthumous renown, render him one of those spirited figures of history whose varied fortune is perused with a perennial interest. The great strife in which he struggled, died, and posthumously conquered, was simply a battle between priestcraft and kingcraft. Becket was the champion and martyr for the exemption of the profligate clerical body from amenability to secular law. That was the whole point of dispute. It contended for the religious sacredness of an *order*, separate from morality or right. He embodied, therefore, a false principle, a demoralizing superstition, the despotism of a caste invested with a spurious sacredness even

in the commission of crime. These considerations would seem to make him a clear case, and to authorize a severe and summary verdict. Yet a question still remains, whether the absolute priestcraft of the times was not better than the absolute kingcraft. There was still on his side a principle, a spiritual principle, a something superior to the brute force it checked, connected with higher relations, and tending to raise the semi-civilized masses above the level of animal life. And so there rises at once before us one of the great problems of history.

Could not Mr. Wight extract an Athanasius from Gibbon, nearly as extended, somewhat similar in character, yet occupying a loftier position in history, and impersonating a true and sublime doctrine? And why should not Milman's History of Latin Christianity be presented to the American public?

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(21.) "*Historical Vindications*: A Discourse on the Province and Uses of Baptist History, delivered before the Backus Historical Society at Newton, Mass., June 23, 1857. Repeated before the American Baptist Historical Society at New York, May 14, 1859. With Appendixes, containing Historical Notes and Confessions of Faith. By SEWALL S. CUTTING, Professor of Rhetoric and History in the University of Rochester. 12mo., pp. 224. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.

Professor Cutting's address is an able production, and the notes following it, much more extended than the address itself, present a number of interesting documents illustrative of the history and faith of our Baptist brethren. He discards the deduction of their denominational history through a lineal descent from the apostolic age, and with equal clearness vindicates the proper Baptists from any identification with the fanatical Anabaptists of the Reformation period. He furnishes some striking proofs that there was a much larger amount of true religious feeling and knowledge among the people of England before the Reformation than is usually supposed. He shows that immersion was the early method prevalent in the English Church, until an exception being made under Edward VI. in favor of the infirm, the infirmity became so general that affusion became the prevalent method. From conviction of the sole rightfulness of immersion many retained that practice in Holland and England. Of those who made this an essential point he says:

> "At the first, sympathizing with the Remonstrants, and therefore followers of Arminius, they became not long afterward, in common with all Protestants, divided on the theological questions involved in that great controversy, constituting permanently two bodies, known as the General and the Particular Baptists. The Church of the latter, constituted in London in the year 1633, by a secession from the Independent Church gathered by the Rev. Mr. Jacob, may be regarded as fixing the epoch of our own distinct denominational life, and as closing, therefore, the preliminary chapter of our denominational history."

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(22.) "*Sketches of New England Divines*. By Rev. D. SHERMAN." 12mo., pp. 442. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

This will be found one of the most interesting volumes of religious biography recently issued from the press. The characters are selected without much regard to denominational boundary lines or chronological order, as specimens of the New England evangelical pulpit in its various phases. The Cottons

and the Mathers of the olden time, Edwards, Stiles, Dwight, and Emmons, of a later date, are specimens of New England Calvinistic worthies. We miss Dr. Hopkins, the noble hero of Mrs. Stowe's last romance. Jesse Lee, Wilbur Fisk, Hedding, Crowell, Pickering, and Olin, are specimens of another class. Our ministry and laity will find in these pages attractive and valuable food for the mind.

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(23.) "*The Puritans;* or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. By SAMUEL HOPKINS. In three volumes. Vol. 1, 8vo., pp. 549." Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

The present very handsome volume, the first of three, proposes to furnish a full history of the development of the Puritan element in the Ecclesiastical History of England. It is evidently a work of thorough research. An unusual circumstance in a work of so massy a historical character is an enamel of romance overspreading its surface. Life-like portraiture of character, a free use of imaginary dialogue, a bold effort to reproduce in vivid colorings the events, spirit, and manners of that period of history, lend an unusual zest to the work, without detracting from our distinct perception of the strictly historic limits of the narrative. The pages of history are seldom endued with so fascinating an interest.

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(24.) *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India.* Being Extracts from the Letters of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B. A., Trinity College, Cambridge, First Bengal European Fusileers, Commandant of Hodson's Horse. Including a Personal Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, and Capture of the King and Princes. Edited by his brother, the Rev. GEORGE H. HODSON, M. A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. From the Third and Enlarged Edition." 12mo., pp. 444. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

Major Hodson was, by all agreement, one of the bravest, coolest, and most skillful of the heroes of the war of the rebellion in India. The remarkable event of the capture of the King of Delhi with his princes, gave him a peculiar distinction. His journal gives a lifelike detail of events which produced a more intense sensation in England than any other passage in her modern history.

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(25.) "*Minutes of the Annual Conferences* of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1859." 12mo., pp. 364. New York: Carlton & Porter.

Our General Minutes, now complete, form a goodly sized volume. The summary shows a total of members, 832,657; probationers, 141,688; increase last year, 17,790; traveling preachers, 6,877; local preachers, 7,904; probable value of churches and parsonages, $2,427,168.

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(26.) "*The History of the United States of America,* from the Discovery of the Continent to the Close of the First Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress. By J. H. PATTON, A.M." 8vo., pp. 806. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

There is obviously a place in our literature for a work like this. It stands between the voluminous works of Bancroft and Hildreth on one side, and the manuals used in our schools and academies on the other. It is written in a clear, popular style.

(27.) "*A History of the Four Georges*, Kings of England. Containing Personal Incidents of their Lives, Public Events of their Reigns, and Biographical Notices of their Chief Ministers, Courtiers, and Favorites. By SAMUEL M. SMUCKER, LL.D., Author of 'Court and Reign of Catharine II.,' 'Memorable Scenes in French History,' 'Life and Times of Alexander Hamilton, etc." 12mo., pp. 450. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

The reigns of the four Georges constitute a period of great interest in English history, both to the Briton and the American. As the "child is father of the man," so that period was parent of our present. Mr. Smucker has painted characters, and narrated events in a style and spirit calculated to render his history a popular book.

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(28.) "*Leaders of the Reformation;* Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Knox, the Representative Men of Germany, France, England, and Scotland. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, Author of 'Theism,' (Burnett's Prize Treatise,) etc." 12mo., pp. 309. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard.

The present volume embraces a series of popular lectures upon the four great characters named. They are eloquent and impressive. They enter into no doctrinal discussions, and perhaps show too slight an appreciation of the original doctrines of the Reformers.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(29.) "*Gold Foil*, Hammered from Popular Proverbs. By TIMOTHY TITCOMB, Author of Letters to the Young." 12mo., pp. 358. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.

Timothy Titcomb, as the world in general knows, is the literary *alias* of Dr. J. G. Holland, of Springfield, Massachusetts. Timothy, for so our author persists in being called, has grown prolific of books that are exciting the reading and critical circles. His "Letters to the Young," drew strongly the attention of thoughtful young America. His poem, "Bitter Sweet," though containing some doubtful theology, contained much indubitable poetry. The present work, though written in prose, possesses imagination enough for its bulk in poetry. Though written by a layman, it is richly imbued with an independent, manly, religious spirit. It lays a strong grapple upon large truths, develops them with a masterly power, illustrates them with striking analogies, and clothes them with a clear, rich, flowing, imaginative style. It is full of thought instructive and thought stimulant; thought to be remembered, and parent thoughts, of which a lineage of thoughts are born.

One of its first chapters is entitled "The Infallible Book." It contains the following striking generalization: "All the unsettled mind in Christendom is drifting either toward an infallible Bible, or an infallible Church, or an infallible atheism—infallible because denying everything—shutting God and the future out of existence." History has demonstrated that the influence of the infallible Church has resulted in corruptions, outrages, wars, the cramping of manhood and the arrest of progress. History and consciousness testify that the dark negations of atheism desolate the higher faculties and aspirations of

the soul and develop the lower. Every man who looks toward atheism feels that it is the abysmal entombment of all that is truly and joyously spiritual; and if there be any who contemplate it with satisfaction, that satisfaction arises from the desire that the lower nature may be emancipated from its higher laws, and launch out into its unforbidden gratifications. There is no alternative then but the Book. So says our author: "I assert that in the degree in which this Bible has been received, as a whole and in particulars, as the infallible rule of faith and duty, have those thus receiving it found rest, peace, fearlessness of the future, and hope of everlasting happiness. I affirm that in the degree in which men have wandered away from this Bible into skepticism, or taken it into their hands to cheapen the character of its inspiration—to cut, and cull, and criticize—have they made themselves and others unhappy. All that has been done to weaken the foundation of an implicit faith in the Bible, as a whole, has been at the expense of the sense of religious obligation, and at the cost of human happiness."

And again: "So, I say, let us stick to the Bible, the whole of it, from Genesis to Revelation. When the apostle, standing on the heights of inspiration, places the hand of the second Adam in the hand of the first—the Adam of Genesis—I believe there was such an Adam, and that the apostle believed it, and knew it. When I see Christianity emerging naturally and logically from a religion of types and ordinances, I believe that that religion is a portion of the system of divine truth. When Christ, standing in the temple, declares that the Scriptures testify of him, I believe they do thus testify, and that it is right that they be bound up with the Gospels and the Epistles as an essential portion of the grand whole. I find the writers of the New Testament constantly referring to the Old, and the Old prophesying, or recording the preparation for, the events described in the New. There is much that I do not understand, and no little that seems incredible; but I see no leaf that I have either the right or the wish to tear out and cast away. I receive it as in itself, independent of my reason and my knowledge, an authentic, inspired, and harmonious whole. I pin my faith to it, and rely upon it as the foundation of my own hope and the hope of the world."

A chapter on Perfect Liberty beautifully illustrates how love makes obedience to the most rigid law the most perfect freedom. In obeying the perfect law the perfect Christian, acting from love, does just as he pleases, for he pleases with the most eager heartiness to do what the law prescribes. A chapter on the Power of Circumstances contains a most unguarded, though unintentional, defense of all wickedness on the plea of circumstances. The author constructs the plea with great skill, and illustrates it with great beauty, and leaves it, without limitations, as a complete refutation of all possible guilt, and a complete impeachment of all *penalty*. The only defense it leaves for the infliction of punishment, is the fact that "circumstances" have produced the habit. The doctrine of the chapter is that temptation excuses crime, and that there is no guilty act except the act committed without temptation and occasioned by no "circumstances." Happily, however, and yet unhappily, all this is contradicted by another chapter on the "Canonization of the Vicious;" happily, because one in a measure neutralizes the other;

unhappily, because the author fails to bring the opposite views into juxtaposition, and draw the discriminating line between them.

In the chapter on Learning and Wisdom the author impresses some truth upon the mind by a strong and almost fanatical overstatement. From Timothy's onslaught upon the learning, both of our colleges and our professors, we should imagine that he was not only progressive, but aggressive, and even destructive. Yet from other parts of his book we imagine that, practically, he is a very quiet fogy. The chapter on the "Lord's business" goes to show that the "Lord's business" is very badly managed by the men to whose hands it is intrusted. There is much error, we think, in both these chapters, but truth enough to awaken reflection upon their respective subjects.

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(30.) "*Parties and their Principles;* a Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By ARTHUR HOLMES." 12mo., pp. 394. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.

We live in a land where every citizen is a voter by right, and should be by practice. *Should be*, we say, for it is a piece of most mistaken piety which, under pretense that politics are corrupt and profligate, withholds the conscientious man from the polls, and deludes him into the folly and guilt of abandoning the politics of the country to still deeper depravity, and its government to more aggravated misrule. Nothing is more necessary to rescue the nation from a future of crime and downfall than the firm and active vigilance of the great body of pure conscientious and conservative freemen in the exercise of their responsible franchise. And in order to be an intelligent as well as conscientious voter, a knowledge of our past political history is of primary importance. The history of the founding of our national government, of the parties which have struggled for ascendancy in its progress with the principles that called them into existence, of the measures which have contributed to our weal or woe, is very much the true guide for the future.

As a brief, clear, comprehensive manual for the citizen upon these topics, Mr. Holmes's volume is a valuable production. To our young men a large part of the book is of course matter of pure history and fresh information; while to men of middle age its details furnish a *revival* of reminiscences scarcely less important for the formation of present opinions. Its style is clear, its selection of points judicious, and its spirit judicially impartial.

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(31.) "*Graham Lectures.* Human Society: its Providential Structure, Relations, and Offices. Eight Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, Brooklyn, L. I. By F. D. HUNTINGTON, D.D." 8vo., pp. 307. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

This elegant volume, the second published under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute as Graham Lectures, embraces the following series of topics: Human Society as a Divine Appointment, a Living Instrument of Divine Thought, a Discipline of Individual Character, a School of Mutual Help. It is then discussed: In Relation to Social Theories, In Relation to the Intellect, as Subject to a Law of Advancement, as The Sphere of the Kingdom of Christ on Earth.

(32.) "*Moral Philosophy, including Theoretical and Practical Ethics.* By JOSEPH P. HAVEN, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Author of Mental Philosophy." 12mo., pp. 336. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1859.

Professor Haven is favorably known to the public by his Manual of Mental Philosophy, recently published. The present work is a very proper accompaniment to its predecessor. We have the same lucid order, clear expression of thought, and ease of style. The principles of the work, founded upon the philosophy of Butler, accord with the views of the present time prevalent among the best thinkers of the age. The volume, although indicating no great original metaphysical power, is admirably adapted to fill its intended place as a text-book in our colleges and higher academies.

(33.) "*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the Official Reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the Thirty Year's View. Vol. 12." 8vo., pp. 806. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

The present volume of this great national work is occupied with the administration of President Jackson. Its main topics are, South Carolina Nullification, the Tariff Compromise, the Expunging Resolutions, the Antislavery Petitions, the Admission of Michigan.

(34.) "*The Logic of Political Economy*, and Other Papers. By THOMAS DE QUINCY, Author of 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater,' etc." 12mo., pp. 387. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

The unique mind and fascinating style of De Quincy are here applied to removing the obstacle which, in his opinion, now renders political economy a stationary science, namely, a false logical method. Folks who eschew brain toil will skip this piece and leap over to the "Other Papers." There they will luxuriate upon a Life of Milton, The Suliotes, The Fatal Marksman, The Incognito, or Count Fitz-Hum, The Dice, and the King of Hayti."

V.—*Educational.*

(35.) "*The Phonographic Reader*, Edited and Engraved by BENN PITMAN." 12mo., pp. 30. Cincinnati, O.: Phonographic Institute.

"*The Phrase Book*, a Vocabulary of Phraseology, consisting of Phrases that can be Written in Phonetic Shorthand without lifting the Pen. By BENN PITMAN, Phonographic Institute." Cincinnati, O. 12mo., pp. 53.

These elegant publications in Phonography are suited respectively to the wants of the beginner in Phonography, and the beginner in the reporting style. They are to be obtained through the mail by remitting the price to Mr. Pitman.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(36.) "*The Money King, and other Poems.* By JOHN G. SAXE." 12mo., pp. 180. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Saxe received, some time ago, from the popular decision, his ticket of admission among the choice few of our national poets. He comes to us, just now, clad in

the russet coat of Ticknor & Fields, the uniform of the immortals, the Yankee Westminster Abbey, in which the living as well as the dead are apotheosized.

Saxe's productions present a superstructure of *wit* upon a ground of *poetry* underlaid with a subsoil of *philosophy*, not deep but genial and popular His wit is often word wit; sometimes nothing but pure unmitigated pun. Sometimes it is, indeed, the true surpriseful combination of antipodal images; and sometimes it is that same combination with a *thought* in it, which dignifies wit into wisdom. His *poetry* exhibits a mastery of fluent language, shaped into facile versification; fancy rather than structural imagination; an occasional enameled finish of thought and language; but nothing whatever of the intensity of poetic feeling which absorb the soul in Percival or in Byron.

A large share of the pieces in the present *russet* are not so much poetry as simply *wit in polished verse;* such as undergraduates worship and lyceums applaud. Very well. It is wit that creates no pang, corrupts no heart, suffuses no cheek, utters no irreverence, suggests no skepticism, breathes no misanthropy. It is as pure as those marvels of crystalline clearness, the mountain rills of his own Vermont. By the laugh his pleasant mischief creates, if you are no wiser, you are at any rate no wickeder; and if not happier, perhaps are healthier. If a comic poet can claim for his task the dignity of a *mission*, our friend fulfills his *mission* well. Go then, true-hearted and genial John G., whether in thy own corporeal self, with thy stalwart form and smiling face, to fling the pearls of guileless mirth around thy path, and "fill the mouth with laughter" of many an evening audience throughout our towns and cities; or whether in thy russet uniform to enter our dwellings, adorn our parlor tables, and shed the electric spark of thy own cheery wit around the home-born circle.

The longest piece in the present volume, The Money King, is a true specimen of the satirical poem. Its theme is the leading folly of the day. It is pervaded by a lesson. It presents a variety of picture, touched with natural hues by a graphic hand. Its versification is generally exact and always easy. Its expression is terse; its wit flashes with incessant and lively play. The allegoric description of the Money King is sustained with power and completeness. The picture of California, the hit at the humbugs of Spiritualism, the merry-make at "Love in a Cottage," the portraiture of the degenerate grandson, the concluding programme of a desired life, are each a poemette in itself. Among the best shorter pieces are, The Way of the World, and Little Jerry the Miller. My Castle in Spain would have done no discredit to Beranger. The most profuse witticisms are gathered into Tom Brown in Gotham.

As years advance, as experience ripens and feelings deepen, prithee, dear John, grow wisely and cheerfully pensive. Let poetry come from the deeper profound of thy soul up through the channel of thy pure and noble heart, speaking of grander, holier themes, and dealing with sublimer and more solemn interests. We speak not of repentance; or if of repentance, be it not for the *written*, but for the lines *unwritten*. Let the eye that by compulsion looks, in life's onward march, *toward* eternity, send a few more penetrating glances *into* its awful depths, and thence draw loftier inspirations for grander strains and more imperishable utterances.

We append a few specimens. And first, what saith the poet's philosophy about "Love in a Cottage."

> "Yet, let me hint, a thousand maxims prove
> *Plutus* may be the truest friend to *Love.*
> 'Love in a cottage' cosily may dwell,
> But much prefers to have it furnished well!
> A parlor ample, and a kitchen snug,
> A handsome carpet, an embroidered rug,
> A well-stored pantry, and a tidy maid,
> A blazing hearth, a cooling window-shade.
> Though merely mortal, money-purchased things,
> Have wondrous power to clip Love's errant wings.
> 'Love in a cottage' isn't just the same
> When wind and water strive to quench his flame;
> Too oft it breeds the sharpest discontent,
> That puzzling question, 'How to pay the rent;'
> A smoky chimney may alone suffice
> To dim the radiance of the fondest eyes;
> A northern blast, beyond the slightest doubt,
> May fairly blow the torch of *Hymen* out;
> And I have heard a worthy matron hold,
> (As one who knew the truth of what she told,)
> *Love* once was drowned, though reckoned water-proof
> By the mere dripping of a leaky roof!"

And here is another clever attempt at doing the philosophy:

"THE HEAD AND THE HEART.

"The head is stately, calm, and wise,
  And bears a princely part;
And down below in secret lies
  The warm, impulsive heart.

"The lordly head that sits above,
  The heart that beats below,
Their several office plainly prove,
  Their true relation show.

"The head erect, serene, and cool,
  Endowed with Reason's art,
Was set aloft to guide and rule
  The throbbing, wayward heart.

"And from the head, as from the higher,
  Comes every glorious thought;
And in the heart's transforming fire
  All noble deeds are wrought.

"Yet each is best when both unite
  To make the man complete;
What were the heat without the light?
  The light without the heat?"

◆

(37.) "*Fables of La Fontaine.* Illustrated by J. J. Gandrille. Translated from the French by Elizur Wright, Jr." 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 343, 245.

(38.) "*The Henriade,* with the Battle of Fontenoy, Dissertations of Man, Law of Nature, Destruction of Lisbon, Temple of Taste, and Temple of Friendship. From the French of M. de Voltaire. With Notes from all the Commentators. Edited by O. W. Wight, A. M." 12mo., pp. 407.

(39.) "*Corinne;* or, Italy. By MADAME DE STAEL. Translated by ISABEL HILL, with Metrical Versions of the Odes, by L. E. LANDON." 12mo., pp. 391.

(40.) "*The Martyrs.*" By M. D. CHATEAUBRIAND. A Revised Translation. By O. W. WIGHT, A. M." 12mo., pp. 451. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.

Mr. Wight's enterprise for introducing the classics of the French language into our American literature makes rapid progress. The unobjectionable masterpieces of Voltaire's poetical genius, illustrated with biography, historical summary, and copious notes, will be generally acceptable. The splendid romance of Madame de Staël is preceded by a brief, but interesting biography of that celebrated authoress.

Most unique, however, are the history and the character of the Martyrs of Chateaubriand. The author, like Madame de Staël, suffered the vengeance of Bonaparte. His work, written with the exuberance of genius in the period of his misfortune, would have been flung aside in discouragement, but for the inspiring counsels of a friend. Published, it was assailed by unanimously merciless reviewers, was given up by the author in despair, but was gradually accepted by the public, and finally crowned with victory over conquered criticism. It is a prose poem, somewhat in the style of Telemaque, but celebrating far loftier themes in far bolder strain and conception.

VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

The following works our space does not allow us to notice in full:

"*The Rectory of Moreland*, or My Duty." 12mo., pp. 339. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860.

"*Harry Lee;* or, Hope for the Poor. With eight Illustrations." 12mo., pp. 379. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.

"*The Three Wakings; with Hymns and Songs.* By the Author of 'The Voice of Christian Life in Song.' 16mo., pp. 268. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*Sword and Gown.* By the Author of 'Guy Livingstone.'" 12mo., pp. 308. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

"*Loss and Gain*; or, Margaret's Home. By ALICE B. HAVEN." 12mo., pp. 315. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

"*Life of Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scots. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE." 24mo., pp. 275. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

"*A Good Fight*, and Other Tales. By CHARLES READE, Author of 'Love Me Little, Love Me Long,' 'Peg Woffington,' 'Christie Johnstone,' etc., etc. With Illustrations." 12mo., pp. 341. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.

"*The Virginians.* A Tale of the Last Century. By W. M. THACKERAY." 8vo., pp. 411. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*The Hart and the Water Brooks.* A Practical Exposition of the Forty-second Psalm. By the Rev. JOHN R. MACDUFF, D. D., Author of 'Morning and Night Watches,' 'Memories of Gennesaret,' 'Words of Jesus,' 'The Footsteps of St. Paul,' etc." 16mo., pp. 269. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*Cosmos.* A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. Translated from the German. By E. C. OTTE and W. S. DALLAS, F.L.S. Vol. 5. 12mo., pp. 462. New York: Harper & Brothers.

"*Deutsches Gesangbuch.* Eine Answahl geiseichn Leider aus Allen Zeiten der Christlichen Kirche. Nach den Besten Hymnologischer Quellen bearbeitet und mit erlantanden, Bermenkungen uber die verfaser den Inhalt und die Gesichte der Leider, versehen von Philip Schaff, Doctor und Professor der Theologie. Probe Ausgabe." 12mo., pp. 663. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, Shafer & Horadi; Berlin: Weigandt & Grieben. 1860.

"*Fisher's River* (North Carolina) *Scenes and Characters.* By 'Skitt,' who was raised thar." Illustrated by John M. Lenan." 12mo., pp. 269. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.

"*The Queen of Hearts.* By Wilkie Collins, Author of 'The Dead Secret,' 'After Dark,' etc., etc." 12mo., pp. 472. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.

"*Cottage Melodies.* A Hymn and Tune Book for Prayer and Social Meettings and the Home Circle. By William B. Bradbury, author of 'The Jubilee,' etc., etc. Assisted by Sylvester Main." 24mo., pp. 309. New York: Carlton & Porter; F. J. Huntington; Mason Brothers; and E. Goodenough. Boston: Brown, Taggard & Chase. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory, & Co.

"*Sacred Melodies* for Social Worship. By Rev. H. Mattison, A. M., of the Black River Conference." 24mo., pp. 432. New York: Mason & Brothers. 1859.

"*Cornell's Cards for the Study and Practice of Map-Drawing.*" Designed to accompany any Geography, but specially adapted to Cornell's Grammar-school Map." New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Tom Brown at Oxford,* a Sequel to School-days at Rugby. By Thomas Hughes, author of 'School-days at Rugby,' 'Scouring of the White Horse.'" 16mo., pp. 48. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

"*Home Dramas for Young People,* compiled by Eliza Lee Follen." 12mo., pp. 433. Boston and Cambridge: James Monroe & Co. 1859.

"*Life's Morning;* or, Counsels and Encouragements for Youthful Christians. By the Author of 'Life's Evening,' 'Sunday Hours,' etc., etc." 12mo., pp. 266. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860.

"*Life in Jesus.* A Memoir of Mrs. Mary Winslow, arranged from the Correspondence, Diary, and Thoughts, by her Son, Octavius Winslow, D.D., Author of 'Midnight Harmonies,' 'Personal Declension and Revival,' 'The Precious Things of God,' etc." 12mo., pp. 426. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*Mary Staunton;* or, The Pupils of Marvel Hall. By the Author of 'Portraits of my Married Friends.'" 12mo., pp. 398. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

Highways of Travel; or, a Summer in Europe. By Margaret J. M. Sweat, Author of 'Ethel's Love-Life.'" 12mo., pp. 358. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

"*The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill,* of St. Petersburgh, being Selections from his Reminiscences, Journals, and Correspondence. By Charles M. Birrell. With a View of his Character by Rev. John Angell James. 12mo., pp. 358. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*Gotthold's Emblems;* or, Invisible Things understood by the Things that are made. By Christian Scriver, Minister of Magdeburg, in 1671. Translated from the twenty-eighth German edition by the Rev. Robert Menzies, Hoddam, England. 12mo., pp. 316. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

Notices of the following are postponed for want of room:

Fool of Quality, 2 vols. Derby & Jackson.
Preachers and Preaching, by Dr. Murray. Harper & Brothers.
Mrs. Howitt's History of America. Harper & Brothers.
The Gospel in Leviticus, by Dr. Leiss. Lindsay & Blakiston.

VIII.—*Juvenile.*

"*Girls at School;* or, the Boarding School Life of Julia and Elizabeth. By Mrs. J. P. WALLACE. Four Illustrations." New York: Carlton & Porter.

"*Willie Wishing to be Useful.* By the Author of 'Willie's Lessons,' 'Willie trying to be Manly,' 'Willie Trying to be Thorough.' Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 193. New York: Carlton & Porter.

"*Miles Lawson;* or, The Family at the Ewes." Three Illustrations. 24mo., pp. 140. New York: Carlton & Porter.

"*Martha's Hooks and Eyes.*" 24mo., pp. 129. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

"*Mary Lee.* By KATE LIVERMORE." New York: D. Appleton & Co.

"*The Emigrants.* An Allegory; or, Christians *vs.* The World. By Rev. WESLEY COCHRAN, A. M." 16mo., pp. 191. New York: Printed for the Author.

"*Edith,* The Backwoods Girl. A Story for Girls. By Mrs. L. C. TUTHILL, Author of 'Queer Bonnets,' 'I'll be a Lady,' etc." 16mo., pp. 245. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.

"*Jesse Allison;* or, The Transformation. By MARY A. RICHARDS. With an Introduction by MRS. BRADLEY. 16mo., pp. 234. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.

CARLTON & PORTER are about issuing

A Sermon on an Itinerant Ministry, preached before the Detroit Annual Conference at its last session, by Rev. S. Clements, jr. Published by request of the Conference.

The Heavenly Conqueror; or, the Combat between Christ and Satan for the Human Soul. By Rev. William Morley Punshon, of London.

Autobiography of Rev. Dan Young, a work of great interest to our public, and which adds some accessions to our denominational history.

The first volume of a Commentary on the New Testament, by Rev. D. D. Whedon, will appear in the course of the coming quarter. It embraces Matthew and Mark. It is intended for popular use, avoiding a parade of learning, and aiming to give a lucid explanation of the sacred text for ordinary intelligent readers. The present purpose is to include Luke, John, and Acts in a second volume, and the remainder of the New Testament in a third. Each volume may be purchased separately. A book of questions for Bible classes will be prepared suited to the first volume.

The True Evangelist, by Dr. James Porter, revised edition, will be issued from the press soon. It is a defense of the Itinerancy with a review of the dangers to be apprehended, and suggestions as to the best means of securing its highest efficiency. It is a work for the times, and will be perused with interest at the present time.

PERKINPINE & HIGGINS, Philadelphia, have in preparation John Albert Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament, a new edition, edited by Charlton T. Lewis, A.M., Professor in Troy University. It will be in two volumes octavo of at least eight hundred pages each. Price, $5. The first volume will be ready in April, 1860, and the second volume in a few months after. We have in a former number, indicated the high value of this work. The enterprising publishers and editor will merit the thanks of the lovers of Biblical literature, who will look for its appearance with much interest.

Also a history of Methodism in New Jersey, by Rev. John Atkinson of the Newark Conference.

APPLETON & Co. have sent us six different catalogues announcing their splendid collection of "choice, curious, and valuable books." Their importations embrace a large body of standard English literature and fine illustrated works, with many scarce and curious volumes; the whole selected from the various continental libraries. The six catalogues may be obtained by sending six cents to the publishers.

From JOHN WILEY we have received the catalogue of S. Bagster and Sons, 15 Paternoster Row, London. It embraces a very extensive list of Biblical works in various languages, ancient and modern. Standard Biblical lexicons, and grammars, Hebrew and Greek, Polyglots and Commentaries form the staple of their list. Bagster furnishes diglots, associating any two languages the student needs. Weekly orders are furnished to Europe by Wiley.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1860.

ART. I.—THE MODERN NOVEL.

British Novelists and their Styles: Being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction. By DAVID MASSON, M. A., Author of the "Life and Times of John Milton." Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.

LITERATURE, like everything in the dominions of fashion, is perpetually changing and renewing its forms. Its present tendencies are obviously toward the lighter of the forms in which, in past times, it has appeared, and accordingly a largely increased prominence has within a few years been given to the prose fiction. This is seen not only in an enlarged demand for works of fiction, but, as a cause of that demand, in the accession to the class of novel-readers of a large number of persons not formerly found among them; and further, as both cause and effect of this, in the production and publication of a superior class of novels. Formerly, and for good and sufficient reasons, that whole class of books was proscribed as of evil tendency, and parents and teachers careful of the morals of their charges, sedulously excluded from their reading all "novels" as deadly moral poisons; and earnest men and women, who believed that life has higher purposes than the pleasures of the hour, thought they had more important matters on hand than "novel-reading." We speak of this not to their reproach but praise; for such was the prevailing character of that class of literature from the restoration of the Stuarts to the present century, that the only safe course to be taken with it was to abstain entirely from it. In the hands of Scott fictions assumed a new character, and from his time they have enjoyed a better reputation, which has steadily advanced, and been confirmed by the many modern contributions to its stores, till at

length the novel occupies a prominent and highly important position in the literature of the age.

The appearance, just at this time, of such a volume as that of Mr. Masson is highly opportune, for literature is among its own chief subjects, whether in the department of history or of criticism. We may also congratulate the public that this needed work has been undertaken by one so entirely competent to do it justice, though our gratulations are somewhat limited by the fact that the writer's designs stopped very far short of a complete survey of his subject. Those who are acquainted with his "Life and Times of Milton" (of which only the first of two volumes has been published) need no further assurance of his fitness for such discussions as an exhaustive treatment of his theme would require, and this specimen of his ability in that speciality would be gladly accepted by the public as a pledge of something more perfect in reserve. The volume is a small duodecimo of a little more than three hundred pages, made up of four lectures, originally delivered as such, and afterward enlarged by fuller statements and more copious illustrations, and published in the form of a book. The style is pure and perspicuous, the range of subjects comprehensive, and the disquisitions and criticisms at once exact and appreciative. In taste and moral tone the book is all that the most fastidious or scrupulous can desire, and altogether it is a valuable contribution to the current literature. So much we here wish to say of the book which we make the nominal subject of this essay; we propose, however, to write of its subject rather than of itself, and so politely hand it to a convenient place upon the table, to be used only as it may aid in our further discussions.

The awkward formality of defining the subject in hand seems in this case to be a necessity, that it may be understood what we include under the general title of "the novel." Here too we are sorry, for once, to differ with our author as to the proper significance of that term. He distributes all literature into three departments, "History, Philosophy, and Poetry," giving as a synonom of poetry "the Literature of Imagination," and so embracing the Prose Fiction in the last category. To this we object not as philosophically incorrect, but as an infelicitous arrangement, and not sufficiently obvious. Poetry in such a classification must be recognized by its form, and so not distinguished from *verse*. Fictions have, indeed, often worn that dress, and some of the noblest productions of poetical genius have been fictions. But as there is much poetry that does not embody fiction, and much fictitious writing that cannot be called poetry, it seems not wise to include the

two in a common class. With verse, whether dealing with fiction or otherwise, we have no concern just now; our subject is Prose Fiction, and to that we would confine our attention. Here, too, we find further need to discriminate so as to exclude certain forms of fiction from our class. Æsop's Fables are fictions, and so, many believe, are the parables of the New Testament; still they are not novels, even in miniature. So of the stories of classical mythology, and even the "plots" of dramatic productions; and so we may add of the long-drawn allegories, in which the true purpose of the discourse is readily seen through a thin vail of fictitious imagery.

A novel is a fictitious story, designed primarily to please, either as a present amusement or by the interest it awakens in the reader in behalf of the persons and actions of the tale. Other purposes may be aimed at incidentally and without apparent design; but to please should seem to be the governing object, to which everything should be made subservient. It is accordingly first of all necessary that the reader should become acquainted with and concerned for the chief actors in the plot, and to secure this these should be characters in whom one may become interested. It is therefore one of the requisites of a novel that its chief characters shall be both great and virtuous. And since one seldom becomes much concerned for those whose affairs glide along quietly, it is usually required that the hero or heroine should be led through a maze of perplexities, the changing phases of which, and his struggles and conflicts, hopes and despondencies in them, make up the tale; and that it may please as a whole, the issue should be fortunate. Still further, since some degree of passionate emotion is a condition of pleasing excitement, the story must be conducted in such a way as to move and excite the desired passions in the reader. Different kinds of emotions are no doubt best suited to different classes of readers, and the writer must make his selection of the class to which he will address himself, and adapt himself to them, even at the risk of failing to please all others; but since nearly all minds are pleased by contemplating most forms of mental excitement, the range of the novelist's movements is not necessarily a circumscribed one.

Historically, fiction is among the oldest forms of the literature of every nation and people. In nearly all cases it has entered largely into the matter of the heroic songs and stories that universally distinguish the nascent literature of nations. In the unformed states of society the common mind is highly imaginative, and impatient of the rigid restraints of historic reality, and therefore it demands the more gorgeous creations of fiction. The proper prose fiction, however, finds a place only among the productions of a matured civiliza-

tion, and then it honestly confesses the unreality of its statements. And as in the infancy of society its literature is always legendary, so in its more advanced stages fictions have been found in the literature of all nationalities, though, on account of its more perishable character, less of that kind of writing than of most others is transmitted to later times. The literature of the Hebrews, though they were a remarkably unimaginative people, is not wholly destitute of it. The book of Job, even if based on facts as to its narrative portions, is evidently imaginary as to its dramatic dialogues. The Canticles are at best an allegorical prophecy; and some would call the book a pure poetical fiction. In the non-canonical Scriptures we have the book of *Judith*, believed by the best critics and commentators to be a pure fiction, and one, too, wholly reckless of the proprieties of times and places. In the literature of both Greece and Rome fictions first appeared in the form of verse, of which the poems of Homer are the most notable, though the fables of early Roman history are scarcely less characteristic. From the early legendary epics the fiction of the classical languages passed over to the ode, and thence to the drama, from which the passage to the prose fiction was both natural and easy.

The genesis of the prose fiction among the ancients was regular and well defined. In the earlier stages of their national growth, their fictions usually wore the livery of verse. First came their heroic songs and epics, and after these more artificial dramas, indicating an advanced stage of culture, and not until the national character had passed the culminating point did the prose fiction appear. In the literature of the Jews it belonged to the latter days of the local national existence of that people. Among the Greeks it did not appear till as late as the third Christian century; while with the Romans, whose culture never equaled that of the Greeks, it showed itself a century before. Of these later Greek and Latin novels Mr. Masson aptly remarks:

> "When we look into the works themselves we can see that, by their nature, they belong to an age when the polytheistic system of society was in its decrepitude. They are, most of them, stories of the adventures of lovers, carried away by pirates, or otherwise separated by fate, thrown from city to city of the Mediterranean coast, in each of which they see strange sights of sorcery and witchcraft; are present at religious processions, private festivals, crucifixions, and the like; become entangled in crimes and intrigues, and have hair-breadth escapes from horrible dens of infamy; sometimes were changed by magic into beasts; but at last reunited, and made happy by some sudden and extraordinary series of coincidences. There is a force of genius in some of them, and they are interesting historically as illustrating the state of society toward the close of the Roman empire; but the general impression which they leave is stifling, and even appalling, as of a world shattered into fragments, the air over each inhabited fragment stagnant and pestilential,

and healthy motion nowhere, save in some inland spots of grassy solitude, and in the breezes that blow over the separating bits of sea. One of the most curious features of them, as compared with the earlier classic poetry, is the more important social influence they assign to the passion of love, and consequently the more minute attention they bestow on the psychology of that passion, and the increased liberty of speech and action they give to women. Another particular in which they differ from the earlier Greek and Latin works of fiction is the more minute, and as we might say, more modern style in which they describe physical objects, and especially scenery. This is most observable in the Greek romances. It is as if the sense of the picturesque in scenery then began to appear more strongly than before in literature. In the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus, which is a sweet pastoral romance of the single Island of Lesbos, there are descriptions of the varying aspects and the rural labors of the seasons, such as we find in the modern pastoral poems."—Pp. 45, 6.

With the moderns, after the revival of learning, the course of things was similar to that just noticed, but distinguished by characteristic differences. The ancients proceeded without the aid of either models or precedents, inventing their own modes and processes; but the restorers of learning in Europe enjoyed the advantages afforded them by the still extant works of their predecessors. Before the twelfth century there was very little literature in any of the modern European tongues, while in the Byzantine Empire there still lingered the remains of the effete Greek culture, in the form of a feeble prose fiction, chiefly occupied with religious legends; and further East, in the empire of the Caliphs, there was a more robust form of fiction, of which the famous "Thousand and One Nights" remains a living specimen and enduring monument. A kind of fiction is, indeed, found in the ecclesiastical Latin of the middle ages, "The Lives of the Saints;" but these are rather forgeries than proper fictions, for while mere fabrications they purport to be veritable histories; and whether considered as histories or as literary compositions, they are alike deserving of no respect. At its first revival modern European literature took the form of verse, but passed rapidly into prose writings. In Italy, after the popular mind had been thoroughly aroused by the poetry of Dante and Petrarch, Boccaccio (1313–1375) brought in the prose fiction, arrayed in all the charms of the style of his great predecessors, originating at once a type of the novel which flourished for nearly two hundred years, till superseded by the Italian pastoral romance. Spain was at that time, and later, pre-eminently the land of romance and of a nascent romantic literature. The wars of the Goths and the Moors supplied abundant subjects for heroic and legendary stories which, first rehearsed in verse, at length took the form of prose. Knight-errantry was their all-pervading theme, of which the national mind seemed incapable of wearying, till the whole subject culminated and exploded in Cervantes' Don Quixote.

During the same period in France, the prose fiction, though apparently less favored by circumstances, had steadily advanced, and a hundred years earlier, in the works of Rabelais, it reached a degree of perfection that it has scarcely surpassed to the present day.

English history, literary as well as political, dates from the Norman conquest, and its literature springs from the Norman rather than the Saxon root. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries England supplied to Europe a large share of the famous *Trouveurs*, or Norman Minstrels, and their species of literature became fairly naturalized in that island, giving a character to its literature, traces of which remain to the present in the old chronicles, and especially the *Mort d'Arthur*, itself the monument and storehouse of the older Anglo-Norman literature, and the fountain from which was drawn most of the literature of England during the next two hundred years.

Toward the close of this period, when English literature had been somewhat modified as well as enriched by English translations of Boccaccio and Cervantes, an original type of prose fiction appeared in England, led on by Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, the Latin edition in 1516, and the English in 1551. In that work, "under the guise of a description of the imaginary island of *Utopia*, given in conversation by one Raphael Hythoday, a seafaring man, 'well stricken in age, with a black, sunburnt face and long beard,' to whom More is supposed to be introduced in the city of Antwerp, we have a philosophical exposition of More's own views respecting the constitution and economy of a state, and of his opinions on education, marriage, the military system, and the like." In this work its accomplished author evidently availed himself of the examples in the same field of both Plato and Cicero. The effect of that work upon the popular mind of England was immediate and strongly marked, and most evidently salutary. It also proved to be the first-born of a family of English prose fictions of rare excellence, as to both matter and style; among others Bacon's *Atlantis*, Barclay's *Argenis*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Boyle's *Parthenissa*. The confessed allegorical character of these fictions, and their liberal use of the ideal, may have prepared the way for Bunyan's great religious allegories. Of this there could be no doubt, but for the prevalent notion that Bunyan was almost wholly illiterate, a notion probably somewhat exaggerated by both his friends and enemies, from different motives. The relations of his writings to the literature of the times are obvious and legitimate, and beyond a doubt the writer was sufficiently conversant with the prevailing taste to become, perhaps unconsciously, influenced by it.

Bunyan and Milton mark a transition stage in the literature of their country, in which the idealism of the older novelists blended with the stern and simpler faith of the Puritans. But they were not in sympathy with their generation, and their works were not at once appreciated. A new dispensation had come in, not more in religion and government than in literature, and the whole spirit of the age was unfriendly to legitimate fiction. The literature of the period of the Restoration (1660–1688) is materialistic and not ideal, sensuous and superficial rather than imaginative and introspective. The mind of the age was occupied with thoughts and interests relating to things tangible and material, rather than upon matters of taste and esthetic forms and properties. Poetry still survived, but it was little more than the metrically faultless but artificial vehicle of wit, sentiment, and criticism. The drama became almost exclusively broad comedy, and the character of Dryden, as drawn by Macaulay, whether just to its subject or not, is doubtless a truthful portraiture of the character of the age. Prose fictions almost wholly disappeared, and during those thirty dismal years the annals of English literature contains only the name of *Aphra Behn* in that department, a writer whose inconsiderable novellettes would have been unsufficient to give her name to posterity from any other age; and she too belonged to the voluptuous and sensualistic school of her own times rather than to either the earlier or later races of novelists.

The revival of the legitimate prose fiction occurred near the beginning of the eighteenth century, under the auspices of Swift and Defoe, the former a violent political partisan and bitter satirist, and the latter a humble man of letters, endowed with a peculiarly happy genius for story-telling. These two writers were the harbingers of a new era in English literature, and after them, extending over the greater part of the eighteenth century, came a large and varied class of writers in almost every department of letters. The list of the poets of that age is especially a long one, and its names are suggestive of great variety in both their character and relative excellence. Its prose writers, both religious and secular, are those who have given form and character to the literature of the English tongue, of whom no inconsiderble portion were writers of fiction; for, besides those just named, we find on the list the names of Addison and Steele, Johnson and Goldsmith, who occasionally wrote fictions, and Richardson, Fielding, Smollet, and Sterne, who are distinguished, *par excellence*, as novelists. Of the prose fictions of that age Mr. Masson remarks:

> "The new British prose fiction which came into being near the beginning of the century, in the works of Swift and Defoe, was one of the most notable

manifestations of the increasing sufficiency of prose generally. There had been already in Britain the Arthurian prose romance, with its wondrous ideality, the grotesque and facetious tales of the chap-books, and the Utopian or political romance, the wearisome Arcadian romance or pastoral heroic, the still more prolix romance of modernized classic heroism, the unique romance of Bunyan, and also, to some extent, the novel of French and Italian gallantry; but here was a kind of fiction which, whatever it might lack in comparison with its predecessors, grasps contemporary life with a firmer hold, at a thousand points simultaneously, and arrested more firmly the daily forms of human interest."—P. 97.

We also add our author's characterization of these two great pioneers of modern prose fiction, in preference to anything we might write; and first of Swift:

"Indubitably one of the most robust minds of his age, Swift, in the first place, went wholly along with his age, nay, tore it along with him faster than it could decorously go, in its renunciation of romance and all 'the sublimities.' He, a surpliced priest, (as Rabelais had also been,) a commissioned expositor of things not seen, *was* an expositor of things not seen; but it was of those things that are unseen because they have to be dug for down in the concealing earth, and not of those that fill the upward azure, and tremble by their very nature beyond the sphere of vision. The age, for him, was still too full of the cant of older beliefs preserved in the guise of 'respectabilities;' and to help to clear it of this he would fix its gaze on its own roots, and on the physical roots of human nature in general, down in the disgusting and the reputedly bestial."—P. 98.

Of Defoe he writes still more graphically:

"In the main, as all know, he drew upon his knowledge of low English life, framing imaginary histories of thieves, courtesans, and buccaneers, and the like, of the kind to suit a coarse popular taste. He was a great reader, and a tolerable scholar, and he may have taken the hint of his method from the Spanish picturesque novel, as Swift adopted his from Rabelais. On the whole, however, it was his own robust sense of reality that led him to his style. There is none of the sly humor of the foreign picturesque novel in his representations of an English ragamuffin life; there is nothing of allegory, poetry, or even of didactic purpose; all is hard, prosaic, and matter of fact, as in newspaper paragraphs, or the passages of the Newgate Calendar. Much of his material, indeed, may have been furnished by his recollections of occurrences, or by actual reports and registers; but it is evident that no man ever possessed a stronger imagination of that kind which, a situation being conceived, teems with circumstances in exact keeping with it. . . . This minuteness of imagined circumstances and filling up, this power of fiction in fac-simile of nature is Defoe's unfailing characteristic. Lord Chatham is said to have taken the *History of a Cavalier* for a true biography; and the *Account of the Plague in London* is still read by many under a similar delusion. . . . Defoe's matchless power of inventing circumstantial incidents made him more a master even of its poetical capabilities than the rarest poet then living could have been; and now that all round our globe there is not an unknown island left, we still reserve in our mental charts one such island with the sea breaking round it, and we would part any day with ten of the heroes of antiquity rather than with Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday."—Pp. 103-5.

After Swift and Defoe had both passed from the public stage—the former to a madhouse, and the latter to his grave—a new class

of novelists and a new style of novel appeared. In 1740 Richardson published *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded,* the pioneer of the new school of prose fictions. Richardson was then nearly sixty years old, a careful and moderately successful man of business, who now became an author, rather as an amateur than professionally. With the confession of the wish that he "might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance writing, and, dismissing the improbable and marvelous with which novels generally abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue," he detailed the story of a poor, but virtuous young woman, who, sorely tried, struggles successfully against temptation, and at length gains more by her constancy than was offered as the price of her shame. The story was natural and inartistic in its form and structure, lying wholly within the sphere of the *possible* and seldom transgressing the limits of the *probable*—characteristics which distinguished it from most of the older fictions, and made it the vanguard of a coming host. The estimates of Richardson's writings in his own times (for he became a somewhat voluminous writer) were exceedingly various. Some extolled them as rivaling Shakspeare's in their delineation of character, and in their power over the passions. Others compared them unfavorably with those of Cervantes and Le Sage, and censured them as failing to give truthful views of life and manners, and tending to develop an unhealthy form of character. As to their ostentatiously declared purpose, "to promote religion and virtue," it was contended that they especially failed, for they so portrayed vice as to only partially expose its baseness, while its allurements were set forth in their most seductive forms. Their style answered to their matter, for it was flimsy in its texture, and lacked manly dignity and force; but it was attractive by reason of its recklessness of forced conventialities, and by its easy earnestness. Still it would be unjust to deny that Richardson had many strong points as a writer of fiction; but these were so mingled with obvious faults and weaknesses that few writers have been more severely handled by the critics. Into his new field Richardson was soon followed by Fielding, both as a personal and a literary rival, more than one of whose works were parodies or burlesques upon those of his predecessor, whose "sickly morality" was especially disgusting to that roystering young writer. "*The Adventures of Joseph Andrews*" was a caricatured parody upon *Pamela,* designed to turn to ridicule its moral lessons; and *Tom Jones* carried to still greater lengths that kind of rollicking wickedness that pleased the coarse wits of the age, among whom Fielding was a kind of oracle. Unlike as these two writers appeared, they never-

theless belonged to a common class, and were unconsciously fellow-laborers in giving a new form of prose fiction. Smollett soon after followed in the same path, and by his various productions, especially his *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle*, he aided in establishing more firmly the new style of novel, as well as still more deeply stamping its moral depravity and corrupting tendencies. Soon after him, to complete the quaternion, came Lawrence Sterne, a Yorkshire clergyman, and author of *Tristam Shandy* and the *Sentimental Journey*, a writer of a still more positively corrupting influence—notwithstanding the sacred office he occupied—and also more sprightly and vivacious than any of his associates, and excelling all of them in both sentiment and philosophy. These four celebrated authors agreed in so many points in which they differed from most earlier writers of fiction, that they constituted a new school of novelists, and inaugurated a new, and, it should be added, an improved style of the novel, as to its intellectual and esthetic character, though, unhappily, the same cannot be said of its moral tendencies. Still each of them maintained his own individuality, and marked his productions with his personal idiosyncracies. Richardson's novels were of the kind of writing sometimes styled namby-pamby, full of whining sentimentalisms and feeble attempts at smartness; yet they contained many good thoughts, and were so direct and natural in style and manner that in spite of criticism they compelled the reader to like them and to respect their author. His profession of a design to improve the manners and morals of his readers was a great blunder, as very likely to defeat that purpose. People who really wish to be taught these things are not apt to go to novels for them, and those who read novels for amusement are not pleased to be told in advance that there is a scheme to wheedle them into goodness; and without at all questioning the sincerity of his purpose, it must be conceded that the virtue he inculcates is not of the highest kind, nor altogether above suspicion. Fielding, on the contrary, was distinguished for a kind of joyous recklessness of both manner and results, and there was a vigor and freshness in his writings that charmed all who were not repelled by their gross immoralities; "a cheerful, sunshiny, breezy spirit," says Coleridge, "that prevails everywhere, strongly contrasted with the close, hothouse, dreamy continuity of Richardson." Smollett was as grossly immoral as Fielding, and vastly his inferior in keenness, vivacity, and humor, though, perhaps, his equal in a kind of blunt and outspoken forcibleness. Respecting the requirements of the new style of writing which they were jointly bringing into vogue, both Fielding and Smollett seem to have had more adequate conceptions

than Richardson. Here Mr. Masson may again be allowed to speak:

> "For both Fielding and Smollett it may be allowed that their novels fulfilled, more completely than Richardson's, in respect of the variety of their contents, that definition of the novel which demands that it should, whether serious or comic, be the prose counterpart of the epic. They are, as regards superficial extent of matter, more nearly the comic prose epics of their time than Richardson's are of its serious prose epics. In each of them there is a love story threading the incidents together; but to the right and to the left of this story, and all along its course, interrupting it, and all but obliterating it, are fragments of miscellaneous British life, or even European life, humorously represented. There are varying breadths of landscape; characters of all kinds come in; interests of all kinds are recognized; the reader is not perpetually on the rack in watching the feelings of the hero and the heroine, but is entertained with continual episodes, rambles, and social allusions."—Pp. 135, 6.

This school of fiction was especially distinguished from all that has preceded it by its naturalness—its realism, as contradistinguished from the idealism hitherto almost universally present in fictions. The romances of all former times had dealt more or less freely in matters outside of the real or probable—things that are still allowed and approved in some kinds of poetry. The new novel discarded all these, and presented as its characters simply men and women endowed with only the common traits of our every-day humanity. By this there is made a broad line of demarkation between the older *Romances* and the modern *Novel*, and the latter is by its own character enjoined from transgressing the limits of the purely mundane. By the same means prose fiction is removed beyond the ground it formerly occupied in common with poetry, and brought into a very intimate relationship to philosophical history, though poetry has followed it into its new field, and some of the most esteemed modern poems are only novels in verse. As an enterprise, the new prose fiction was eminently successful; it largely increased the number of readers of fictions, and by its more remote influences it multiplied the number of novel writers to supply the public demand, while the press labored with unprecedented activity, and books were made and sold at unheard of low prices. The period from 1770 to 1790 teemed with novelists, many of them mere pretenders, whose works enjoyed but an ephemeral existence; but others there were whose works are still read, and whose names occupy honorable positions in the history of literature. But the cycle of that school of fiction terminated before the end of the century; the coming on of the French Revolution (in 1789) gave a new direction to the public mind, which called for a different order of reading-matter, and the novel was thrown into the back ground, though not then entirely neglected. This subsidence near the close of the last cen-

tury, and extending over the first decade of the present, prepared things for the incoming of a new form of the novel which soon after occurred.

In any sketch, however brief, of the British novel, the name of Scott must occupy a prominent place, on account of his real greatness, and also of his isolation. He belonged to neither the older nor the later school of novelists, but himself constituted an entire school, "without father, without mother, without descent." To characterize him in a single phrase is impossible, for he introduced no startling novelties of either matter or style, and yet he excelled all others. His novels are stories related in a simple and natural style, just as they might have occurred, and many of them, at least in part, made up from real history. These tales, though sufficiently dignified to save them from contempt, are not specially remarkable, and do not as tales constitute the chief interest of the works, which lies rather in the embellishments, the incidents, and the style. Two forms of affection are betrayed in Scott's novels: a warm veneration for the past, or that portion of it in which his scenes are located, and a childlike love of (or rather liking for) material nature; the former directed him in the choice of his subjects, and the latter quickened his conceptions and "realized" his descriptions. He sympathized joyously and always normally with nature in her every-day aspects, and wrote from the fullness of his heart, and because he loved to see his musings clothed in visible forms; and if he looked at all to the influence his writings would have upon their readers, he seems only to have wished to impart to others some share of his own quiet enjoyments. All ulterior aims, any designs to direct the thinking of the age, or to propagate the views of any sect or party, if entertained by him at all, were so completely concealed that they have not been detected. That his writings have had such effects is not improbable; but that he intended them does not appear. This absence of ulterior aim, compensated by rare beauties of style and imagery, and just enough of sentiment and pathos to save from insipidity, and that fervid, but materialistic love of the old and the natural, constitute the great charm of Scott's novels. They are not read for instruction, but for the pleasure they afford in the reading, and for that end they have their place in the economy of life. When the overtasked mind requires not repose, but recreation, and the gentle companionship of congenial thoughts; and when neither a walk in the garden or grove, nor the sweet breathings of music are attainable, a volume of Waverly is welcomed as a friend in season. Earnest men, whether religious or worldly devotees, may deem all this a matter of small account, and think that genius misapplied

whose efforts extended only to such things; but when it is remembered that recreations are among the necessaries of life, of which mankind will not be defrauded, and that most of the sources of mental recreations are reeking with poisons, the opening of these pure and perennial fountains may appear as a real benefit conferred upon the race. We again avail ourselves of our author's language, to present a just estimate of the character and genius of our present subject:

> "It is the part of all poets and creative writers thus to make rich the thought of the world by additions to its stock of well-known fancies; and when we think of the quantity of Scott's creative writing, as well as of its popularity in kind; of the number of romantic stories he gave to the world, and the plenitude of vivid incidents in each; of the abundance in his novels of picturesque scenes and descriptions of nature, fit for the painter's art, and actually employing it; and, above all, of the immense multitude of characters, real and fantastic, heroic and humorous, which his novels have added to that ideal population of beings bequeathed to the world by the poetic genius of the past, and hovering round us and overhead as airy agents and companions of existence, he evidently takes his place as, since Shakspeare, the man whose contribution of material to the hereditary British imagination has been the largest and the most various. Strike out Scott, and all that has been accumulated on him by way of interest on his capital, from the British mind of the last seventy years, and how much poorer we should be! His influence is more widely diffused through certain departments of European and American literature than that of any individual writer that has recently lived; and many generations hence the tinge of that influence will still be visible."—Pp. 201–2.

Though Scott founded no school of novel writers, he gave a strong and wide impulse to that form of literature. A host of novelists sprang up after him, and cotemporaneously with his later life, who, each following his own mental tendencies, or associating in groups, constituted the innumerable army of modern writers of prose fiction. Like some great river, which now forms a deep and broad lake among the mountain gorges, and again bursts forth in broad and shallow streams, so the current of fiction seemed for a time to be swallowed up by a single writer, and at length it issued forth in increased volume but widely diffused. The list of British novelists who appeared during the eighteen years in which the Waverly novels made their appearance amount to nearly forty names, comprising those of many now permanently identified with the literature of the age; and if the list be continued to the present time it will exceed a hundred of at least respectable novel writers. And during the same period our native literature has been created; and though fiction has not been the most favored style with our writers, yet American novelists compare favorably with their compeers and rivals beyond the ocean.

The statistics of new novels published in the British Islands since 1820, as ascertained from a collection in the British Museum,

is both curious and suggestive. In 1820, when the Waverly novels were at their height, there were in all twenty-six distinct productions, making an aggregate of seventy-six volumes. In 1830, when the Waverly series was nearly completed, and had produced their first effect upon the public mind, there were, within the year, one hundred and two works, amounting to two hundred and five volumes. In 1850 the yield was two hundred and ten volumes, in ninety-eight distinct works; and in 1856 eighty-eight works and two hundred and one volumes.

> "Taking the data as aproximately accurate they give the curious fact that the annual yield of British novels had been quadrupled by the time of Scott's death, as compared with what it had been when he was in the middle of his Waverly series, having risen from twenty-six a year, or a new novel every fortnight, to about one hundred a year, or two new novels every week; and moreover, that this proportion of about one hundred new novels, or two every week, has continued pretty steady since Scott's death, as compared with what it had been when he was in the middle of the Waverly series. . . . Making an average calculation of these facts, I find that there may have been in all about three thousand novels, counting about seven thousand separate volumes produced in these Islands since the publication of 'Waverly.'"—P. 218.

As to the practicability of any one reader keeping up with this flood of fiction, the author remarks naively:

> "*The thing is practicable.* It is satisfactory to think that, by sticking to two novels a week, any one who chooses may, at the present rate, keep up with the velocity of the novel-producing apparatus at work among us, and not have a single novel of deficit when he balances at the year's end. *But I have not done it.* I have read a good many novels, perhaps specimens at least of all our best novels; but in what I have to say, I have no objection that you should consider me as speaking of the composition of the mass, in virtue of having inserted the testing-scoop into it at a good many points."—P. 220.

Of the numerous race of novelists (they can scarcely be called a class) who lived and wrote during the second quarter of the present century, we lack the space to remark at length; that they were both numerous and active is evinced by the statistics just given; that there were among them many powerful and finished writers will be confessed, when it is seen that on the list are such names as Theodore Hook, D'Israeli, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Samuel Warren, Douglas Jerrold, Wilson, Dickens, and Thackeray, (the last belongs rather to the last decade,) Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Mrs. Gore, and Lady Blessington. The themes upon which they exercised their powers were almost universal. English, Irish, and Scottish life and manners; fashionable, domestic, and criminal life; Continental, Oriental, and American society and manners; military and naval life; phantasy, history, and education. The whole world of thought was seized and appropriated by them, as a cloud of locusts in the East possesses and devours every green thing in is both curious and suggestive. In 1820, when the Waverly novels were at their height, there were in all twenty-six distinct productions, making an aggregate of seventy-six volumes. In 1830, when the Waverly series was nearly completed, and had produced their first effect upon the public mind, there were, within the year, one hundred and two works, amounting to two hundred and five volumes. In 1850 the yield was two hundred and ten volumes, in ninety-eight distinct works; and in 1856 eighty-eight works and two hundred and one volumes.

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That the novel of the present day has passed into a new phase of character as compared with that immediately preceding it, is quite evident. To this change we are, in no small degree, indebted to Dickens and Thackeray, though the movement to which they have so largely contributed has proceeded beyond their positions. The excitements of the memorable year 1848 seem to have made a permanent impression upon the mind of all Europe, which has especially affected its prose fictions. Instead of the gossiping character so remarkable in the novels of the former period, everything is now earnest, and government, religion, and social science are the most prevalent themes of their speculations, and the novel is made a chief vehicle for bringing these subjects before the public mind. This earnestness of purpose, with the materialistic tendencies of the age, has effectually banished nearly every vestige of the *ideal* from these novels, and given them an aspect of tangible realism, and to all their incidents and characters "a local habitation and a name." Thus ceasing to depict imaginary scenes and objects, our modern word-painters have turned their attention to nature, and real scenes and images, and thus they endeavor to compensate themselves for the loss of the world of phantasy by making the most of a truthful *Realism.* And as pictures from nature are pleasing for their own sakes, as well as wholesome in their moral and esthetical influences, these delineations of real life teach us what life is, and at the same time give pleasure by their imitative excellences, no less than from their intrinsic beauty.

Our cotemporary novelists no longer confine themselves to the office of mere ministers of pleasure; the characteristic earnestness of the age affects them, and ulterior purposes crop out from a large share of the novels of the last decade. If the writer is full of thoughts and interests respecting any of the live issues of the age, touched upon by him, that fact will naturally manifest itself in his writings; and as these indirect utterances, by insinuating thoughts and arguments, may become a great power in society, the novel has been subsidized to fight the battles of parties. It thus occurs that all the affairs of domestic, social, and religious life are presented in the forms of fiction, fashioned according to the writer's notions, and commended to our admiration or execration, as they may seem to him to deserve. The contests of senates and cabinets, of synods and councils, are reproduced in our novels, and the profundities of social and sacred science are there sifted and discussed for the delectation of idle youths and sentimental school-girls. For nearly every

pending or recently disposed of question or doctrine some novel has been written, to forward its interests or to effect its defeat. Some skill, however, is requisite in such cases, (and more than has been used in many instances,) lest in betraying his partisanship the author defeat his own purpose by putting the reader on his guard. To render the novel an effectual means to any given purpose, either that purpose must be kept out of sight, or else the facts and images which serve as proofs and arguments must be made to seem so obviously and incontrovertibly true as to compel assent. Illustrations of the successful use of these methods may be seen in several of the novels of Dickens and Thackeray, and especially in Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

A higher order of the novel of purpose, is what our author calls the "Art and Culture Novels," which, passing by the superficial questions of the day, is devoted to more fundamental considerations, questions upon which all virtue and sound morality depend, and out of which arise most of the happiness and misery of human life. This kind of purpose may be detected in some of the fictions of the last century, in *Rasselas* and the *Vicar of Wakefield,* and in Brooke's *Fool of Quality,* which, strangely enough, after a sleep of half a century, has just now experienced a resurrection; and it is almost characteristic of the better class of our latest fictions; those of Kingsley, Miss Bronte, Anthony Trollope, and the author of *Adam Bede,* and not least, of the *Minister's Wooing,* and *Beulah.* The evident earnestness of this class of works, and the warm sympathy manifested by their authors with our great humanity, (morbid indeed in some cases, but still strong and genial,) often gives a kind of sadness and sometimes a resentfulness to their utterances, especially unsuited to the wants of those who read novels only for amusement. Hatred of vested wrongs, of the tyranny of classes, of "respectable" meanness, and of that heartless conservatism—joint product of cowardice and love of the rewards of iniquity—which permeates and curses organized society, and which usually grows inveterate by age till overturned by the plowshare of revolution, is the distinctive element of these works. And as this feeling appeals to the many in their own behalf against the injustice and tyranny of the few, it is usually heard with interest and responded to with applause, and there is no good cause to doubt that the novel is among the most efficient revolutionary agents of this revolutionary age. In some cases these writers avoid the style and appearance of partisans, and seem quite passionless scene-painters, contenting themselves with cautiously displaying the wrongs which they hesitate to denounce; or, like Mark Anthony, they seek to

excite passions which they do not profess to feel, or they set the wrong in strong contrast with the right, and leave the pictures to produce their effects upon the reader's convictions and feelings. Such an agency engaged in the interests of truth and virtue cannot fail to accomplish great good; unhappily it may also be employed against these interests, when, though less effective, it is still powerful for evil.

Of the many lines of thought that open to us from the point we have reached, we must dismiss nearly all, and will close this paper with a few hasty remarks upon the relations of the novel to the other departments of literature, and its scope and capabilities. To most of the great departments of letters it holds rather intimate and pretty well defined relations. With the Epic it naturally stands related by way of both comparison and contrast, since the two forms of writing have many points in common, and yet are distinguished by clearly marked and characteristic differences. Works in prose differ from those in verse not only in their composition, but also in matter and method; and as prose is less carefully wrought, so the prose fiction is less exact in its style and less intense in its character than the Epic. The story in each is constructed on nearly the same plan, but in the former there is less need to aim at the heroic, and none to strive for poetical illusions, or the various forms of ornamentation that belong chiefly to poetical compositions. The novel is indeed the least pretentious form of writing, and its place in literature is an humble one; it also enjoys greater freedom than all others. To make a readable book in the form of a narrative, is all that is absolutely required of the novelist; and if he only does that he is at liberty to digress as he may please on either side, and to load down his story with as many side thoughts and speculations as it will bear. These addenda in many cases constitute the chief value of the book, and the tale seems to be used only as a thread upon which these "pearls of thought," the remarks and speculations of the author and interlocutors upon whatever subjects may be brought in under its auspices, are strung. In proportion, however, as the novel rises toward the perfection of its species, it approximates the interior character of the epic, evincing the essential unity of the two forms of composition, and designating the novel, as our author has done, the Prose-Epic.

The novel also, in many important particulars, resembles the drama, or rather dramatical compositions; for both tragedy and comedy are but condensed and intensified forms of the epic; and Macbeth or Hamlet sufficiently diluted would have made a good

novel. Of course, in such cases, all mere stage arrangements would be avoided, as indeed they should be in all cases when dramas pass over from the green-room to the library. And further, since the play of the passions is naturally much less intense in the reading of a novel than at the scenic exhibitions of the drama, the manner and forms of expression must be modified accordingly. Only a very moderate degree of passion, unless of the gentler and less demonstrative forms, is compatible with the free-and-easy character of the tale that is read for quiet amusement and mental recreation. But with this single difference of greater diffuseness and consequently diminished intensity, these two forms of writing depend on nearly the same conditions.

The relations of the novel to historical writings appear in both the form and the matter. The forms of the two are indeed almost wholly identical, the one pretending to be real, and the other assuming also a formal reality. Often, too, and most advantageously, the novelist makes use of historical materials, and mingles real characters with his fictitious ones. If proper regard is had to the proprieties of time and place, and to the characters and relations of persons, fiction may happily supplement real history, and build its superstructure all the more surely and symmetrically because it is "founded on facts." The successful execution of this rather difficult task is one of Scott's great excellences as a novelist; and in this, though others have somewhat succeeded in it, he stands without a rival.

Notwithstanding the apparent freedom of this kind of writing, and the wide range of subjects on which it may dilate, it is still evident that the novel has hitherto been rather a circumscribed form of literature. This is evinced by the fact that nearly all novels are fashioned after a common model. In most cases a young person, or two of them, a young man and a young woman, are so presented in the story as to become the chief objects of interest. That there may be the requisite amount of uncertainty as to the issue of affairs, giving room and occasion for hopes and fears, these chief characters must appear in all the inexperience and susceptibility of youth, beset with temptations and involved in perplexities; and that the whole interest may be properly concentrated, they must need be related to each other as lovers. And further, to make room for the requisite variety in the form of intrigues, counterplots, and episodes, the desired consummation of their mutual love must be obstructed, endangered, and long delayed, though in the end the affair must terminate in an all-consoling marriage. Thousands of the novels of the last quarter century have been formed upon that outline, and thou-

sands yet to be written will be only varied imitations of these. Two very good reasons induce our novelists to make the passion of love their great staple element—its almost absolute universality as matter of experience, and its very great influence over the after life of its subjects. "Through love, as a portal," writes our author, "man and woman both pass, at one point or another, ere they are free of the corporation of the human race, acquainted with its laws and constitution, and partakers of its privileges." Still it may be doubted whether this universally interesting theme has not been rather overworked; whether, seeing there are other human interests, widely recognized and appreciated, these might not advantageously occupy a larger space relatively in prose fictions. The ablest writers in the departments of imaginative literature, Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Scott, though all have duly honored the "white-handed Aphrodite," have relatively elevated other pursuits and passions, and drawn from them the principal interests of their several productions. "That so many of our inferior novels now should be love-and-marriage novels and nothing more," to adopt again our author's language, "arises perhaps from the fact that the novel-reading age in the one sex falls generally between the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth year, and that, with the other sex, in the present state of our social arrangements, the 'white-hand' remains, directly or indirectly, the permanent human interest during the whole of life."

We are not altogether prepared, therefore, to believe that the narrow limits to which novelists have so generally confined themselves comprise the whole that is accessible to them, or that there is any real necessity that they should so uniformly follow each other in the same beaten track, in which there remains to be gathered scarcely a flower or green shrub. Other passions illustrated with the requisite delicacy and power would afford all the necessary interest and excitement, and especially might their delineation be made to answer the highest didactic purposes of fiction.

Of the religious novel, proper, or rather the novel as an instrument of religious culture, we can write but very briefly. That most religious novels, so called, have been but sorry failures, may be readily granted; but their unsuccess may have been for manifest faults in their style and structure. There is, however, an apparent unsuitableness in the design of the novel as intended for amusement to the solemn earnestness that befits all things pertaining to the soul's great interests. Novelists write to please; but the stern lessons of religion are seldom sought for as a means of pleasure, or by those who are seeking for amusements. It would therefore seem that the novel never could be made a medium of direct and undis-

guised religious instruction and culture. But after this concession has been made, very much may be claimed for its possible influence in behalf of the deepest and most spiritual forms of religious life and experience. The manifold and varying forms of unbelief may tax the highest powers of genius to detect and describe them, including a deep and broad philosophy and a clear and strong imagination, quickened by experience into a lively sympathy with its subject. The tangled perplexity, so necessary to the interest of the story, may be afforded in all requisite fullness by the deeply interesting questions which alarm the awakened conscience and demand a solution; and the trembling uncertainties which hang over pending decisions upon which depend the great things of both time and eternity, invest the whole subject with the deepest interest; and the happy *denouement* of the conflict, in the calm peace of Christian assurance, brings the required favorable conclusion of the whole. To conduct this form of fiction successfully would require the highest grade of artistic ability, while an unsuccessful attempt would be much worse than merely a failure. "That a writer may be fitted to frame imaginary histories," (we again adopt and slightly modify our author's words,) "illustrating the deepest problems of human education, and to be a sound casuist in the most difficult questions of human experience, it is necessary that he should bring to his task not only an average acquaintance with the body of good current doctrine, but also an original speculative faculty. To accomplish all that seems needful in this case, either our novelists must become learned practical and theoretical theologians, or else our divines must become novelists." Perhaps both classes might be benefited by the process, as well as the public, by their productions.

With the enthusiasm that is characteristic of real genius, Mr. Masson demands the highest perfection as the only just ideal of his speciality, of the realization of which he appears to be not altogether without hope. He would carry the prose fiction into the domains of poetry, and make it more than the rival of the metrical epic. And especially he demands for it a high and pure spirituality, which, passing beyond a merely concrete realism, shall deal with the great elementary truths among which our spirits dwell, and in which are hidden the highest interests of the individuals and the aggregate of our humanity.

ART. II.—RESULTS OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

IT is not difficult to account for the misapprehensions which prevail concerning the British West Indies, and the working of emancipation in those colonies. To some extent they have been created by the promptings of a grasping cupidity, anxious to make out a case that may possibly justify to the British government the policy of reviving the slave-trade from Africa, disguised under the specious designation of "free-labor immigration." Such, doubtless, was the origin of certain unscrupulous communications addressed to, and published in the London Times newspaper a few months ago, which were pervaded throughout by the grossest misrepresentations concerning the West India colonies. It was a very significant coincidence that those communications appeared about the time when the Jamaica legislature was engaged in preparing the details of a measure which was intended to legalize a descent upon the coast of Africa for the purpose of carrying off more of her children, nominally as free laborers, but really and truly to consign them to bondage and misery, and, in multitudes of instances, to an early grave in the West Indies. Here deceit and falsehood were appropriately employed to pave the way for the adoption of a new system of legalized robbery and murder, similar to that which has already, in Jamaica and elsewhere, robbed tens of thousands of wretched coolies of hope and life. Happily, however, the British government has shielded the nation from this additional guilt and dishonor by promptly disallowing the Jamaica bill.

In some cases the publication of misleading statements, and the utterance of opinions quite at variance with facts, may be accounted for without attributing intentional misrepresentation to their authors. These do not proceed from parties resident in the colonies; for, after a protracted residence there, we are not acquainted with one individual that would pronounce emancipation to be a failure; they are generally from transient visitors, who have neither time nor opportunity, nor perhaps the disposition to institute, upon the spot a fair and impartial investigation of the subject concerning which they give their lucubrations to the world. A person on his way to California, Central America, or elsewhere, is a passenger in a steamer or other vessel that touches at a West India port, it may be Kingston, in Jamaica, where he spends a few hours, or possibly two

or three days. He observes about the wharves, and the streets adjacent thereto, as may be seen in any considerable shipping port, a number of loose and profligate persons of both sexes, whose appearance, manners, and conversation, all alike repulsive, indicate that they belong to the very dregs and outcasts of society. Their dark complexion shows that they are of the class emancipated from slavery a few years ago; and taking these as samples of the population, and seeing nothing of the industrious, well-ordered peasantry in the interior, he writes to his friends, or to the newspapers, that the emancipated colored people of the West Indies have "degenerated into a community of vagrants, paupers, and thieves." Being informed also that in that particular island the export of staple productions is less than it formerly was, without taking any trouble to ascertain if other causes have contributed to such a result, or whether it is the same in all the colonies, he jumps to the conclusion, and gives it a world-wide circulation, that under emancipation, and as the result of it, the West India colonies are becoming rapidly overspread with desolation, and sinking into poverty and ruin. It is thus that, to a great extent, misapprehension has gone abroad, and the public mind has been abused; while a certain portion of the press has eagerly availed itself of these mistakes and misrepresentations, for purposes easy to be understood, and described the great act of justice and humanity on the part of Great Britain in emancipating her slaves; the greatest and noblest act of modern times, as a mistake and a failure.

It would not be difficult, after a similar method of reasoning, to make out that Great Britain and the United States are both inhabited by a community of idlers and thieves; taking the loungers and bad characters who frequent the banks of the Thames below London Bridge, or the immediate vicinity of the East River in New York, as samples of the population of the two countries. It is not peculiar to the West Indies that the most worthless and abandoned of the population crowd into the largest towns and cities, and abound in the neighborhood of wharves and shipping places; and to estimate the character and condition of a whole people from such specimens is alike unjust and absurd. It is in this way, according to Mr. Bowen, whose lectures on Africa have been recently attracting some attention, that the whole civilized world has been deceived with regard to the character and habits of the people in the interior of Western Africa. He says: "We had judged all the Africans by the few fishermen and slavedealers on the coast. We thought them an exceedingly lazy people. So the coast men were. But in the interior they were industrious enough." So in the West Indies.

Let these transient visitors travel into the interior of the islands, and look upon the agricultural population in their own neat and quiet homes, and become acquainted from observation with their daily habits; they will find themselves surrounded by an industrious, respectful, orderly, and law-obeying people, very different from the sottish and disorderly rabble which first arrested their attention on the wharf at which they landed. And let them take the trouble to investigate the subject fully, and they will discover that although great commercial depression has prevailed in all the islands, yet the falling off in staple products is limited to a few of them, being more than made up in others; and that where cultivation has been abridged, it may, as shown in a preceding article, be ascribed to the operation of causes entirely distinct from the abolition of slavery.

The greatest depression which the agricultural and commercial interests of the West Indies ever experienced, occurred during the five or six years immediately following the adoption of the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel's government, and the measure for equalizing the duties on British and foreign sugars. Then it was that a large number of proprietors were brought to a stand, for want of capital to continue the culture of their estates, and some hundreds of properties of different kinds were thrown out of cultivation altogether. The mortgagees, up to this time, had continued to make advances sparingly to their insolvent constituents, which they were able to do from the compensation money for the slaves which they had received, and which, taking Jamaica as an example, would, on a plantation possessing four hundred slaves, amount to between eighty and ninety thousand dollars. But when the act to which we have referred passed, in 1846, the price of sugar went down in the British market at least 50 per cent.; property in the West Indies became fearfully depressed in value; the merchants and capitalists shrunk, as a matter of course, from making investments or continuing advances while such a gloom rested upon the colonies; and, as the natural and unavoidable result, many of the planters, who were entirely dependent upon such advances, were necessitated to discontinue the cultivation of their estates, just as many persons, during the late monetary crisis in England and the United States, were compelled, from causes very similar, to give up the business in which they were engaged.

The darkest period, therefore, in the financial history of the West Indies dates from 1846 to 1853, when the crisis was passed. Then sugar rose again to a price sufficient to remunerate the grower, and gleams of prosperity, almost unhoped for, shone athwart the gloom, proving to be the harbingers of a brighter day to the disheartened planters. If we take the last year of slavery in the colonies, 1833-4,

and exhibit, in a tabular view, their condition at that time, as to population, revenue, imports, exports, and shipping, and then look at their condition with regard to these several particulars in 1851–2, five years after Sir Robert Peel's free-trade measures began to operate with crushing effect upon West India interests, we shall be in a position to judge how much truth there is in the cry that emancipation has ruined the British Colonies. The comparison embraces a period during which the free-labor system had been in operation, and on its trial, seventeen years.

The table on the following page was compiled with the greatest possible care by R. Montgomery Martin, Esq., who was privileged with free access to government offices and official documents, while preparing his work on the colonies for the press.

Facts constitute the most incontrovertible arguments; and here we have an elaborate array of facts, which, combined, shed a flood of light upon the much misrepresented subject of British emancipation, and show how little reliance is to be placed upon the random and unsupported assertions which have been so often and so boldly reiterated, as to the depopulation and depreciation of the colonies subsequent to the abolition of slavery.

The increase of population is a striking feature in this tabular statement. Previous to the act of emancipation the population of the slave colonies was decreasing in a ratio that was fearful to contemplate, and which in a few years would have left them without inhabitants. It was ascertained by means of the registration of slaves, which the home government insisted upon having maintained in all the West India islands, that during eleven years, ending with 1830, there was a decrease in the negro population amounting to 52,000, owing to excessive toil, under-feeding, and severity of discipline, their condition being, to use the words of a nobleman since at the head of the British government, the Earl of Derby, "one of unredressed injustice, bitter oppression, and hopeless wrong." It is not probable that this downward tendency of the colored population received a check all at once, immediately on the abolition of slavery, especially as the abuses of the apprenticeship system were of such a character as to make it little better than slavery itself, and left the infant portion of the laboring class so entirely unprovided for, and so absolutely dependent on their apprenticed parents, whose labor for five days in the week was given by law to the masters, as to render a very considerable mortality among them matter of certainty. But after the people became really free, in 1838, the natural laws of increase resumed their sway, and instead of a decrease of 52,000, we find an increase of population during the seventeen

COMPARATIVE CONDITION OF THE BRITISH WESTERN SLAVE COLONIES IN 1833–4 (AT THE PERIOD OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY) AND IN 1851–2.

Name of Colony.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.		Revenue.		Imports, Value.		Sugar exported to United Kingdom.		Rum exported to United Kingdom.		Molasses exported to United Kingdom.		Shipping inwards.	
		1834.	1851.	1838.	1851.	1836.	1851.	1833.	1852.	1838.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.
								Cwts.	Cwts.	Gals.	Gals.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Tons.	Tons.
Antigua......	110	34,916	37,136	£13,883	£21,888	£69,955	£198,425	125,519	185,662	34,932	65,699	67,181	72,420	24,839	34,439
Anguilla.....	35	2,906	2,500	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	......	......	......	......
Barbadoes...	166	102,231	135,539	20,915	55,724	461,135	787,977	384,971	743,606	696	716	47,246	144,656	56,178	93,381
Barbuda.....	60	500	629	....	....	....	....	*......	....	....	....	......	......	......	......
Bahamas	3,373	18,508	30,519	11,661	34,105	104,164	142,442	*......	....	....	....	......	......	23,377	67,154
Turk's Island	470														
Bermuda	19	8,843	11,092	10,000	11,376	79,740	125,710	*......	....	....	....	......	......	14,675	32,693
Dominica....	275	18,660	25,000	6,120	12,901	53,506	71,828	47,372	63,593	30,310	25,763	5,473	7,160	7,605	12,046
Grenada and Grenadines	133	28,175	32,671	15,112	16,956	73,846	158,930	204,074	125,008	185,969	184,276	32,608	2,426	24,805	22,176
Guiana......	100,000	92,943	130,000	70,512	169,870	674,817	855,419	855,314	846,900	1,241,377	2,723,423	352,079	83,331	116,882	111,771
Honduras....	62,000	6,500	10,000	15,175	17,964	235,156	289,819	*......	....	....	....	......	.....	14,018	22,532
Bay Islands..	30	......	1,500	....	400	....	4,000	*......	....	....	....	......	......	......	500
Jamaica	6,400	365,368	465,000	199,623	209,379	765,400	1,129,776	1,256,991	511,263	3,219,783	1,590,927	3,665	553	67,971	105,968
Caymanas...	5	......	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	......	......	......	......
Monserrat ...	46	7,500	7,053	2,000	3,235	22,802	9,498	15,507	2,427	....	....	1,930	493	5,509	4,441
Nevis	20	9,315	10,200	5,794	3,705	18,567	16,483	42,287	33,489	6,312	5,937	1,524	1,893	8,266	8,700
St. Kitts.....	68	23,388	24,500	3,668	17,902	44,497	112,748	80,390	94,230	42,217	50,436	14,592	11,753	17,671	22,066
St. Lucia.....	178	17,523	24,318	7,403	13,872	47,271	60,538	46,553	73,486	10,774	3,172	4,595	5,973	12,712	10,025
St. Vincent...	131	26,500	30,128	9,416	16,956	165,939	158,930	194,889	176,593	89,206	143,687	48,650	26,310	29,210	29,246
Trinidad.....	1,800	43,613	68,600	35,120	95,733	307,075	547,471	286,303	483,857	225	80,717	91,344	115,097	37,403	62,178
Tobago.......	97	13,200	15,000	5,320	12,292	75,427	63,884	86,527	68,352	232,622	186,849	15,070	1,181	12,413	8,848
Virgin Isles..	90	6,535	7,500	1,327	1,475	6,219	4,417	14,969	161	4,279	....	837	......	3,557	3,534
Totals.....	175,513	827,224	1,069,885	£432,999	£715,729	£3,205,523	£4,737,295	3,646,366	3,408,627	5,109,975	5,061,602	686,794	473,091	473,091	651,698

* Not a sugar producing colony.

years, of more than 242,000. It is true there has been immigration from various quarters to some of the colonies, but not to such an extent as materially to affect this increase, when the great mortality among the emigrants themselves, and the return of many of them to their own country according to contract, are taken into the account. A large proportion of all who have been carried to the several colonies have been speedily removed by death, while others, having fulfilled the specified term of service, have gone back to India to spend their hoarded earnings in their native land, so that the increase of population is not largely affected by immigration. Cholera, too, has done its work and swept away large numbers, especially in Jamaica, where it raged with terrible fury in 1849; and the number of whites has been lessened in most of the islands, for their services are no longer required as overseers, book-keepers, etc., to the same extent as under the former system, and their places are, in many instances, filled by colored men. Not a few of the estates that once had several white men to superintend their operations, are now efficiently managed by black or colored overseers.

The condition of the public revenue, and the ability of the people to bear taxation, must be regarded as an important element in the general question of a country's commercial and financial condition. The revenues of the several emancipated colonies are, to a very considerable extent, raised by import duties, and it will be observed that the gross annual amount for the whole of the colonies advanced between 1833–4 and 1851–2 from £432,999 to £715,729. The conclusion is inevitable that a vast improvement must have taken place in the circumstances of the people, when they are able to bear this large additional amount of taxation, levied chiefly upon those articles the consumption of which contributes to promote a higher degree of comfort and social enjoyment among all classes of the community.

The amount and character of the imports furnish an unmistakable criterion by which to estimate the advancing or decreasing prosperity of a country; and in the emancipated colonies we find these to have increased, at the end of seventeen years, in annual value, from £3,205,523 to £4,737,295, more than a million and a half sterling, or about seven and a half million dollars. If those representations which have been so freely circulated concerning the sinking condition of the West Indies, the indolence of the people, and a prevailing and increasing barbarism, have any truth in them, how, we ask, does it come to pass that these very people are in a condition to require, and have the means of purchasing, British and American productions and manufactures to the extent of seven and a half million dollars per annum above what were imported in the palmy

days of slavery? And it so happens that these imports are largely of such a character as to indicate the growing comfort and advancing civilization of the consumers. For instance, comparing the three last years of slavery with the three years ending December, 1851, the increase in the article of plain and colored calicoes, imported into the colonies, amounted to seventy-one million seven hundred and sixteen thousand, five hundred and ninety-five yards; and this, notwithstanding Jamaica had ceased to be, what it formerly was, the entrepôt of a large and lucrative trade in such articles with the Spanish main, which trade is now carried on direct from England. It appears that Jamaica alone, in 1850, consumed six million yards of plain and printed cottons more than were imported into *all the slave colonies together* in 1830. On a comparison between the year preceding the abolition of slavery and 1850, the imports show an increase of 23,471 barrels of flour, 5,553 barrels of meal, 377,872 pounds of bread, 1,835,624 pounds of rice, 58,500 bushels of corn, oats, peas, etc.; and salt fish, salt pork, soap, butter, lard, and other articles in like proportions. Such facts supply, of themselves, a satisfactory refutation of the assertion that the emancipated negroes, refusing to work for wages, content themselves with those fruits and edibles which their own small freeholds afford them, and are sinking into squalid poverty and barbarism. Had it been really so, they would only have been acting out the lesson which they had been *compelled* to learn during slavery; but instead of this we see them obtaining by industry, on an enlarged scale, the means and appliances of improving civilization and comfort, and opening up profitable markets to British manufacturers and American merchants.

The shipping inward has increased, as a matter of course, in proportion to the imports, being in 1833 473,091 tons, and in 1851 651,698 tons, an advance of about forty per cent. This is another feature which indicates improvement, not decline. It is not to be supposed that either British or American merchants send their ships to countries where they do not find profitable employment; and if these emancipated colonies require upward of 178,000 tons of shipping more than they did in the times of slavery, as shown in the tabular statement, what an amount of ignorance, or contempt of truth, is involved in the assertion that they are going to ruin.

While we are on this subject a remark or two concerning Hayti may not be out of place. It is often affirmed that Hayti has been ruined since the violent struggle which ended in the abolition of slavery there; an assertion which is not borne out by facts. Mr. R. M. Martin says:

> "The population speaking the Spanish language is now estimated at 125,000, the majority being a mixed or colored race; and those speaking the French language 800,000, more than seven-eighths of whom are of pure African blood. All enjoy a degree of comfort adapted to their climate, and equal to that of the peasantry of other countries. *Sugar culture has been destroyed, lest it might tempt the whites to endeavor to restore slavery.* They produce annually about seventy million pounds of coffee, and export large quantities of this and other articles. In the year ending June, 1851, the Haytian trade employed 74,671 tons of American shipping, navigated by 3,504 United States seamen, and also a considerable amount of foreign tonnage. The imports of Haytian produce into the United States in 1851 were 1,889,968 dollars; and the exports in return, 1,816,298 dollars."

With regard to the export of staple productions, as exhibited in the foregoing table, some explanatory remarks are necessary to a just conclusion. In 1833 the navigation laws of Great Britain were in force, which to a large extent shut out foreign shipping from the West Indies, and compelled the planters to send all their produce to British ports; so that the columns of exports headed 1833 exhibit the entire produce of the articles named in all the colonies at that period. Not so with the columns headed 1852, for then the navigation laws had been repealed, enabling the West Indians to buy in the cheapest, and to sell their sugar, molasses, and rum in the dearest markets they could find; and it is a well-known fact that considerable quantities of these articles find entrance to the United States, and other foreign markets, probably more than sufficient to cover the apparent decrease exhibited in the table of exports we have quoted. There are numerous mercantile houses, all over the West India colonies, which import largely from the United States and British America, and send back for payment, in whole or in part, their saccharine productions, of which, as a matter of course, no account is taken in the "exports to the United Kingdom."

It should also be observed, that since the abolition of slavery the social and domestic habits of the people have been improved, and the home consumption of all the staple articles of produce has been largely augmented. Sugar, molasses, and coffee, from the ordinary use of which, while they were slaves, the people were cut off, are now in general and daily requisition among them; so that, allowing only for a very moderate quantity to be consumed by each individual, the increase in the domestic consumption would of itself go far to make up all the apparent deficiency between 1833 and 1852. It is not practicable to show with accuracy the amount of sugar, molasses, etc., now made in the West Indies; but the facts which have been referred to lead to the conclusion that, even at the time when the planting and commercial interests of the colonies were at the lowest point of depression—about 1851-2—a larger quantity of

saccharine matter was actually produced in them than at any time during the existence of slavery.

The cultivation of coffee has declined in the British West Indies, the want of capital having rendered the proprietors unable to establish new plantations in room of the worn-out trees; besides which the competition of better-flavored and lower-priced coffee from Ceylon, and other British territories in the East Indies, has made its production unprofitable in comparison with other staple produce. But the cultivation of cocoa and arrow-root has been largely augmented, the annual increase of exports on the former article between 1833 and 1851 being 2,222,554 lbs., besides the large additional quantity absorbed by home consumption.

In view of all these facts and statistics, what culpable ignorance and what gross injustice are involved in representations like the following, which appeared in a newspaper published in the center and capital of this great republic, the Washington Union, and has gone the round of the newspaper press, misleading multitudes who have not the means of ascertaining the truth, nor the disposition to use them if they had, being only too willing to be deceived into the belief that British emancipation has proved a failure, and ruined the colonies it was designed to benefit. The effect of such misleading statements cannot be too much deplored, nor their hasty publication without due investigation too strongly deprecated, when we consider the influence they exert upon the public mind, and their bearing upon the destinies of millions of bondmen in the United States. The Washington Union says:

> "The most signal failure in what was regarded and universally denominated a great work of philanthropy is to be found in the results of British emancipation, even viewed solely with reference to the present condition of the people who were then made free. Before, they were in a condition of comparative comfort. They had no capacity to govern themselves, and they were wholly without the necessary industry to provide means for their subsistence. Thus thrown upon their own resources, their rapid demoralization and degradation became inevitable. Such, we take it, is the legitimate fruit of all hot-bed schemes of benevolence and philanthropy. The people for whose benefit the act of freedom was enacted were not in a condition to receive its intended rights. They were of a race whose career, so far, had given no public testimony that they could take care of themselves. That, in fact, was the chief point of the case. The emancipated negroes lost their protectors, and could not protect themselves. They soon degenerated into vagrants, paupers, and thieves."

Yet the people who are thus denounced have been able to take such care of themselves that, after seventeen years of freedom, instead of decreasing in a fearful ratio, as they did under slavery, they have increased nearly twenty per cent., despite the fearful ravages

of the cholera; they find employment for shipping to the extent of more than thirty per cent. above the closing year of their bondage; they supply revenues to the government to the amount of more than seventy per cent. in advance of what was realized in the golden age of slavery, and consume British and American manufactures and provisions to the annual value of seven and a half millions of dollars more than were imported at that period. And notwithstanding the married women, in thousands of instances, now remain at home to take care of their households, and attend to their own little garden patches, instead of going out as formerly to labor in the field, which is itself a mark of social elevation, the men and single women work only a limited number of hours daily in comparison with what they were compelled to do under the old system, and young children are sent to school who would, in former times, have been organized in juvenile gangs for the lighter labor of the plantations; yet, taking the colonies as a whole, as large an amount of produce is raised for home consumption and exportation by the free labor which is available, as ever was extorted in former years by incessant and unrequited toil through the terror of the whip.

A general view of the intellectual and moral advancement of the emancipated colonies during the same period is not to be obtained, because only a few of the many religious bodies who have established churches and schools among the emancipated people have been in the habit of publishing the statistical information which would be necessary to compile a general tabular statement. But taking the operations of one Church only, the British Methodist, as a sample, it will be seen how little ground there is for representing the freed negroes in the British colonies as degenerating into vagrants, paupers, and thieves. In all the colonies the Methodists had

	Stations	Ch'chs.	Minist's	Worship'rs	Schools.	Scholars.		
						Male.	Female.	Total.
In 1833	28	97	51	31,777	66	2,406	3,307	6,945
In 1852	43	196	96	107,400	250	8,294	8,796	17,196

To a considerable extent the churches and schools are built, and the ministers are sustained, by the voluntary contributions of the people who are so wantonly traduced.

Thus, on a candid investigation of the results during the first seventeen or eighteen years of its history, emancipation in the British West Indies proves to be not a failure, but a great success, notwithstanding the ruinous condition of affairs which existed when the experiment was entered upon, and the difficulties and discour-

agements with which it has had to contend, owing to the sweeping fiscal changes which arose out of the more liberal policy adopted by the home government, under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel, and by which the condition and prospects of the colonies could not but be, for a season, most seriously affected; although they are likely to prove ultimately beneficial, by awakening and calling into activity that feeling of self-reliance which, both in individuals and communities, lies at the foundation of all commercial prosperity.

The statistical view which we have given of the colonies in 1851–2, exhibits the results of emancipation under the most unfavorable aspect; for that, as already shown, was the period when the affairs of the planters were at the worst, and the financial condition and prospects of the colonies most dark and discouraging. Since that date a vast improvement has taken place in the West Indies. Sugar having risen in value, an impulse has been given to its culture and manufacture. The planters, adopting modern improvements, find the cultivation of their estates to be highly remunerative, and the profitableness of free over slave labor is no longer matter of question or experiment, but of demonstration and certainty.

That Jamaica, as yet, partakes in a smaller degree of the commercial prosperity which is revisiting the West India colonies generally, is a fact which is easily accounted for. The unwieldy size of most of the plantations which have been wholly, or in part, thrown out of cultivation, renders a considerable amount of capital necessary to put them again in working condition, and the revival of the sugar interest is yet too recent to have induced capitalists to speculate largely in that direction. The ruinous system of absenteeism still largely prevails, and most of the estates in that island are intrusted to agents, whose salaries and commissions have to be derived from the proceeds, and who cannot be expected to take the same interest in them that the owners would if they, with their families, resided upon their own properties, and personally superintended their own affairs. The want of fair and honest dealing with the laborers on the part of the planters, and, in many instances, want of the necessary capital to pay the wages regularly, still tend, as they have done for many years in Jamaica, to destroy or weaken the confidence of the people in their employers. There has also been cherished in that island, to an extent that has not obtained elsewhere, a feeling of antagonism on the part of the planters toward the laborers, leading to the adoption of successive ill-digested schemes of immigration, which have all proved to be wretched failures, and which have had scarcely any other results than to bring upon the colony an increase of debt to the amount of £270,000, augment the

blood-guiltiness of the land by sending thousands of the miserably deluded immigrants to a premature grave, and to cover the island with ragged, starving mendicants. All the immigration schemes of Jamaica have been designed, as their principal object, to grind down the emancipated laborers, and compel them to accept the merest pittance for wages. If half the amount which that colony has wasted in these costly schemes (all paid out of the public taxation) had been expended in public improvements; and if the same amount of care and trouble which their adoption has involved had been given to the cultivation of a good understanding with the Creole laborers, Jamaica might have been unquestionably as prosperous as Antigua and Barbadoes, Trinidad and British Guiana, and other islands, which, having adopted a wiser policy, and being favored to a larger extent with a resident proprietary, exhibit in their present condition, in all respects, a most happy contrast with the days of slavery.

A correspondent of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society, resident in the colony, writes concerning the state of things in Jamaica, in the early part of the year 1858:

> "The absentee and representative system still prevails. Capital cannot be had by the practical planter resident in the island; so that, instead of a strong body of local planters on their own account, exercising all the salutary, natural, healthy economy of farming which, when well managed, affords good wages to the laborer, we have the old system of management by deputies, (attorneys, overseers, and book-keepers,) who have miserable pittances, and no security for permanence and the establishment of families."*

The history of the pamphlet from which the above extract is given may be stated in few words. A writer in the London Times newspaper having put forth certain statements concerning the condition of the West Indies, the character of the emancipated people, and more especially with reference to the want of labor there, manifestly with the view of preparing the way for again opening the slave-trade to the coast of Africa under another name, the British and Foreign Antislavery Society addressed a series of inquiries to persons resident in the several colonies, for the purpose of eliciting information as to the want of labor, and the alleged unwillingness of the peasantry to work for wages. The replies to these queries, from planters and ministers of religion, are embodied in the pamphlet referred to, for the purpose, as the committee say,

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* Pamphlet on the West India Labor Question, being Replies to Inquiries Instituted by the Committee of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society, embracing Facts and Statistics on the Present Condition of the Emancipated Classes, and on the alleged Want of Labor in the West India Colonies, but especially in Jamaica. 1858.

"of removing the erroneous impressions prevalent on this subject which interested parties in this country [England] have sought to convey, and to counteract the mischievous tendency of their calumnious statements. The committee deem it advisable not to publish the names of their correspondents, but would observe that their respectability and perfect trustworthiness are beyond all question."

This pamphlet contains the most recent authentic information that has been published relative to the West Indies, and the character and conduct of the emancipated people. We shall give a few extracts illustrative of the foregoing statements, and as showing the present condition and prospects of the colonies in the judgment of intelligent persons who *reside* there, and are consequently in a position to see and represent things as they are.

JAMAICA.—A correspondent writes from the northwest part of the island:

"Immediately after 1838 the people, in consequence of the double-rent system, and other acts of tyranny and injustice, left the estates on which they had lived and worked as slaves, and now, to the extent of at least 100,000 acres, have purchased land for themselves, on which they have erected dwelling-houses, and where they grow also an abundance of ground provisions, not only for their own consumption, but also to meet the requirements of the population generally. Thus they have made themselves in some measure independent of other sources from which the necessaries of life might be obtained; and so valuable and necessary are the provision grounds of the negro to him, that no wages which might now be offered to him would induce the abandonment of their cultivation. Yet it is quite true that the peasantry generally have no means of obtaining money to any great extent, excepting as the result of labor on sugar-plantations, breeding-pens, coffee properties, etc. It will, therefore, at once be seen that there is an opposition of claims and interests, the peasant regarding (and rightly so) his grounds as having the first claim, and the planter looking at sugar-cultivation as the most important. This difficulty is felt at certain seasons of the year, the season for planting provisions, and at such times there is no doubt of a paucity of labor in some localities.

"There is another fact that must be taken into consideration: there is no mutual confidence and sympathy. The people believe the planters, as a body, to be selfish, grasping, dishonest, and desirous of coercing labor; and with honorable exceptions, it is so. On the other hand, the planters believe the peasantry are an inferior order of beings, constitutionally lazy, and almost universally dishonest; and there are, no doubt, instances of laziness and dishonesty, and I do not scruple to tell them so, so that there is almost universal distrust. These feelings need not, would not have arisen, had a different course been pursued in 1838; but the planters have tried to graft on the new state of things the old habits and customs of slavery. This has been very properly resented; and now, except in certain cases, there exists discord and ill-will instead of union and co-operation.

"Another fact that will account for some of the difficulties which have occurred in sugar cultivation is, that some planters are trying to cultivate without capital. They fail in their object, and, of course, the reason assigned is, that the people will not work. One difficulty, which is most serious in its effects, is the unpunctuality and irregularity with which wages are paid

when due. Two, three, six, and sometimes eight weeks are allowed to elapse while the hire of the laborer is kept back; and then, when the wages are paid, mistakes and mischief occur, and mutual recrimination takes place. Where the above-mentioned causes are not in operation, I give it as my decided conviction that there is no want of labor, and that sugar cultivation is progressing and profitable to all parties. I will add one or two illustrations of what I have stated. The people on a neighboring estate were not paid for seven weeks before Christmas, and, as a natural consequence, they would not turn out after Christmas until their wages were paid; and who can blame them? Again: a man engaged to work at two shillings per day as a wheelwright. The work took four days. It was done, and the money applied for, when the applicant was told that he would get only one shilling and sixpence per day instead of two shillings. That, however, was not paid at the time, and the poor man was under the necessity of riding seventy miles, and had to wait six weeks before he obtained the six shillings instead of eight.

"I know persons who travel thirty miles to work on a certain estate in the parish of Westmoreland, because they are allowed to work as much as they can do, and are sure of getting the amount they earn, though there are plantations very near their homes where they could get work, but where they could not earn so much, and would have to wait long before they obtained the little that was due to them. These facts are only mentioned as a sample of that which is of frequent occurrence; and my conviction is that no laboring people in the world would be more quiet and forbearing than are the laborers in this country, under the petty annoyances and dishonesty to which they are subject.

"Let these evils be removed, and I am certain there will be no want of labor in any part of the island. I am acquainted with twelve sugar estates in this neighborhood, on which members of my congregation are laboring, and, excepting at the planting season, there is more labor at command than the planters can employ. There is no want of immigration here.

"What we want more than anything else is capital, a resident proprietary body, and kindly and faithful treatment of the laborer, and the sugar crops might be increased to an indefinite extent. There is no doubt that during the last and present year our planters have done well; some have amassed as much as £20,000 ($100,000) in a short period. Their appetites have been whetted, and now they are thirsting for greater gains by the introduction of labor which they may be able to coerce.

"I should like to have said something on the results of freedom to the inhabitants of the colony. The idea of its being a failure is simply ridiculous; it is a triumph, a noble triumph, our enemies being judges."

Another correspondent from near the center of the island writes:

"It is not true that the laborers are, as a body, idle. Every thoroughfare in the island proves this, for these are periodically crowded with them and their stock. The export of coffee, maintained in a great measure by their cultivation of this berry; the comparatively little necessity for their purchasing sugar, in consequence of manufacturing the article at home; the supply of ground provisions, kept up entirely by them, I believe, through the island; and their occupation in various trades, all prove it. Certainly in a country where labor is maintained entirely by the lately emancipated and their descendants, it is the greatest folly and absurdity to term them idle as a body. But can people thrive on idleness? Yet if any class of persons in this island is thriving it is this. Hence the number of small settlements throughout the country; hence their rivaling the European in dress; hence the number of horses, asses, and mules which they possess; hence their liberality on public occasions of charity; and hence their being able at times to lend their late owners money. My district, with other districts adjoining, is chiefly peopled when due. Two, three, six, and sometimes eight weeks are allowed to elapse while the hire of the laborer is kept back; and then, when the wages are paid, mistakes and mischief occur, and mutual recrimination takes place. Where the above-mentioned causes are not in operation, I give it as my decided conviction that there is no want of labor, and that sugar cultivation is progressing and profitable to all parties. I will add one or two illustrations of what I have stated. The people on a neighboring estate were not paid for seven weeks before Christmas, and, as a natural consequence, they would not turn out after Christmas until their wages were paid; and who can blame them? Again: a man engaged to work at two shillings per day as a wheelwright. The work took four days. It was done, and the money applied for, when the applicant was told that he would get only one shilling and sixpence per day instead of two shillings. That, however, was not paid at the time, and the poor man was under the necessity of riding seventy miles, and had to wait six weeks before he obtained the six shillings instead of eight.

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A correspondent in the parish of Manchester, in the south part of the island, and wide apart from both the foregoing, writes:

"I have been thirteen years in Jamaica. During the whole of that period I have resided in the Manchester mountains, about sixty miles from Kingston. This parish contains chiefly coffee properties, pimento walks, and farms. When I came to Manchester I found many properties abandoned, and others in the course of being abandoned; but had slavery continued, these estates must have shared the same fate. Emancipation was not the cause of their abandonment. I found not sufficient demand for available labor, and the negroes accordingly were in the way of purchasing land for cultivation on their own account. There is now a very large number of freeholders in Manchester. In the course of these thirteen years there has been an obvious improvement in the social, moral, and religious condition of the people generally. Idlers we have, unprincipled and bad people we have, but they form a small minority of the population. And I believe that as much coffee is sent out of Manchester now, by these small freeholders, as in the palmy days of slavery used to be sent from the large estates.

"There are great falsehoods published about the decrease of the population. Beyond all question our population is increasing rapidly. I have not the smallest doubt that by 1868 there will be double the black people in the island that there were on August 1, 1838."

From the parish of Trelawny, on the north of the island, another correspondent writes:

"I cannot, from personal knowledge, speak of the colony *generally;* but respecting the district in which I reside I can answer. This district comprises a considerable number of large and flourishing estates. My knowledge of it extends along the sea-side from the Rio Bueno to within a short distance of Martha Brae—about fifteen miles. Among the estates included I may name the following: Bengal, Bryan Castle, Brampton, Bryan, Lisvoney, Hopewell, Nightingale Grove, Arcadia, Georgia, Friendship, Swanswick, Vale Royal, Braco, Lancaster, Harmony Hall, and Spring. The largest proprietor and attorney connected with these has more than once assured me that he can get as much labor as he requires; and even in the worst times every one of his properties is known to have been remunerative; while under his efficient management estates that had been a loss to their owners have yielded a fair return."

We prolong our remarks concerning Jamaica, because that island is more frequently than the other colonies referred to, as affording evidence of the alleged degeneracy of the emancipated negroes, and the ruinous effects of emancipation. Having ourselves spent several years in Jamaica before the abolition of slavery, and fourteen after it had taken place, and having often stopped, while traveling, to contemplate, with admiration and delight, the negro towns and villages—abodes of peace and comfort—scattered over the face of the country,

we can testify to the entire correctness of most of the particulars graphically stated in a letter published in the New York Tribune of August 6, manifestly the production of one who is a keen observer, and personally acquainted with the several matters concerning which he writes. He says:

"I have already mentioned in what manner the emancipated peasantry became first possessed of freehold property. Let me now give you some idea of their habitations. In some parts of the island their dwellings are by no means suggestive of a high degree of civilization; but in by far the greater part they are such as any people in their condition of life may well be proud of. I have said that the peasantry seek association in villages. Their holdings are from half an acre to six or more acres. Some of them are possessed of as much as from fifty to a hundred acres. Their houses are constructed of hard wood posts, set upright in the ground. A substantial foundation of about thirty inches in height above the ground is built, the posts rising thereout. Between the posts is filled up with stones and mortar, or with lath and plaster. The flooring is of pitch pine, or the hard wood of the country. Sometimes it is of white pine. Doors and windows are of the same material: the latter are usually moving jalousies (or blinds;) but those who can afford the luxury sometimes sport sash windows. The roofing is of white cedar, or cypress shingles; but where it can be handily obtained, the more durable Jamaica cedar, mahoe, or broadleaf, is preferred. The habitations consist of a sitting-room, there called a hall, and two or three bed-rooms, according to the size of the family. If the dwelling is near the edge of a frequented road, sometimes a shop is added, in which salted provisions, groceries, and sometimes spirits, are sold. Many of the peasantry obtain a handsome competence in this way. The kitchen and other necessary out-offices are always in the rear. When I add, that all the apartments are generally plainly but decently furnished, and the bed-linen, if ever so coarse, scrupulously clean; and that the dwelling is embowered among plantain and banana trees, intermingled with the cassava, yam, and other tropical productions, I have given you as good an idea as I can, in so hasty a sketch, of the habitation of a Jamaica peasant.

"On the whole, though the result of emancipation is not altogether such as the friends of freedom could wish; yet, divested of misrepresentation, it is far more satisfactory than those who opposed the enfranchisement of the negroes had any right to expect. The emancipated are a docile and a law-abiding people; only give them fair play and they will yet demonstrate to the world the fitness of the African race for freedom, civilization, and self-government. They are doing so now in Jamaica, where the most eminent men in the executive government, in the halls of legislation, at the bar, in the pulpit, and connected with the press, are of the African race.

"I may remark that a reaction seems to have commenced in Jamaica. The sudden rise in the price of sugar gave a surprising stimulus to sugar manufacture, and immense profits have been realized; and though the price of sugar has again fallen, but not so deplorably low as it has been, it is being proven to demonstration that sugar and rum can be manufactured in Jamaica with a handsome profit to the manufacturer. Under the new form of government, too, (a colored man being at the head of the administration,) there is an annual surplus of revenue over expenditure, instead of a deficit, as had been the case for years before, till the island debt amounted to upward of half a million sterling. And with a free constitution, with just and equal laws, it only requires capital, enterprise, and industry to render Jamaica what the Almighty intends it to be, prosperous and happy. Let the cry of ruin cease; no longer complain that labor cannot be procured in the island, but that it is necessary to seek it abroad, and the capital which, but for this suicidal policy, would long

ere this, have been poured into Jamaica, will be employed in the development of her immense resources, and she will take her proper position among the communities of the earth."

The Rev. Dr. King, who visited Jamaica, and spent some time there as a deputation from the Scottish Missionary Society about 1850, says:

"I have inspected some of the mountain residences, and been struck with their great superiority to our highland cottages. I have seen the negroes extracting, by mills of their own making, the saccharine juice from sugar canes of their own growing, and applying an energy to the process such as I have never witnessed in any of the operations of our indolent Highlanders."

John Candler, a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends in England, who has paid several visits to the West Indies, and resided there for many months together, that he might make himself thoroughly acquainted with the true state of affairs, says:

"The change effected in the civil condition of the people, though very great, and at last somewhat sudden, has served to elevate their character in the estimation of all observers. I expected, on landing, to find a race who, having been always oppressed, heaped with contumely, and trod upon, would continue to exhibit some traces of their former degraded condition, some marks of servility that belonged to the slave; but in passing through the country from one end to the other, I should scarcely believe, from what I see, that slavery had ever existed here. Freedom has wrought wonders for the people; there is an air of independence in their carriage and manners, when conversing with you, that is quite astonishing, equal to that of the freest nations; not bold and obtrusive, but attended with a civility and courteousness that are very pleasing, and tell much in their favor. Who that has seen them at work in the cane-fields, or hoeing coffee on the steep hills, or has traveled among their provision grounds in the mountains, can call them an idle people? I have seen them again and again, hundreds and thousands of them, men, women, and children, loaded with provisions and fruit, which they carry on their heads, hurrying down from the hills to Kingston market, carrying weights which no European would encounter, and sweating under the heavy toil, yet all laboring cheerfully because they are free."

Sir Charles Gray, the last Governor of Jamaica, says in one of his recent dispatches, published in the parliamentary papers:

"It is unjust to make a general imputation against them of laziness; for although, in common with the inhabitants of all warm climates, they feel, more than those of cold ones, a liking for repose, and a sense of enjoyment in it, there are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting the fruit of their labor. The hamlets, villages, and towns, as they are called, of the negroes, which have sprung up in the interior, and among the mountains, and in which they live in great physical comfort, are a remarkable and interesting feature in the state of the island."

Lord Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby, and recently a member of the British Cabinet, visited Jamaica in 1849, and he says:

"The laborer out of his earnings buys land, builds a cottage, and furnishes it handsomely. I have seen one of these negro houses, belonging to a common field hand, provided with all the comforts of an English farm-house."

British Guiana. The government here occupies a proud pre-eminence above all the other local governments of the British West Indies, with regard to the interest it has manifested in the intellectual and moral elevation of the laboring classes. More, probably, is done by the authorities of British Guiana for the education of the people, than in all the other emancipated colonies together; and the beneficial results of this wise policy are seen in the growing intelligence of the people, the spread of true religion, and the commercial increase and prosperity of the colony. No cry of ruin is heard there, but the inhabitants proudly speak of it, and not without reason, as "the magnificent province." One of the correspondents of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society says, in the pamphlet we have referred to:

> "Any one, free from personal bias to this or that view of the labor question, looking on the greatly extended cultivation, compared with what it was a few years ago, must conclude that labor is procurable in the colony; and on the other hand, the appearance of the laboring people, creoles and others, and the money which they are known to expend in different ways, cannot but lead one to conclude that they do work, and receive their wages. So far as this colony is concerned, there is no sign of ruin at the present time. Every one knows that the crop of 1857 is the largest ever made in the colony; [N.B., that of 1858 has been larger still;] but while there is so much room to extend the cultivation, there will still be a demand for more laborers. I now see large tracts of country under cultivation that were formerly uncultivated; and I have heard planters say that the estates under their charge never had so much land under cultivation in the time of slavery as they have at the present time."

Another correspondent writes from Georgetown, Demarara:

> "Some of those who were formerly slaves not only have proved their persevering industry by becoming possessed of estates, but raise, to some extent, the staple products of the colony. I am not aware that they are *exporters* of produce. I believe some of them would soon become so under guidance and counsel; but they are very extensive producers of staples consumed in the province."

Antigua and St. Kitts. Scarcely any effort has been made by the local governments in these islands for the education and general improvement of the industrial classes, so that almost everything that has been accomplished in this respect has been effected through the agency of the missionaries, and with funds sparingly supplied from various missionary institutions in Great Britain. Yet the intellectual and moral development of the emancipated peasantry in these colonies has been far beyond what might have been reasonably expected, while the membership of the several religious denominations established there bears a large proportion to the population. Having resided in both these islands, several years in one, and some months in the other, we had opportunity of be-

coming well acquainted with their condition from actual observation. Cultivated solely by the liberated negroes—for the survivors of a small number of Portuguese immigrants, imported into Antigua some years ago, have left the plantations, and become shopkeepers and rumsellers, contributing all they can to demoralize the creole laborers—these islands, apart from the natural loveliness of tropical scenery, exhibit most striking scenes of agricultural beauty and wealth. In traveling over many hundred miles in the United States and Canada, from June to November, we have seen nothing that will compare with the high state of cultivation kept up in the sugar districts of Antigua and St. Kitts, ruined, as they are alleged to be, by the effects of emancipation. In Antigua may be found a considerable number of sugar estates which have fallen into the hands of a well-known mercantile firm in England, chiefly by the foreclosure of mortgages, which the former proprietors were unable to redeem. One of the firm resides in the colony, and personally superintends the whole of these valuable plantations, which are separately entrusted to the immediate care of experienced planters. While no expense is spared that is essential to their efficient cultivation, a rigid economy is observed, and they are all to be seen, year after year, in a luxurious state of culture, and yielding a handsome revenue to their present holders. In 1854 an intimate friend of our own, who had been fifty years in the island, purchased a valuable sugar estate, which was put up for sale in England under a decree of the Court of Chancery. The sale taking place at a time when West India property had not recovered from the depression which took place after the admission of slave-made sugars to the British market on equal terms with free-labor produce, he obtained it, a cheap bargain, for £5,100. After taking off three valuable crops, which more than repaid the capital invested in the purchase twice over, he refused an offer of £10,000 for the same estate. Such facts speak volumes concerning the ruin brought upon the colonies through emancipation.

Antigua, it will be remembered, was one of the islands that dispensed with the apprenticeship system altogether, and gave immediate and unrestricted freedom to the slaves in 1834; and the planters generally, with a prudence which did not characterize their brethren in Jamaica, endeavored, with success, to establish a good understanding and mutual confidence between themselves and the negroes. Small lots of land were sold out to the emancipated people, and they were encouraged to provide for themselves comfortable homes. There are, in all, eighty-three villages, in which the people reside, overspreading the island. Almost uninterrupted

success has attended this experiment of immediate emancipation, and proved the policy which dictated it to be a wise one. This may be seen in the following statement, which exhibits a comparative view of the amount of sugar exported from that island during the last six years of slavery, the first six years after emancipation, and the last six years to the 31st of December, 1857. No account is taken of the amount absorbed by home consumption during the years of freedom, which would give a still greater preponderance in favor of free labor:

Under slavery, from January, 1828, to December, 1833, inclusive,	79,253 hhds.
After emancipation, from Jan'y, 1835, to Dec'r, 1840, inclusive,	82,455 "
Last six years, from Jan'y, 1852, to Dec'r, 1857, inclusive,	85,050 "

The Antigua Observer, commenting upon the above statement, says:

> "Facts opposed to mere vilification must always triumph; and, with facts to support us, we have no hesitation in confidently asserting that, so far as the circumstances of our own island are concerned, putting out of view, of course, the blow which the knocking from under our feet of the props of protection, and consequent monopoly of the home markets, inflicted, almost every interest has decidedly improved since emancipation; that estates, *perfectly unincumbered* and properly conducted, are affording more or less remuneration to their owners; that our peasantry are orderly, sober, and, though not in the European sense of the term, where climate and superabundant population stimulate to exertion, generally industrious; and that our exports of island products, and our trade generally, have kept pace with, and even exceeded considerably, the later years of slavery; while there cannot be a doubt that knowledge of a useful kind, although of spontaneous acquirement, without, till the last few months, any help from the state, has made progressive strides. Labor and its value, like every other commodity, experience the fluctuations of demand, and as the supply proves in bountiful seasons inadequate, then, and only then, do we hear of the rising demands of the laborer for increased wages, and the consequent dissatisfaction of the planter. The contest in this case, very naturally, results in favor of the laborer—the rapidity of tropical vegetation, under such circumstances, rendering concession on the part of his employer imperative. But we never hear of those organized "strikes," so common in England and elsewhere; and, in fact, while in one district, and even on an adjoining plantation, laborer and employer may be found at issue in another district, and on neighboring estates, both parties will be "taking it easy," and the work going on under, perhaps, a compromise, with which both sides are perfectly satisfied. It is simply untrue to say, that such a state of things as we have truthfully described arises from any peculiar aversion of the rural population to labor. We do not find that, practically, labor has ever yet been recognized as a positive *good* by any condition of society, but rather as an unpleasant necessity, entailed by circumstances, which we would all otherwise dispose of if we could; and men, generally, are seldom stimulated to extra exertion but by the pressure of actual wants, or by that yearning after artificial requirements and independence which a high degree of civilization, such as we have no idea of claiming for our laboring population, suggests. In the case of *our* peasantry, there are proprietors and conductors of estates in the island who do not utter the least complaint with respect to labor facilities. They plant, and reap, and ship, year after year, as many, and more hogsheads

of sugar than they ever did, the cost of doing which being absolutely dependent on the season, any extra luxuriance of which is made available at once by the estate laborer to obtain increased wages—the reverse, of course, in unfavorable seasons. But that production, the result of free labor, lags in consequence of freedom, is untrue."

One of the correspondents of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society writes:

"I have been in the West Indies nearly forty years, and have, I think, been somewhat observant of the condition of the people. One thing is beyond all possibility of doubt—the sum total of human enjoyment and happiness has increased in these colonies, since the abolition of slavery, beyond all calculation. As to "*wrecks, ruins and pathless towns*," the fact is, that the city of St. John, in Antigua, or the town of Basselene, St. Kitts, were never in such good order, repair, and cleanliness, as at present. It was only the other day that a beautiful stream of water was brought from the mountains into Basselene; and a very handsome fountain, imported from England, now sends forth its bubbling water in the center of the principal square of that town. It is but a few years ago that Antigua expended upward of £20,000 sterling in the erection of a cathedral. All her churches and chapels (and they stud the island) are in good order. During the past year its handsome court-house has been repaired and improved at an outlay of £3,000. The large building in which are the public library and the treasury has had £2,000 expended on it, while several thousand pounds have been spent upon the government house. These things are not the results of a year's high price of sugar: on the contrary, I can testify, that whenever I visited Antigua during the period of greatest West India depression, I always observed signs of life, and often of progress, in St. John's. All its public institutions are in a creditable state. Then there are the various stations with fire-engines, and a fire-brigade, all of recent date. 'Pathless towns,' says Expertus, (one of the correspondents of the London Times;) why, there is no city in Europe where the streets are kept cleaner, or in better order. As to 'wrecks and ruins,' Expertus cannot show them there. True, the great earthquake of 1843 did prostrate most of the mills and sugar works, and many fine houses in the town: *then* there was wreck and ruin, but not the work of the emancipated negro: nor did it last. I suppose greater energy could hardly be shown in any country than was manifested there by all classes; and, by aid of a loan from her majesty's government, all was soon restored. Yes, and the loan has been regularly repaid (by installments) to this day, while loans made in the slavery times are still unpaid. Will 'Expertus' tell us how Quashee gets possession of, perhaps, an acre or more of land, a cottage, a cow, a pig or two, several goats, fowls, etc., and often a horse and cart, (which is always in requisition for hire on the estates,) and for all of which he contributes his portion of taxes? We, who live among these freed negroes, are simple enough to believe that he has worked, and by the sweat of his brow has obtained and saved the money to purchase his property. It is notorious that every year adds to the number of the small land-owners; while the character of the imports, compared with those of slavery times, shows, beyond all question, that better food, and more and better clothing—far more—are now needed and consumed. I think if Expertus would visit Antigua or St. Kitts, and drive round any of the districts, over the roads kept in such excellent order, and see the carts and horses, owned by these freed negroes, returning from or going to the towns with provisions, etc., or working on the estates, and look at the cultivation of the cane, and, if he ever saw it under slavery, tell us how it compares; and then view the freed people's provision fields, clean and well cultivated, that he would be obliged to confess that there has been some mistake, and that his friends of the West India body have only told him one side of the question."

BARBADOES, ETC. The condition of this colony furnishes a most complete and satisfactory illustration of the advantages which have resulted from emancipation to all the parties concerned. Travel in whatever part of the island he may, the visitor finds himself surrounded by overwhelming evidences of the industry of a numerous and thriving population, and he sees spread before him a country in the highest state of cultivation, only to be paralleled, and not to be surpassed, by the richest and best cultivated portions of the agricultural districts of England. No immigrants have been received in Barbadoes, and the laboring population is entirely of the emancipated people and their children; yet for some years, although more than twenty thousand were carried off by the cholera in 1854, the produce of the island has been increasing, and now annually exceeds by more than 100 per cent. the most luxuriant crops ever raised in the palmiest days of slavery; while the public revenues, which are chiefly levied upon imports, and by no means at a heavy per centage, exhibit from year to year a very considerable surplus available for public improvements. Throughout the colony the new mansions of the proprietors, or the old ones enlarged and beautified, bear witness to the increasing opulence of the planters; while the neat cottages of the laborers, with, generally, a cow and calf tied up near by, and surrounded with a small patch of canes and various kinds of provisions, speak of a degree of comfort now realized by them which they never knew under the old system of slavery. Many of them also are the possessors of horses, worth from one hundred and eighty to two hundred dollars, and a cart or truck, which they hire to the plantations to convey the produce to the shipping port, and take back the plantation supplies. Residing, as we do, in a neighborhood where we are entirely surrounded by the peasantry, and having familiar intercourse with some thousands of them, we can bear testimony to the fact, that in general intelligence, morality, good order, and attention to religious ordinances, they are equal, and in some respects superior to those who in Great Britain occupy a similar position in society. A good understanding exists between the employers and the employed, which is advantageous to both; and the fields are planted, and the crops are reaped and manufactured, subject only to those unavoidable hinderances which arise from wind and weather. We had occasion in May last to call upon a gentleman owning an estate in the parish of St. Philip, and it happened to be the day upon which the last load of canes was being carried to the mill, with banners and other symbols of rejoicing according to custom. The next thing that arrested our attention was a large board, with the number of hogsheads of sugar which the plantation had yielded for

the year inscribed upon it, surmounting the gateway at the entrance to the avenue leading to the proprietor's house, and we found him and the family jubilant over the largest crop the estate had ever been known to produce. In the conversation which ensued this planter spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the laborers in the neighborhood, which he ascribed to the healthy religious influence diffused among them; and said, that having been in the planting line of business for more than thirty years, he had never had so little trouble and unpleasantness in raising and taking off his crops as he had for several years past, and that no people in the world could possibly do better as laborers, and behave more satisfactorily, than the people around him were doing.

The following incident is given as showing the advantages which arise from absentee proprietors becoming resident upon, or personally visiting their plantations, and also the extent to which labor may be made available where there is capital to pay the earnings of the laborers regularly. Two years ago a gentleman, who is the proprietor of two estates near our own residence, came out from England to reside for a short time upon them. That year, ending with the spring of 1857, he took off the two estates an aggregate crop of 303 hogsheads of sugar, with a proportionate quantity of molasses. Perceiving that his properties might be wrought to much greater advantage than they had been, he caused rocky and hitherto worthless land to be covered with soil, filled up useless ponds, digging wells in their stead, and greatly extended the planting of canes in various ways. To facilitate the manufacture of the produce, and to obviate the necessity of depending upon a thing so uncertain as the wind, he abolished the wind-mills, which from time immemorial have been the only means in use in Barbadoes for grinding the canes, and erected steam-engines of sufficient power, demonstrating what the planters had hitherto believed to be impossible, the practicability of making the same fuel serve the twofold purpose of driving the mill and boiling the sugar. The result for the first year has been a crop, during 1858, increased from 303 hogsheads of sugar to 750 hogsheads, with molasses in proportion; abundantly compensating the enterprising proprietor for his outlay of capital, while a spirit of emulation has been awakened among the surrounding planters, and several are now engaged in following this good example, pulling down the wind-mills and substituting steam-mills, a measure which will be greatly profitable both to the employers and the laborers. The practice of task, or job-work, being generally adopted in Barbadoes, the uncertainty of the windmills has rendered the earnings of the laborer uncertain during the

crop season, as they are paid only in proportion to the amount of produce manufactured. If the wind happened to be so light as to grind only sufficient canes to make one or two hogsheads of sugar per day, when with a stronger breeze the mill would grind what would yield four or five hogsheads, not only did the planter suffer loss by the spoiling of the canes, but the people could earn only a fraction of a day's wages. The great advantage to be derived by all parties concerned from the substitution of the steam-engine for the wind-mill is therefore very evident.

The Hon. Francis Hincks, the present Governor-General of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in a letter addressed to Charles Tappan, Esq., and dated January 9, 1858, bears unexceptionable evidence to the beneficial effects of West India emancipation, so far as the islands included in his government are concerned. His government includes Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Grenada and the Grenadines, and Tobago. Mr. Hincks was, a few years ago, Prime Minister in Canada, where he has the reputation, both with his friends and political opponents, of possessing an extraordinary degree of talent and acuteness as a financier, and as a general man of business. He tells us that he has given to the subject a patient investigation, and being upon the spot, with all kinds of official documents relating to those several colonies open to his inspection, his testimony is of the most reliable character. Every part of Mr. Hincks's letter is valuable and important, as illustrative of the value of free over slave labor; but our limits forbid as to do more than give the following extracts:

"As to the relative cost of slave and free labor in this colony, I can supply you with facts in which the most implicit reliance can be placed. They have been furnished to me by the proprietor of an estate containing 300 acres of land, and situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the shipping port. The estate referred to produced, during slavery, equal on an average to 140 hogsheads of sugar of the present weight, and required 230 slaves. It is now worked by 90 free laborers, 60 adults, and 30 under sixteen years of age. Its average product during the last seven years has been 194 hogsheads. The total cost of labor has been £770 16s., or £3 19s. 2d. the hogshead of seventeen hundred pounds. To estimate the cost of slave labor, the value of 230 slaves must be ascertained, and I place them at what would have been a low average, £50 sterling each, which would make the entire stock amount to £11,500. This, at 6 per cent. interest, which, on such property, is much too low an estimate, would give £690; cost of clothing, food, and medical attendance I estimate at £3 10s., making £805; total cost, £1,495, or £10 12s. per hogshead, while the cost of free labor on the same estate is under £4. The cost of maintenance of slaves is a point on which I have not been able to obtain any reliable information. The highest estimate I have had is £8, the lowest £3. It is a point of no importance now, as far as these colonies are concerned; but in comparing the cost of free labor with slave in the present day it is desirable to be accurate. I have been told that the average cost in Cuba is $30 per annum, and if so, there can be no doubt that this, added to the

interest on the value of the slaves, would bring up the cost of labor to a much higher price than that given for free labor in any of the British colonies. I need scarcely remind you that the cost per head of slaves must be calculated on the entire population, men, women, and children, a considerable per centage of which will furnish no labor in return.

"It may interest you to know the comparative value of property in this island during slavery and freedom. The estate just referred to, containing 300 acres of land, was worth, during slavery, £50 per acre, or £15,000; and I have estimated the slaves round at £50 each, which would be £11,500. I am not aware what the compensation money amounted to per head in Barbadoes, but I have no doubt to £30 at least. (N. B. It was upward of £47.) After the award of compensation for the slaves, the estate was sold during the apprenticeship for £25,000, and was purchased a few years ago by the present proprietor for £30,000; which price I have no doubt he could obtain for it at any moment. It is proper I should add that I have taken the estate, regarding which I have furnished you with the foregoing particulars, as furnishing a fair illustration of the comparative productiveness and cost of cultivation during slavery and freedom. I could multiply instances in which there have been similar results.

"I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the creoles of African descent that they are indolent, and that they have abandoned the sugar plantations. This is a subject involved in much greater difficulty than the one on which I have already treated. I admit that the planters generally, in several of the British colonies, would vehemently maintain the correctness of this charge. I am, however, bound to affirm that, after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the condition of the laboring classes ought to be worse in Barbadoes than in any of the other colonies. In Barbadoes land is exorbitantly dear, being worth, in small quantities, from $400 to $600 per acre. Wages are from tenpence to one shilling per day, as I have already stated. There are only five working days in the week, except during crop time. With all these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this island, holding less than five acres of land, increased in sixteen years from about 1,100 to 3,537. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of laborers in any other country in the world. I adduce the above remarkable fact to prove that in this island there has been no want of industry on the part of creoles of African descent. I think that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been partially abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the laborers. In all those colonies land is abundant and comparatively cheap, and I need not remind any one acquainted with the settlement of land in America, whether in the United States or the British Provinces, that where land is cheap and abundant, labor will be dear and scarce. The poor Irish immigrant pursues exactly the same course in Canada which the creole of African descent does in Guiana or Trinidad. He endeavors to get land of his own, and to become a proprietor instead of a laborer.

"In this island there can be no doubt whatever that emancipation has been a great boon to all classes. Real estate has increased in price, and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of slavery; the estates are much better and more economically cultivated; and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented.

"With regard to the condition of the African race, I can answer your queries with unmixed satisfaction, and with the conviction that there will be little, if any, difference of opinion among well-informed persons on that subject. The improvement which has taken place in the religious condition of the people of all classes, and the progress of education, are quite equal to what could reasonably have been expected. The creoles are advancing rapidly

> in civilization. You have yourself made the acquaintance of men who were formerly slaves, and who are now in independent circumstances, and enjoying a large share of public respect. . . . It is impossible to compare the present statistics of crime with those during slavery, when the great bulk of our ordinary offenses, petty thefts and assaults, were summarily punished by the managers and overseers of estates. You have had an opportunity of satisfying yourself that the offenses in this island are not of an aggravated character. That there is much greater security for person and property now than there was during slavery does not admit of a doubt."

Similar testimony might have been given at much greater length, but sufficient has been adduced to show the fallacy of those assumptions which have been so confidently advanced as to the failure of emancipation, and the ruin which it is alleged to have brought both upon the proprietors and the peasantry of the West Indies. These assumptions are made in ignorance of the financial history of the colonies prior to the abolition of slavery, and the embarrassed and ruined condition into which they had sunk when the change took place; and also of their actual state since emancipation and at the present time. If insolvent planters, ruined by slavery and their own reckless extravagance, have failed to carry on an expensive sugar or coffee cultivation, without the necessary capital to pay the wages of their laborers, and have consequently been compelled to relinquish their estates to mortgagees, or throw them out of cultivation altogether; if others have not succeeded in the attempt to make free men work without wages, and have injured their own or their employer's interests by driving the laborers from the plantations; and if the British government by suddenly destroying the monopoly of the British markets, which, through the whole history of slavery, the West India colonist enjoyed, and thus threw them into a competition with other producers which they were ill-prepared to enter upon, and which consummated with many the ruin which had been in progress for more than half a century; none of these things can with truth be classed among the results of emancipation. They have retarded the success of the great experiment, but have not prevented it. The triumphant results which it has already wrought out in many of the colonies, notwithstanding these several hinderances, and which it is now working out in all the others, prove that it is always both wise and safe to do what is just and right, and leave the consequences of such well-doing to the great and wise Disposer of all events. Most completely have the predictions of alarmists been falsified. It would be difficult to conceive a wider contrast between the condition of things as the planters imagined they would be (the idleness, riot, and debauchery, the ruin and desolation they anticipated as *sure* to follow the emancipation of the slaves) and those pictures of rural industry and

social comfort, improving agriculture and growing opulence, awaking intelligence and moral progress, which are exhibited in the extracts we have furnished. Slavery was the destroyer, emancipation is the restorer. The one tended always, through its history, to impoverishment and ruin; the other has awakened industry and confidence, and laid the foundation of prosperity and wealth.

None but dreaming enthusiasts could have expected that emancipation would at once restore the wasted substance of the planters, or suddenly, as if by miracle, advance the down-trodden negroes, debased and embruted by years of slavery, and excluded from mental and moral culture, to a high degree of civilization, intelligence, and virtue, such as can be found only among those who have enjoyed through life the advantages of education and civil and religious liberty. All that could be reasonably hoped for has been realized. The nation has been freed from the shame and guilt of sanctioning and perpetuating what the conscience of the people felt to be a monstrous system of oppression and crime, which reflected the darkest dishonor upon a Christian people and government. The dread of insurrection and servile war which, day and night, continually haunted the colonists while slavery existed, has given place to a sense of perfect security; so that instead of a considerable military force, supported by a formidable and expensive militia embodiment, to keep slaves in awe, a few native police, appointed chiefly from among the peasantry themselves, are found sufficient for the maintenance of peace and good order. A more profitable market has been opened for the employment of British shipping, and the consumption of British manufactures; while hordes of wretched, discontented slaves, robbed of all the rights of humanity, ground to the dust by oppression and cruelty, and rapidly wasting to depopulation, have been transformed into a satisfied, industrious, and improving peasantry, rapidly increasing in numbers, and grateful for the advantages which the philanthropy and the religion of the nation have conferred upon them.

If due attention had been given to the instruction of the juvenile portion of the emancipated people in the several colonies immediately after the abolition of slavery, there might have been even a better state of things than now exist. But none of the local governments, except that of British Guiana, have taken any effectual measures for establishing a general system of education. In all the other colonies this has yet to be done, and it may yet be a work of considerable time, as some of the influential men in the local parliaments have yet to be awakened to a sense of its importance, and are more afraid of the effects of education than of ignorance. It reflects

credit upon the colored class that, in the face of the manifold disadvantages under which they have labored, they exhibit unmistakable proofs of intellectual and moral progress. In two of the islands, where a system of responsible government similar to that of Canada has been adopted, its chief administration has been intrusted to colored men; while, in another, one of the same class has filled the highest office known in the colony, that of lieutenant governor. Several members of the privy council in Jamaica, and also of the legislative council, are Creoles of African descent, and one of pure African blood; while on the judicial bench and at the bar, in the halls of legislation, among the magistracy of the islands, in the pulpit and the medical faculty, among the most enterprising merchants, and wealthy planters and proprietors, they are to be found, exhibiting equal intelligence and ability with competitors of fairer hue, and practically refuting the pitiful and senseless slander which would brand the colored man as an inferior type of humanity, and exclude him from the common brotherhood of the human race.

Art. III.—LAY REPRESENTATION.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is again excited to some extent by the discussion of this subject. Another effort is in progress to effect a change by which laymen shall be admitted to a participation in its sovereignty and to seats in all its councils. About thirty-one years since an agitation, which had been kept up for seven or eight years, resulted in a secession, and the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church. That Church is an exemplification of the tendencies of the measures now contended for. If lay delegates are to act equally with the ministry upon all questions which concern the latter, as has been suggested by an eminent writer, they must go, not only into the general and annual conferences, but also into the councils by which the appointments are made. This will soon result in a dismissal of our episcopacy and presiding eldership, and the Methodist Protestant organization will be reproduced. Has the success of that Church been such as to warrant the adoption of its polity by the Methodist Episcopal Church? At its organization it claimed for its distinguishing principles the approval of "the people" of Methodism. It took away at once many thousands of our members, including some of the most wealthy, with a considerable number of our ministers, including some of the most eloquent and popular. It appropriated to itself some of our

best church edifices. And yet it numbers at this time only seventy thousand. Since its origin the increase of our Church, which was thought to be so much in need of reform, including the north and the south, amounts to one million one hundred and seventy-three thousand and fifty-seven, in addition to repairing the losses caused by the secession. Indeed, the prosperity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, judging it by comparison with that of the other Churches of the land, has been truly extraordinary. We do not refer to it for the purpose of boasting, but for the purpose of argument; we are compelled to do so. The attention of the reader is invited to a single statement upon this point. The ministers of the English national establishment, from which the Protestant Episcopal Church has sprung, were in this country as early as the year 1607; the Lutherans were here in 1630; the Baptists and Presbyterians in 1636; the first Methodists landed on the shores of this western world in 1760. So that the age of Protestant Episcopalianism in this country is two hundred and fifty-three years; that of Lutheranism two hundred and thirty years; that of the Baptists two hundred and twenty-four; that of Presbyterianism about the same; that of Methodism one hundred years. The Protestant Episcopal Church has one hundred and thirty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven communicants; the Lutheran one hundred and forty-six thousand and sixty-two; the Baptist denomination nine hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-one; the Presbyterians, including both the Old and the New School organizations, four hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and twenty; the Methodist Episcopal, including north and south, one million six hundred and seventy-three thousand and fifty-seven—lacking only nineteen thousand two hundred and forty-three of having as many communicants as those four leading denominations put together.

In order to estimate justly our comparative success, we must take into the account the advantages additional to antecedence with which three of those denominations were favored. The English Episcopalians were established by law in some of the colonies, and their successors, composing the Protestant Episcopal Church, are as a Church in possession of immense wealth, the result of grants made by the British crown in colonial times. The Presbyterians were backed by the Churches of that denomination in England; by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which was, and is now, established by law; and by the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which was, and is now, in receipt of bounty from the British crown. The Lutherans were reinforced by men and means from the continent of Europe, where, in several countries, they were established by law. They

formed settlements in this country. In 1700 three thousand of them came from the Palatinate and settled in New York. Whereas the Methodists, at the time of their appearance in this country, were poor and persecuted, and few in number, both here and in Europe.

It might be supposed that such wonderful success would be sufficient to secure us against a restless desire for change, but it is not. There are several ways in which occasional discontent may be accounted for. In the first place, we are constantly assailed by our brethren of other denominations. Finding that they cannot, with advantage to themselves, controvert our doctrines, they fall upon our economy. This is done not only in their publications but in personal intercourse. Many of our members, and some of our ministers, become perplexed. This is allowed to go on for years without any earnest effort upon our part to defend our system, or to enlighten our people generally as to the grounds upon which its peculiarities are justified. The result is that its difficulties—for the best system will have its difficulties—come to be very distinctly perceived and felt, and made the subject of conversation in Methodist circles; and many, who have not investigated its philosophy, or compared it intelligently with other systems, begin to think that it is very defective, and may very easily be improved. Secondly, in our rapid accumulation of members we receive many who, although they have been converted at our altars, believe our doctrines, and appreciate highly our means of spiritual improvement, bring with them a lingering preference for other systems of polity in connection with which they have been educated. This preference is easily excited in times of controversy.

So far from success preventing or allaying the desire for change, it is given, by some, as the chief reason for fundamental changes. We must reform because of our success. And, still more remarkable, we must reform, not to imitate those who have been more successful—we cannot find such—but those whose success bears no comparison with ours. We must conform to those much less successful, in order that we may be more successful. It is as if a farmer, having an important agricultural implement—a mowing or thrashing machine for instance—superior to those owned and used by his neighbors, accomplishing three times as much work with less effort and expense, should be urged to have it remodeled after the pattern of those so much inferior, for the purpose of improving it. We need scarcely suggest the probable fate of such a proposition. Whatever semblances of wisdom superior genius might detect in it, plain common sense would reject it without deliberation.

It is not the intention of our reformers to originate a new system

upon the principles which they advocate, to run side by side with ours, until the comparative merits of the two are fairly tested. Our present system must be exterminated. Those who believe it to be the most Scriptural, who regard it as supplying all necessary checks, and guarding all the rights of the laity, while it gives ample freedom to ministerial zeal and enterprise, must consent to see it displaced by one which they deem unscriptural, and comparatively inefficient. Lay delegation has no hope of great success so long as a Church like ours exists. If it can take the property which we have accumulated in one hundred years, and turn us out of doors penniless, in case we are so perverse as not to expire at once at its bidding, it will have fine times. It will surely succeed.

But what is wrong in our system, that we must pause in the midst of unparalleled progress to repudiate the measures so singularly successful, and to engage in a thorough reconstruction? It would seem that there is scarcely anything right. It allows the laity no voice, no power, in its government. It is monarchical, antirepublican, aristocratical, oligarchical, and popish. It denies to its lay members the right of self-government, of living under a government emanating from the governed, the right of representation, and the right of freedom. It is at variance with American ideas, and is dangerous to civil and religious liberty. We may well wonder how such a system ever obtained the least favor in this land of liberty. Its success is one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the times, a mystery, a miracle almost.

All those charges are without foundation. They are the product of very superficial views of the subjects to which they relate. It is not true that the laity have no voice, no power in the government of the Church. No one can become a member of it, or be licensed to exhort, or to preach, or be admitted to the itinerancy, without their formal consent expressed at different times. They act a very important part in the judiciary of the Church. No layman can be excluded from the Church unless tried and adjudged guilty by a committee of laymen, nor can he be denied the right of an appeal to a higher tribunal of laymen. In addition to all this, the laity hold in their hands the support of the minister, determining how much he shall receive. And if they fail to meet their own proposition they cannot be held liable as in a case of legal indebtedness. The ministry has no means of inforcing payment. The laity has the money power in its hands.

Some make light of this consideration; they treat it with ridicule. That which I have called the money-power they hold to be no power at all; but this is sheer affectation. They are alone in this estimate.

Great account is made of this power in civil government. That distinguished patriot and statesman, Alexander Hamilton, in justifying that part of the Constitution of the United States which relates to the support of the President, says:

> "The third ingredient toward constituting the vigor of the executive authority is an adequate provision for support. It is evident that without a proper attention to this article, the separation of the executive from the legislative department would be merely nominal and nugatory. The legislature, with a discretionary power over the salary and emolument of the chief magistrate, could render him as obsequious to their will as they might see proper to make him. They might, in most cases, either reduce him to famine, or tempt him by largesses to surrender at discretion his judgment to their inclinations. These expressions, taken in all the latitude of the terms, would doubtless convey more than is intended. There are men who could neither be distressed nor won into a sacrifice of their duty; but this stern virtue is the growth of few soils; and, in the main, it will be found that a power over a man's support is a power over his will. If it were necessary to confirm so plain a truth by facts, examples would not be wanting, even in this country, of the intimidation or seduction of the executive by the terrors or allurement of the pecuniary arrangements of the legislative body."

Again, on the provisions for the support of the judges, he says: "In the general course of human nature, a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will."*

The dependence of the Crown of England upon the Parliament for its supplies, is supposed to be a powerful check upon royal prerogative, and one of the most effectual safeguards of the liberty of the people. The importance attached to it may be seen in the jealousy with which it was watched and guarded, and the tenacity with which it was maintained when Charles I. and James II. attempted to raise moneys independently of the Parliament. And what would be the voice of the American people if an attempt were made to transfer the various revenues of the Republic and the right of appropriation to the President? Would not our ears be stunned by the outcry and din about uniting the purse and the sword? And yet, when it is shown that the money power of the Church is in the hands of the laity; that the ministers have no right to collect and appropriate one cent for their support independently of lay officers; and further, that these officers have no right to tax the members, or force from them a cent, by legal or ecclesiastical processes, we are told that all this is nothing; it does not amount to power, it imposes no check. If the ministers held at their disposal the livings of more than six thousand laymen who were obliged to devote all their time to the service of the Church, we should hear of the money power of the ministry in unmeasured terms.

This power is not referred to as the only check upon clerical pre-

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* Federalist, pp. 336, 331.

rogative, or corrective of clerical misconduct. It is not to be resorted to for slight causes. It is the dernier resort. The minister may, for just cause, turn his back upon the people, and wipe off the dust of his feet as a testimony against them; but such would be an extreme measure, rarely adopted. The power of declaring and prosecuting a war for the redress of national grievances is a real, a terrible power; but it is not the only, it is the ultimate remedy, to be resorted to when all the contrivances of diplomacy have failed. The pretense that this power is null because the laity are too good to use it, will not bear examination. The laity of other denominations often use it, even in violation of solemn contracts. They drive ministers away by refusing to pay them, often alleging that they cannot; and yet, in calling and settling a successor, they will agree to pay, and will actually pay him a much larger sum than they engaged, but failed to pay to his predecessor.

In completion of the statement of the power of the laity, I would add that all the Church property, excepting the Book Concern, is held and controlled by laymen as trustees.

Some of the women of our country have adopted the notion that, as a class, they are denied their rights. Conventions have been held, periodicals published, and speeches made, with the view of securing to them what, in their opinion, the government unjustly withholds. Let us now suppose that concessions are made to them to the extent that no one can be a voter at the popular elections, or become elegible to civil office, without coming personally under their review, and obtaining their consent, so that the young aspirant for political privilege, having reached the age of twenty-one, may be put down for life by their adverse decision; suppose that no foreigner can become a citizen without the consent of one or more ladies; suppose that they also hold the public revenues, and that all in power are dependent upon them for support, and that they can withhold that support without being held to any amenability; suppose that they have also the control of the public property; and, finally, that no one of them can be tried for any offense except by a jury of her own sex, would they have reason, in such case, to assert persistently that they have no power, no voice in the government, because inelegible to seats in Congress, or the state legislature, or to the office of governor, or of president? It would be just as reasonable as is the declaration that the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church have no power in its government, because they are not admitted to the General or the annual conferences.

The pretense that the government of our Church is monarchical is unworthy of serious consideration. A disputant who can identify

a system of government which vests its supremacy in six thousand men, with one which vests it in one man, will not be very discriminating in any of his premises or conclusions. There is more plausibility in the charge of antirepublicanism. We have no desire, and shall make no effort, to prove that our Church government is republican. That form of government is best which most easily and effectually accomplishes the ends of government. The ends of civil and ecclesiastical government differ in many respects. Besides, there is no definite standard of republicanism. Its modifications are as numerous as are republican communities. The ground which we assume distinctly and fearlessly is, that any test that will convict our Church government of antirepublicanism will reduce our civil government to the same predicament, and likewise those Churches which claim to be pre-eminently republican. The Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, S. C., in his work on "Ecclesiastical Republicanism," written for the purpose of proving the Presbyterian Church republican, and exalting it over others in this respect, applies the following principles to the Methodist Episcopal Church, affirming that they are not found in its government and Discipline:

> "Now, among the principles which are fundamental to the very existence of a republic we find these:
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> "1. The equality of all its members, implying that the laws are made equally by all, acting through their representatives, and that none are elevated to any station in which they can legislate independently of the people."

Let us examine this before we proceed farther. If by the *members* of the republic and the *people* be meant all that are subject to its authority, our civil government is not republican. The population of the United States come under the distinction of the ruling portion, and the mere subject portion. Not that this distinction is often made in terms, but it exists in fact. The ruling portion, in other words, the political voters, are about one eighth of the whole population. The right of participating in the government, in any way, is denied to privates and non-commissioned officers in the army, to unnaturalized foreigners, to all males under twenty-one years of age, to slaves, and a large number of free blacks and Indians. Tried by this rule, the Protestant Methodist Church is antirepublican. Its ruling power is restricted to ministers and white male members over twenty-one years of age. The Presbyterian Church falls under the same condemnation. Its ruling power is in the hands of its elders, presbyters, or bishops alone. If, on the other hand, he means by the terms *members* and *people* the ruling portion of the people, the sovereign people, Methodism abides the test. The sovereign portion of the people of Methodism are upon an

equality. The laws are made equally by all acting through their representatives, and none are elevated to any station in which they can act independently of the people.

The second principle which this author lays down is as follows:

> "The sovereign power of the people, as the source of all authority, their intervention in public affairs, their election of all officers; the consequent responsibility of all officers to them for the discharge of their duty and the management of all funds; and the knowledge and control, through their representatives, of all expenditures."

Here again the whole effect will depend upon the sense of the word *people.* It has a variety of meanings. It frequently signifies, 1. The entire mass of the population; 2. The subjects of government as distinguished from rulers; 3. That portion of the population of our country in which the sovereignty resides, as when we say the people are sovereign, the people rule, the sovereign people, meaning thereby the four millions who rule, not only themselves, but also the thirty-two millions. Thus the terms *people* and *rulers* become synonyms. Now, if by the people be meant the entire mass of the population, our civil polity is again condemned. The prerogatives stated are wielded by a very small portion of the people, about one eighth. And not less are all Church governments condemned. But if by the people are meant the ruling, the sovereign portion, Methodism comes forth from the ordeal unhurt. Her presbyters are her people in this sense, corresponding with the sovereign people, or presbyters, of the state.

The charges of aristocracy and oligarchy are susceptible of being disposed of in a similar way. Those who make them rarely attempt to prove them. Generally, they have a very indistinct perception of the meaning of the terms they employ. Dr. Smyth makes some remarkable statements. He says of our civil government: "Practically, it is a republican aristocracy, the government being conducted by a part of the people." Again: "It may therefore be denominated as truly an aristocracy as a democracy." Again, speaking of the Jewish system, he says: "And this was in no respect a monarchical, but an aristocratical, that is, a republican form." He also admits that the aristocratical element exists in his own Church, and justifies it. We can prove that the state and also sister Churches are aristocratical, by any argument by which it can be proved that our ecclesiastical system is aristocratical. Indeed, if, as Dr. Smyth says, to be aristocratical is to be republican, we need not be much alarmed at either the accusations or the arguments of our opponents.

But does not our system deny the right of self-government? That it does is gravely alleged. This is assumed by the memorial

from Philadelphia, addressed to the late General Conference. To resolve this question, all that is necessary is to ascertain the meaning of the terms employed. If by the right of self-government be meant the right of communities to be governed by their own laws and officers, exclusive of any foreign jurisdiction, our Church is self-governed. What other jurisdiction than its own does it acknowledge? If we mean by a self-governed community one in which the sovereign power is vested in many of the citizens, and the sovereigns are themselves subject to the laws they enact, and amenable to the tribunals they create, in opposition to one in which the sovereignty is held and wielded by an absolute monarch or a despotic aristocracy, acknowledging no subjection to the laws of the realm they govern, then is our Church self-governed. The supreme power is vested in thousands, and subordinate administrative power in tens of thousands, and the rulers and the ruled are alike subject to the law. There is no way of proving that our Church is not self-governed which does not involve the consequence that the State is not self-governed. The principle relied upon for this purpose is thus stated by a writer on lay delegation: "All the members of a state should have an equal voice in making the laws of a state, and all the members of a Church should have an equal right in making the laws of a Church."

This condemns all existing governments, civil and ecclesiastical. Fully applied, it would inaugurate in Church and State a condition of hopeless anarchy. It would invest every man, woman, and child, black or white, native or foreign, savage or civilized, with all the attributes of sovereignty. It would sanction follies far beyond the worst vagaries of women's rights conventions.

Certain modifications of this principle are pertinaciously urged. We are told that to govern without the consent of the governed is unjust. But no one in the Methodist Episcopal Church is governed without his consent. Every member joins it voluntarily, and may withdraw from it whenever he becomes dissatisfied with its institutions, its doctrines, its measures, its members, or anything pertaining to it. Should it be said that our people are governed without their consent because their wills are not directly consulted as to whether the government should remain as it is or be changed, we answer, If this be true the majority of the citizens of our Republic are governed without their consent. When are our females consulted upon questions of civil government? What power have they over the laws to which they are subject? The same may be said not only of all males during their minority, but also of the entire army, and all engaged in the naval service of the United States,

excepting the commissioned officers. All are governed without their consent except the privileged fraction legally entitled to a political vote. There is this difference in favor of our Church: the subjects of the State are born under this subjection, and can escape from it only by expatriation; whereas the members of the Church become such voluntarily, and remain such no longer than they choose, and can throw off its jurisdiction without changing their residence, or their business, or any of the relations of citizenship.

It is also objected that ours is not a "government emanating from the governed." Those employing this maxim rarely give any clue to their understanding of it, or illustrate in the least degree its application as an argument against our polity. In this they seem to act with more sagacity than candor. The only process by which it can be made to condemn our system will be found to be still more condemnatory of our civil government. When did the mere subject portion of the Republic confer power upon the sovereign portion? The latter assumed it in the beginning, and have held it ever since. The sovereign portion of the people of Methodism have conferred upon the subject portion prerogatives by virtue of which none can graduate into the sovereignty without their formal consent, but the sovereigns of the state have done no such thing. The only way in which the governing persons in the state derive their power from the governed is this: the representative rulers derive their authority to perform particular acts of government for themselves and the body of the sovereigns, from the latter, who consent to be subject to the laws they have made by proxy. With this exception, so much in our favor, the parallel between the state and our ecclesiastical system is perfect.

Some who use this maxim as an argument for change, tacitly assume (they too are cautious to assert) that none can be justly governed except they have had a part in making the laws to which they are subject, or have given to them their formal authoritative consent; that by the governed the maxim intends *all* the governed. The absurdity of this view is manifest. It places the scepter in the hands of every new-born babe, as well as those of every other age and description.

The most plausible design and effect of the application of this maxim to the Methodist Episcopal Church, as an objection and an instrument of reform, is that the sovereignty should be held by the laity; and the ministry should possess no power but what is delegated to them by the laity. In this way every layman becoming a minister would be disfranchised. He would surrender all claim to sovereignty, and become a mere subject, exercising just so much

power as the laity would endow him with as their agent. This would realize the highest philosophy of some of our reformers.

This maxim is intelligible and valuable as the protest of a community, capable of originating and sustaining a government for itself, against being held in subjection by a foreign power, or being ruled by those who refuse subjection to the laws they make and administer; but as an objection to the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church it is utterly unintelligible and worthless.

We must also institute a distinct inquiry respecting the right of representation. Our reformers assert that is not recognized by our system so far as the laity are concerned. This ground is taken by the memorial from Philadelphia. But this rests upon the further assumption, that a particular mode of constituting representatives is essential to the fact of representation. It presupposes that none can be represented unless they have a direct agency in the appointment of their representatives. This may be shown to be untenable by numerous facts, one of which must suffice for the present. The basis of representation in our civil government is the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, with all the Indians that are taxed, and three fifths of all the slaves. To ascertain the number of the people, the census is required to be taken every ten years. Thus we see that the whole community, young and old, male and female, white and colored, with the exception of the Indians not taxed, and two fifths of all the slaves, are professedly represented in our national legislature. To say that none can be represented but those who vote in the elections for representatives is, in effect, to say that a majority of the people of this Republic are not represented in its government, and to convict its Constitution of absurdity.

The arguments of our opponents upon this question are often based upon the supposition that it is essential to representation that the representative be chosen by the particular class of the community to which he belongs, to represent that class alone. Upon this ground it has been demanded, with an air of triumph, "How can ministers represent laymen?" The absurdities flowing from this assumption are numerous and amusing. We should be tempted to entertain our readers with some of them had we sufficient space; but we must forego amusement at this time. To the question, "How can ministers represent laymen?" we answer, Just as easily as laymen can represent ministers. What is the hinderance? Ministers come from the laity, and are constantly mingling with them. They have as good an opportunity of knowing their wants as parents have of knowing the wants of their children. They do not

assume to represent them in relation to their temporal interests as merchants, or mechanics, or agriculturists, or lawyers, or physicians, but as Christians merely. They have to do with their spiritual wants and obligations alone. Why, then, cannot ministers represent laymen? The interests of both classes are identical. Would an intelligent, scientific, successful farmer be disqualified for representing farmers by being made a professor in an agricultural college, or being otherwise devoted to the instruction of men in farming? The following remarks by Alexander Hamilton are relevant here: "The idea of an actual representation of all classes of the people by persons of each class is altogether visionary." Again: "It is a sound and important principle that the representative ought to be acquainted with the interests and circumstances of his constituents. But this principle can extend no further than to those circumstances and interests to which the authority and care of the representative relate. Our ignorance of a variety of minute and particular objects which do not lie within the compass of legislation, is consistent with every attribute necessary to a due performance of the legislative trust."*

There would be as much propriety in ministers clamoring for a distinct representation by ministers in the several departments of civil government, as there is in this demand of laymen for a distinct representation by laymen in the supreme councils of the Church. Nothing less than the presence of both laymen and ministers, with equal rights as classes, in all the legislative, judicial, and executive bodies in the country, civil and ecclesiastical, so that each class will be distinctly represented, and be able to check and balance the action of the other, will meet the principles laid down to reform the Methodist Episcopal Church. Those principles, pushed to their legitimate practical consequences, would soon eventuate in the union of Church and State.

This alleged right of the laity is put upon the ground that "taxation and representation should always be concomitant." But if being taxed gives the right to a direct class representation (for this is the representation claimed,) numerous subjects of our civil government are denied their rights in this respect. Women, and unnaturalized foreigners, and many others, as I have shown, are not allowed the privilege of voting, and yet they are taxed. Ministers of the Gospel are taxed, yet without such a representation as is claimed for the laity. Besides, the laity of Methodism are not taxed. To prove that they are, it will be necessary to destroy the distinction between paying taxes and making voluntary contributions. The

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* Federalist, pp. 152, 259.

Philadelphia memorial contains the most plausible argument to prove that the laity are taxed that has yet appeared. It is as follows:

> "That the laity are taxed for the support of the ministry by stronger obligations than human laws can impose, we think you will not deny. If you are good men and true, you are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel. Necessity is laid upon you. Nay, woe be unto you if you preach it not. And can you go this warfare at your own expense? Must you not live of the altar while you minister at it? And who shall pay the expense of this warfare? Who shall supply the sacrifice for the altar? Must not the laity do it? To this you answer, emphatically, Yes. If, then, the laity refuse or neglect their duty, and you are thereby prevented from performing yours, will not the woe fall upon them? Surely the laity will refuse to support you, as much at the peril of their happiness as you will refuse to minister at yours. We submit, then, that we are taxed by the same law which compels you to minister; and by the same law are entitled to a representation."

This is certainly a very forcible presentation of the relative obligations of preaching on the one hand, and contributing for the support of the ministry on the other; but it contains a cluster of fallacies. 1. It assumes that our laity are not represented in our Church councils. 2. It assumes that taxation gives the right, not to representation simply, but to a distinct class representation. 3. Should we, for the sake of the argument, admit the foregoing assumptions to be correct, there would remain this singular fallacy: a right to representation in the General Conference is claimed, as if that were the body imposing the taxes, while the premises acknowledge that it is not. They are declared to be imposed by a much higher authority, namely, that which imposes upon ministers the obligation to preach. "We are taxed," say the memorialists, "by the same law which compels you to minister, and by the same law are entitled to a representation." This must of course mean a representation in the council from which the law proceeds, otherwise the argument is manifestly illogical. So far then as this argument is concerned, the memorial was sent to the wrong place. The representation must be in those high and awful councils from which emanate the laws of God's universal kingdom. It will be seen at a glance that the ministry is in the same condition of disfranchisement. Perhaps we have misunderstood the design of these brethren, and are doing them injustice. They say: "We do not wish this paper to be looked upon as a petition." Did they intend that the General Conference should unite with them in a demand for a ministerial and lay representation in Heaven's august parliament?

A direct class representation is claimed as necessary to freedom. "We merely wish," says the memorial, "for the good of the Church, that its members may be permitted to feel that they are at least as

free in the Church as they are in the State—not serfs, not subjects, not underlings; but your companions, your fellows, your peers—and, under God, a *free* and self-governed people." One very obvious consequence of the application of this assumption to civil government is, that ministers of the Gospel, in this country, are not politically free. They are denied what our reformers call "rational liberty." In what state in this great Republic are they represented, as a class, by ministers? Several of the states' constitutions exclude them, by express provision, from any office in the government. The Constitution of the state of Delaware may be given as an example. It contains the following: "No ordained clergyman or preacher of the Gospel, of any denomination, shall be capable of holding any office in this state, or of being a member of either branch of the legislature, while he continues in the exercise of the pastoral or clerical functions." The Constitution of the United States does not contain such a provision. Ministers of the Gospel may be elected to Congress; but then they must go there, not as ministers, or to represent the ministry, but merely as citizens to represent citizens. They are not sent by ministers. If one of the political parties considers a minister available as a candidate, and he is desirous or willing to go, he may be taken up and elected; but he must lay aside, for the time being, his clerical character. Ministers of the Gospel have no distinctive representation in Congress, or in any civil legislature in the country. Under the same conditions laymen may go to the General Conference. Let them lay aside the character of laymen, and become presbyters in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the way is open to them.

The relation of the clergymen of this country to the civil government attracted the attention of that acute observer De Tocqueville. He remarks:

> "This led me to examine more attentively than I had hitherto done the station which the American clergy occupy in political society. I learned, with surprise, that they filled no public appointments; not one of them is to be met with in the administration, and they are not represented in the legislative assemblies. In several states the law excludes them from political life; public opinion in all."

The truth of the latter remark has been recently exemplified in Pennsylvania. A Lutheran minister was elected to Congress, and was consequently required by the Synod of the Church to resign his ecclesiastical position.

Should it be said, in reply to this argument, that ministers of the Gospel have political freedom because they have the right to vote in the election of civil rulers, we rejoin, this would be a relinquish-

ment of the position that a distinct class representation is essential to freedom. A new ground would be assumed; and, by a parity of reasoning, if to be denied the right to vote in the election of representatives in the councils of the Church is to be deprived of ecclesiastical freedom, to be denied the right of voting for representatives in the councils of the State is to be deprived of political freedom. The consequence is that the majority of the subjects of our civil government are denied the right of freedom. They are in bondage. They are serfs, underlings, slaves. A further consequence is, that the great body of the members of the Presbyterian Church are not free any more than the Methodists. They do not vote for representatives in the presbyteries, the synods, or the general assemblies. The same follows in regard to the Methodist Protestant Church. Its constitution restricts the right of suffrage to free white males over twenty-one years of age. All the rest are in bondage. Besides, the right of voting does not carry with it necessarily a share in the sovereignty of the State. It may be accompanied by ineligibility to any office; and surely no one can be in possession of civil sovereignty who is declared by law ineligible to office in the government of his country.

It has been objected that in our Church there is an unequal apportionment of power, and that this inequality is greatly in favor of the ministry. Let us inquire into this matter. What is the power which, according to our belief, Christ has bestowed upon his ministers? It is the power of forming and governing religious communities called Churches. But this power is very limited in its range. We do not say that the ministry of our Church does not make laws—that it has not the power to legislate. An attempt to distinguish between law-making and rule-making is attended with embarrassment. In spite of our explanations, protestations, and reasonings, the people will call rule-making legislation. We do so ourselves, and cannot avoid it. But there is an important distinction to be observed respecting Church legislation. The legislative power of the Church is exhausted in the enactment of a few administrative or secondary rules or laws for the enforcement of Christ's laws, which are supreme, and may be neither multiplied, nor modified, nor contravened by human authority. And what are the penalties by which Church rulers enforce the laws of the Church? Reproof, rebuke, suspension from some of the privileges of the Church, and, as the last resort, excision or expulsion from the Church. They cannot affect the property or the persons of offenders.

But what is the power of the State which belongs to the laity? They have the power of legislation in the highest form—of making

primarily all the laws they deem necessary for the welfare of the community, and of enforcing them by whatever penalties they may deem the most effective. They make laws for ministers as well as themselves, and enforce them by fines, imprisonment, compulsory labor in the prisons, and death. And if ministers, in the enforcement of Church discipline, go beyond the law of the Church, and affect injuriously the reputation or the pecuniary interests of those upon whom they exercise discipline, they are liable to be arraigned before tribunals composed of lay judges, lay jurors, and lay attorneys; to be held in custody by lay sheriffs and constables, and punished as laymen may dictate. Laymen declare war or negotiate peace with other nations, annex or alienate territory, levy taxes or impose tariffs, without consulting ministers. And further, the ministry of our Church have deemed themselves justified by Scripture and expediency in conferring upon the laity a large share of subordinate ecclesiastical power. They have decided to admit none to the ministry or the membership of the Church, without the approval of the laity, so that laymen can close the door of admission to both. They have judged it best to expel no layman from the Church whose guilt has not been formally and judicially ascertained by laymen. They have invested laymen with the money-power of the Church, and the control, as trustees, of the Church property.

And now we ask, What party has the most power? Is not the inequality in favor of the laity? And yet some of them are not satisfied with this division. The ministers have a little power to enable them to perform their special duties, and to sustain their special responsibilities, and the laity must have that also. Nothing will satisfy them but the sovereignty of the State and the sovereignty of the Church. They are the sovereign people; and if they cannot carry their measures they will, forsooth, impute to the ministry a love of power, and raise a hue and cry about clerical despotism. Cesar, not content with civil empire, must also grasp the scepter of Christ's kingdom. And yet these brethren, after accusing ministers of a love of power, because they are not willing to surrender that for the use of which they are held responsible by the great Head of the Church, wipe their mouths, and meekly say: "We seek not fame, we seek not power." Certainly not; who ever heard of a layman desiring fame or power? That is a vice belonging exclusively to the Christian ministry.

The Philadelphia memorialists refer to the taunts with which Methodists are assailed, accusing our system of popery. They admit the justice of these taunts. "We must bear them with what philosophy we can," say they, "for we cannot refute them." We

have no doubt that some of these brethren have greatly underrated their abilities. They can easily refute those taunts; but if they cannot, it does not follow that no one can. If we have given them too much credit for ability they are surely unfit to be Methodist Church legislators. As to our Church government not being American, as is charged, the position has its origin in very superficial views of the subject. Somehow the American people give it the preference. It suits them. Nor is it in the least degree at variance with civil and religious freedom. It guards that sacred boon more effectually than any of those systems which have so boastfully assumed its special guardianship. It places civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in different hands, whereas those systems, offered to us as models, place them in the same hands, a measure which constitutes the basis of all Church and State establishments. Under our present system it would be impossible to unite Church and State, though every man, woman, and child in the United States were a Methodist. The system furnishes a constitutional obstruction. The first step toward the removal of that obstruction is a lay delegation. Then the danger would commence. As a patriot and philanthropist I am opposed to it. It is thought to be very important to keep apart legislative, judicial, and executive powers, by vesting them in different persons; but there seems to be no just apprehension of the danger of uniting civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in the same persons, unless it be in the persons of ministers, as though to be constrained by the love of Christ to preach the Gospel transformed them into the most dangerous men. The separation of these jurisdictions is the great problem which Italian patriotism desires to solve. God grant that they may be soon separated, not to be reunited in the persons of laymen, but to remain separate forever. If we could have things according to our own mind in this country, we would have no minister of the Gospel in Congress, or in any civil office, until he had given up his parchments as a presbyter in the Church. Nor would we allow any layman to unite in his possession civil and ecclesiastical power by sitting in the civil legislature and in the supreme council of the Church. If any would have supreme ecclesiastical power he should disgorge the civil. And if he would have the civil he should relinquish the ecclesiastical. We would have no honorable senators, leaving their seats in the capitol to legislate in the synods, and general assemblies, and conferences, and conventions of the Church. We regard with almost equal aversion a lay-governed Church and a priest-governed State. They are both at variance with the genius of Christianity. Methodism is now immeasurably in advance of other systems. They must make rapid

progress to overtake her. We trust that she will not enter upon a course of retrogression for the sake of their company.

An attempt has been made to cause the impression that the exclusion of laymen from the highest councils of the Church rests upon a tacit imputation to them of inferiority to ministers in intelligence and piety. This is not the case. If other reasons quite sufficient cannot be given, we shall abandon the argument. Great talents and moral worth are demanded in the various departments of business and professional life. Besides, our laymen are entitled and expected to occupy posts of high honor and responsibility in civil government. We expect them to be our sheriffs, judges, senators, governors, generals; and if we have not a Methodist president of the Republic, it is not because we have not men of talents and virtue equal to the office. The ends of society would not be answered by crowding all the distinguished talent and virtue into the Christian ministry, if it were possible to do so. Is political sovereignty withheld from all females and male minors on the ground of a want of intelligence and trustworthiness? Is the naturalized foreigner, who cannot write his name, or read his naturalization papers, superior in these qualities to the great body of American students between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one? Is every brainless profligate over twenty-one years of age superior, in these respects, to the mothers, wives, and sisters of our eminent statesmen? It is not difficult to find other reasons. We conclude, not because the subject is exhausted. It is scarcely opened. But limits are assigned, and must be observed.

Art. IV.—LEIGH HUNT.

The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with Reminiscences of Friends and Cotemporaries. Two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt. Two volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The Prose Works of Leigh Hunt. Four volumes. New York: Derby & Jackson.

In this country where every one, like the knight of La Mancha, professes to be son of his own deeds, there is much impatience with minute details of genealogy. This leads to the loss of many useful lessons. By some study of their ancestors, men may know more of themselves than by confining their observations to the small space and time in which they personally live. If they would read their own lives and characters with intelligent eye, they should collate the earlier editions of themselves which may be found by careful

search in unfrequented corners of the great library of humanity. Having patiently deciphered the half-obliterated pages, and become familiar with the black-letter type of those old volumes, we shall better appreciate the style of the page of life which to-day demands our notice.

Leigh Hunt had a theory that a man is but his parents or some other of his ancestors drawn out. The two extremes of mirth and melancholy which met in him were contributed to his character by his parents. With all the thoughtfulness of a biographer, who sincerely aims to aid his readers in understanding his hero, he gives us on the threshold a key to his character. Wisely and filially he devotes several pages of his autobiography to his parents, thus enabling readers to see in fountains springing in the far West those ingredients which flow in all the current of his after life.

Leigh Hunt's father was a native of the West Indies. He married a lady of Philadelphia, and settled in New York as attorney and barrister. On the breaking out of the Revolution he unwisely adhered to the cause of George III. He was treated so roughly for his toryism that he fled to England. He soon after abandoned the law, and became a preacher in the Established Church. The ingratitude of republics is proverbial, and the zealous loyalist soon found that it is not confined to one form of government, but sometimes forms a trait of royal character. Though he had suffered severely from his espousal of the royal cause, and soon became a preacher of distinguished talent, he looked in vain for preferment from the head of the Anglican Church.

Leigh Hunt was born on the 19th of October, 1784. Though a native of England, he always had the kindness to regard Americans as cousins, and had the liberality to be pleased with the popularity of his books on this side of the Atlantic. We can appreciate this liberality the more when we know that his cash account owed little enlargement to the publication and sale of his works in America.

Had Hunt been born in America, we should have had him, according to a theory of his own, without poetical genius. While he makes exceptions of certain individuals, he says: "As a nation I cannot get it out of my head that Americans are Englishmen with the poetry and romance taken out of them." He dislikes our proclivity for money-getting. He imagines a great counter built along the American coast from north to south, behind which we are all standing, like so many linen-drapers, ready to drive bargains. He has hope for us, however, not doubting that "in time this unchristian opinion will come to nought."

If his portraiture of character is correct, it was fortunate for

Hunt that he was not born in America. He would have aspired in vain for standing behind our great counter. He had no capacity for accounts; he had a horror of dates and figures, and only learned the value of money from the trouble it gave his friends to extricate him from his pecuniary embarrassments. He confessed ignorance of the multiplication-table; and when editor of the Examiner was ignorant of the simplest financial fact pertaining to the paper—the price of its stamp. In the two fascinating volumes of his autobiography few dates are to be found. We are led along from one occurrence to another without knowing the dates of the most important events. Our hero manifests as much reluctance to inform us of his age, as the vulgar theory attributes to ladies of uncertain years.

There is one pleasant exception to our general lack of knowledge. A portrait adorns the entrance to the volumes, in which the author wears a countenance so youthful that few would suppose him to have passed his twentieth year. To obviate misapprehensions, the engraver inscribed "ætat 36" below the picture.

No one in all the history of English literature could laugh at dates with a better grace than Leigh Hunt. He preserved the glow and spirit of his youth to his latest years. His heart was always young. Years passed over him, and silvered his head, and made his step infirm; but his youthful sympathies were alive and vigorous to the last. When "a gray-headed senior," his senses were alive to the pleasing sights and sounds which charmed his youth. One day, while in a music store, he fell upon some songs which he had sung in childhood. The discovery called up pleasing recollections, to which he gives utterance in agreeable style. "They were the only songs I recollect singing when a child, and I looked on them with the accumulated tenderness of sixty-three years. I do not remember to have set eyes on them in the interval. What a difference between the little smooth-faced boy at his mother's knee, encouraged to lift up his voice to the piano, and the battered, gray-headed senior, looking again for the first time on what he had sung at the distance of more than half a century!"

While his youthful temperament was a source of great beauty to his character, there was with it a shade of defect. He was once described, in no inaccurate terms, as "the spoiled child of the public." Smiled upon and flattered in very early years by the public, then treated coldly for a time, and at length looked upon again with favor, he acquired a sensitiveness to praise and blame which is a mark of youthful rather than manly character.

By going to other sources, as well as the autobiography, we pre-

sent the following paragraph of dates: Leigh Hunt was born October 19, 1784. He published a small volume of juvenile verses in 1802. In 1807 he published a series of critical articles on the London Theaters, which attracted attention from their bold tone and independent spirit. He and his brother became proprietors of the Examiner in 1808, which soon attracted popular attention for its literary ability, and the independence with which it advocated liberal principles in politics. So truthful were its strictures on men in high places, and the corrupt practices of government, that bitter and powerful animosity was aroused against it. In 1810 a series of prosecutions for libel was instituted against the editors, succeeded by an imprisonment of two years, which terminated on the 3d of February, 1815. Some of Leigh Hunt's best and most popular poetry was published soon after his liberation, as the fruit of his involuntary retirement from society. In 1818 Leigh Hunt established a weekly paper, entitled the Indicator, conducted after the manner of the Spectator and Rambler. The essays published under this title, collected and republished many times, constitute their author's most substantial claim to remembrance. In 1822 Hunt went to Italy, at the earnest solicitation of Byron and Shelley. In 1828 we find him again in England, prosecuting his literary labors with redoubled ardor. Essays, translations, compilations, and original works almost without number, fell from his fruitful pen. His death, which occurred August 29, 1859, severed one of the strongest ties which bind us to the literature and literary men of the early years of this century.

The series of malicious prosecutions of the editors of the Examiner, and their final conviction and imprisonment, form a thrilling and highly instructive chapter in the history of the press. The Examiner was a progressive newspaper, the chivalrous champion of reforms, and the avowed opponent of abuses. Its editors were young, ardent, and sincere, and sufficiently regardless of consequences to give utterance to the most unflattering truths. "The Examiner," says its autobiographical historian, "began its career like most papers, with thinking the worst of those from whom it differed, and expressing its mind with fearless sincerity."

Considering itself the champion of the injured, the Examiner espoused the cause of Major Hogan, of the British army, who, not having received promotion as rapidly as he deserved, had written a pamphlet, in which he exposed the unjust manner in which preferment was sold, and the highly dishonorable means which were employed to obtain it. The Examiner noticed this pamphlet, and made such editorial comments upon it as were prompted by its ardor in the

cause of reform. The facts revealed by Major Hogan warranted severe strictures on the conduct of the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, which the Examiner did not hesitate to utter. Action was brought against the editors for their temerity. The prosecution fell to the ground by the timely espousal of the cause of the Examiner by a hitherto unknown friend, who, in his capacity as member of Parliament, procured the summons of certain persons to the bar of the House of Commons, that inquiry might be made into the character and capacity of the commander-in-chief. The Duke of York was voted innocent of connivance, and yet so many unpleasant disclosures were made in course of the investigation that the prosecution against the Examiner was quietly and gladly abandoned.

Foiled in their first attempt to crush the Examiner, its enemies kept on the look-out for another ground of accusation. At length the character of the king was aspersed by the following mild remark: "Of all the monarchs since the Revolution, the successor of George III. will have the finest opportunity of becoming nobly popular."

This time the prosecutors blindly overshot the mark by bringing action against the editors of the *Morning Chronicle* for having quoted the libelous assertion. The acquittal of the Chronicle parried the blow so furiously directed against the Examiner.

The enemies of the ill-fated paper remained on the alert with a vigilance worthy of a better cause, and a third prosecution speedily followed. The Stamford News had so far broken from the wholesome restraints with which monarchists deem it proper that newspapers should be hedged about, as to publish some sensible and humane views on the subject of flogging in the army. The editorial scissors which made extracts for the Examiner were so little guided by wisdom as to clip the unscrupulous article for the benefit of its readers. The editors were summoned before the bar of justice to answer for a high misdemeanor. It is painful evidence that the scales of justice are not always held with a steady hand; that while the Examiner was acquitted, through the eloquent and valiant advocacy of its cause by Mr. Brougham, the editor of the Stamford News, with the same able advocate, was subsequently condemned on a prosecution for publishing the same article.*

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* It would seem from the following account, published as news in a late issue of the London Times, that barbarity yet characterizes the treatment of soldiers in the British army. Two men, whose home feelings had overcome them, were thus flogged for temporary desertion before disbandment:

"The first man, named Green, bore his punishment, as stated by an eye-witness, 'like a true soldier;' but the second, named Davis, a young recruit, protested his innocence of the crime of desertion, bellowed and screamed for mercy, and sup-

At last the climax was reached in a fourth prosecution, and the hopes of implacable enemies realized in the condemnation of the unscrupulous editors. George III. lived to such an old age that his son long figured as Prince of Wales, and occupied a conspicuous position before the eyes of the nation long before he was crowned king. When the old king became insane, his son was made virtual monarch under the title of Prince Regent. During his more private life as Prince of Wales, he had professed certain political opinions which rendered him very popular, and excited the hopes of all progressives. Especially the ardent and ill-treated Irish almost worshiped the Prince of Wales for certain promises, which made them suppose that he would be another Moses to deliver them from bondage. At their annual dinners on St. Patrick's day the name of the Prince of Wales was made the subject of the most rapturous toasts, and heard with most uproarious applause.

When the Prince became Regent he was utterly regardless of his promises, and, to the astonishment and dismay of all sincere and hopeful men, made a total abandonment of the principles he had professed so loudly.

St. Patrick's day of 1812 was celebrated at Free Masons' Tavern by a large and respectable company of Irishmen, presided over by a distinguished nobleman. The name of the Prince of Wales on this occasion, instead of being heard with applause, was hooted and hissed. Those who had been most eloquent in praise were now loudest in rebuke. Never has name and character had a greater tide of unpopularity to meet.

The Examiner, as a sympathizing paper, and a faithful chronicler of passing events, reported the proceedings of this meeting, with such editorial remarks as were calculated to make manifest the popular odium against the Prince Regent. Besides, in the same connection, were noticed some wretched lines which had been published in a prominent paper for the purpose of flattering the reigning prince, in which he was styled "Adonis in loveliness." The brief and luminous com-

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plicated Col. Talbott, and the medical officers, and others who were present, to have compassion on him or he would die. His back was covered with a mass of large, red, inflated boils, which bled profusely at every stroke, and reddened the ground under his feet, upon which the cat was ordered to be withheld for a few moments, when, finding that his punishment was not at an end, he gave vent to exclamations for mercy, and partly succeeded in delivering himself by force from the straps which bound him to the halberds. The punishment was again ordered to be continued, when, at every succeeding stroke, his cries and exclamations were most lamentable, insomuch that officers and men swooned away at the sickening spectacle, and had to be carried into the open air. One officer and upward of twenty non-commissioned officers and men, long in the service, fainted, and others stopped their ears and closed their eyes lest they too should become unnerved, and be subject to the reproach and ridicule of their comrades."

ment on this passage was: "This Adonis is a corpulent man of fifty." This was the unkindest cut of all, and gave the sword of justice the unerring precision and execution with which it shortly fell.

Leigh Hunt, the editor, and his brother, principal proprietor of the Examiner, were prosecuted for publishing the article. They were found guilty, and condemned to imprisonment and payment of a fine of one thousand pounds. One of the criminals briefly describes the way he was affected by the sentence:

> "At the sound of two years' imprisonment, in separate jails, my brother and myself instinctively pressed each other's arms. It was a heavy blow, but the pressure that acknowledged it encouraged the resolution to bear it, and I do not believe that either of us interchanged a word afterward on the subject."

Two years' imprisonment must have been an unpleasant prospect to a man subject to attacks of nervousness which exercise alone could mitigate. However, he made the best of his situation, and bore its evils like a martyr. Permission was granted the prisoner to have his wife and children with him, whereby he made a great step toward transforming his prison into a home. He thus describes the tasteful arts by which prisons may be made attractive:

> "I papered the walls with a trellis of roses; I had the ceiling colored with clouds and sky; the barred windows I screened with venetian blinds; and when my book-cases were set up with their busts, and flowers and a piano-forte made their appearance, perhaps there was not a handsomer room on that side of the water. I took pleasure when a stranger knocked at the door, to see him come in and stare about him. The surprise on issuing from the Borough and passing through the avenues of a jail was dramatic. Charles Lamb declared that there was no other such room except in a fairy tale."

Going to jail and indulging a taste for horticulture would seem quite incongruous, yet Hunt caused even these extremes to meet.

> "I possessed another surprise, which was a garden. There was a little yard outside the room, railed off from another, belonging to the neighboring ward. This yard I shut in with green palings, adorned it with a trellis, bordered it with a thick bed of earth from a nursery, and even contrived to have a grass-plot. The earth I filled with flowers and young trees. There was an apple-tree from which we managed to get a pudding the second year. As to my flowers, they were allowed to be perfect. Thomas Moore, who came to see me with Lord Byron, told me he had seen no such heart's-ease. Here I wrote and read in fine weather, sometimes under an awning. In autumn my trellises were covered with scarlet runners, which added to the flowery investment. I used to shut my eyes in my arm chair, and affect to think myself hundreds of miles off."

Leigh Hunt was beguiled of the solitude of his prison by the frequent visits of friends old and new. Among these were Lord Byron, Talfourd, Lamb, Hazlitt, Moore, and Shelley, his "friend of

friends." Perhaps the prisoner in his jail was as happy as the prince in his palace.

On the 3d of February, 1815, Hunt ended the years of his imprisonment, and rode up the Strand in the enjoyment of his former freedom. There is a certificate that happiness is not dependent upon place, as well as a dash of humor in the concluding passage of the first volume of the autobiography:

> "I enjoyed, after all, such happy moments with my friends, even in prison, that in the midst of the beautiful climate which I afterward visited, I was sometimes in doubt whether I would not rather have been in jail than in Italy."

The fortunes of the Examiner declined, by reason of the popularity of tory sentiments. Leigh Hunt's health was so much impaired that many thought he could not live, hence he listened with favor to a proposition from Byron and Shelley, that he should join them in Italy and assist in the establishment of a Quarterly, for the advocacy of liberal principles. He embarked for Italy, with his family of seven children and his books, on the 16th of November, 1821. The season was inauspicious, and the winter of 1821 became especially memorable in the shipping annals. "It strewed the whole northwest coast with wrecks."

After beating about the Channel for more than a month, making vain endeavors to get into the Atlantic, the vessel put into Dartmouth harbor, and our voyagers took refuge in Plymouth, where they passed the winter.

On the 13th of May, 1822, they set sail in a fresh vessel on their "new summer voyage." Without accident or delay Hunt arrived at Genoa, and thence, in a few days, went to Leghorn, where he was met in the harbor by Mr. Trelawney. Byron was at Leghorn, and Shelley soon came down from his country residence to welcome his friend. He expressed a hope, soon too literally blighted, that winds and waves might never part them more.

Shelley accompanied his friend to Pisa, and saw him well established. Having spent a short time with him, he embarked in a boat for Lerici, his country residence. A terrific storm came up, in which his boat was wrecked and the poet was drowned. A week after the disaster a body was washed ashore which was identified as that of Shelley. A volume of Keats's poetry was found on his person, which had been lent him by Hunt, who had told Shelley to keep it till he returned it with his own hands. He would have it from no other, and it was burned with the body on the funeral pile.

Shelley's death hastened if it did not originate the failure of Hunt's enterprise in Italy. Lord Byron and Leigh Hunt were not

congenial spirits. Their quarterly, entitled the *Liberal*, saw a few numbers and then expired, leaving its proprietors more estranged than ever.

After a few years' absence Hunt gladly set foot once more on his native shores, rejoiced that his wanderings were over. Though he always retained pleasant recollections of the climate and landscape of Italy, he never ceased to love English scenery before all other. His life, after his return to England, was marked by no events of general interest beyond the publication of the many volumes, original and compiled, which came forth under the sanction of his name.

In 1844 and 1846 appeared the best of his critical publications, entitled *Wit and Humor*, and *Imagination and Fancy*. These books are made up of extracts from English authors of all time, interspersed with appropriate critical remarks. These volumes have accomplished the excellent end of bringing some of our old and neglected authors within the range of popular appreciation.

In 1850 Hunt yielded to the solicitations of his publisher and friends so far as to favor the world with the story of his life. In this he simply did what every one who reaches old age in any useful line of life might profitably do. Such a man generally has troops of friends who would compose a reading public for him, though the world abroad should seldom see and never greatly appreciate his book. Every successful man has had experiences and reflections which should not be permitted to die with him. If carefully written by his own hand, they would form valuable contributions to the world's aggregate experience. When any periods of a man's life have been characterized by indiscretion and error, the autobiographer has a good opportunity to acknowledge his mistakes and express his sincere regrets. This he will not unwillingly do, for it is everybody's experience that we would rather say hard things of ourselves than have others say them. Those paragraphs which would be filled with harsh criticism by the unsympathizing biographer, and by labored apologies by the too partial writer, would be occupied by candid narration and manly avowals of repentance by the wise autobiographer. Such an autobiographer was Leigh Hunt. He hesitates not to let his readers know what is passing in his secret heart. The chief delight which he enjoyed in writing his own life seemed to result from the opportunity afforded of setting forth motives once misconstrued, and expressing manly regret for early indiscretions.

As a poet, Hunt has been so long conspicuous before the world that his merits and his faults are well known. His poetical talents were not of the first order, and yet they have procured for him ex-

tensive fame. Fancy, rather than imagination, was an attribute of his mind. He delighted in the melody of rhymes, and was never at a loss for similar syllables with which to couple any word, however unusual. In his playful poems he abounds in doggerel rhymes, such as "Hebe," "she be;" "mayn't I," "quaint eye;" "ladies," "trade is;" "robber on," "Oberon." That Leigh Hunt had a talent for rhyming will be appreciated by the reader when he is informed that he and a friend once amused themselves, while on a walk, by making one hundred and fifty rhymes with the word "philosopher."

Hunt's powers of invention were limited. No original characters figure in any of his plays or poems. They are generally furnished full grown to his hand, and all he does is to array them in different robes and place them in new attitudes. He has no birthright in the period which he describes as

"Two centuries ago,
When Shakspeare *drew men*, and to write was to know."

In the composition of his poems he made laborious consultations of books. The "Story of Rimini," his longest and most admired poem, was not composed without careful attention given to many old volumes, as the following paragraph indicates:

> "Lord Byron called on me in prison several times. He used to bring me books for the *Story of Rimini*, which I was then writing. He would not let the footman bring them in. He would enter with a couple of quartos under his arm, and give you to understand that he was prouder of being a friend and a man of letters than a lord."

Leigh Hunt was a painter in poetry. He was an artist, not of the bold and original style of the great historical painters, but more after the Flemish School. He delighted in minute and careful finish. He applied his delicate colors with a skillful hand. By means of a few dainty touches of his pencil, the more pleasing parts of a landscape stand clearly before you.

A "poetic nook" is thus described:

"Just hid with trees, and sparkling with a brook,
When through the quivering boughs the sunbeams shoot
Their arrowy diamonds upon flower and fruit,
While stealing airs come whispering o'er the stream
And lull the fancy to a waking dream."

The prominent features of an Italian landscape are carefully sketched in the following lines:

"For leafy was the road, with tall array
On either side of mulberry and bay,
And distant snatches of blue hills between;
And there the alder was with its bright green,

"And the broad chestnut, and the poplar's shoot,
That like a feather waves from head to foot,
With ever and anon majestic pines;
And still from tree to tree the early vines
Hung, garlanding the way in amber lines."

Cattle standing lazily in the shallow water, or reclining in the shade, are regarded as almost essential to a summer landscape. Thus does the poet supply this feature of a picture he is painting:

"Or a few cattle looking up askance
With reminant meek mouths and sleepy glance."

Not only in landscapes, but in portraits, does our poet try his hand. He thus paints a shadow upon a feature of a fierce countenance:

"His brows were shadowed with a stormy fire."

The following is an approach toward a "speaking likeness:"

"And under his grim gaze the life-long words were said."

The words, "dim eyes sliding into rest," depict the expression of a dying man in a manner which the lights and shadows of the pencil cannot surpass. There is bold figure in the following lines:

"A ghastly castle that eternally
Holds its blind visage out to the lone sea."

Here is milder and more pleasing metaphor:

"A land of trees which, reaching round about
In shady blessings, stretched their old arms out."

In describing the roar of cannon, he mingles the perceptions of different senses in a curious manner:

"On the face of nations round
Fell the shadow of that sound."

Of Hunt's poems, some of his shorter pieces will hold the world's attention the longest. One of the finest sonnets in the language is that on the *Nile*, commencing:

"It flows through old hushed Egypt and its sands,
Like some grave, mighty thought threading a dream."

Those who know nothing about anything else that Hunt has written, remember him as the author of the beautiful vision of *Abou Ben Adem.* Though well known, it should never be omitted from any presentation of Leigh Hunt's poetical achievements:

"Abou Ben Adem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,

An angel writing in a book of gold.
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said:
'What writest thou?' The vision raised its head,
And with a look made of all sweet accord,
Answered: 'The names of those who love the Lord.'
'And is mine one?' said Abou. 'Nay, not so,'
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But churly still, and said: 'I pray thee, then,
Write me as one that loves his fellow-men.'
The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
It came again, with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had bless'd,
And lo! Ben Adem's name led all the rest."

Leigh Hunt had a kind of Homeric proclivity for words curiously compounded. The cry of the wounded for water on the field of battle is called a "wound-voice." A man disabled on the field is "many wounded." Blind Milton is called "blank-eyed." Such a use of words might have been natural enough to one who wrote in Greek, but, regarded as an Englishman's use of his mother tongue, it seems quite artificial.

Few popular poets have owed less to nature, or more to art, than Leigh Hunt. He presents the curious spectacle of a poet most unnatural in his early life, growing more into fellowship with nature as he advanced in years.

The element of originality is wanting in much that he wrote. Many of his pieces are simply recasts of passages in old authors or Italian poets. He had a fine ear for the harmony of numbers. Though he might take some vigor from an old poem which he recast, he never marred its music. He delighted in the sweets of literature, and was assiduous in collecting them. If, like the bee, he had a delicate taste for "honeyed sweets," he was likewise armed with a sting, of which brother authors, as well as princes and tories, sometimes felt the wound. In the former part of his career he presents the strange spectacle of a man of affectionate disposition and quiet tastes engaged in political controversy and literary warfare.

He cared little for dramatic literature, and seldom read plays; yet he had an ambition to shine as a writer for the stage. He was impatient with stage managers, because they did not bring forward his plays so promptly as their merits deserved; yet he never committed Fielding's indiscretion of organizing a private company to perform his plays. Notwithstanding his own distaste for the drama, and the slowness of managers to appreciate his merits, one of his most popular and most remunerative productions was a play, entitled, *A Legend of Florence*, which, after having had a run at the theater, was performed before the Queen at Windsor Castle.

Leigh Hunt's chief delight in literature was in the composition of his poetry. He loved to turn aside from the prose of his severer literary labors into the flowery paths of poesy. Yet the former was his directer route to fame. His essays, many of which were published under the common title of *The Indicator*, are unsurpassed by anything which has appeared in the same department since Addison's Spectator. These have a correct and beautiful style, and are pervaded by a quaint and genial humor. Here the author's ready utterance and sprightly fancy are talents called into continual requisition. His subjects are frequently trivial, and are by no means the topics on which you are likely to consult the encyclopedia; yet, on dipping into articles with so unpromising titles as *Sticks*, *Hats*, or *Pig-driving*, you find a combination of fascinating narrative, quaint description, playful allusions, and apt quotations which greatly delight you. "A determined personality" pervades his essays. He did not fall in with the modern fashion of writers, and sink his own identity in that of the paper for which he wrote. He stood always before his readers as the man as well as the author. No writer ever had more intimate relation and sympathy with his readers than Leigh Hunt. The following extracts from his essay entitled, "My Books," will show on what terms of easy familiarity he stood with the public:

"Sitting last winter among my books, and walled round with all the comfort and protection which they and my fireside could afford me; to wit, a table of high-piled books at my back, my writing-desk on one side of me, some shelves on the other, and the feeling of the warm fire at my feet, I began to consider how I loved the authors of those books; how I loved them, too, not only for the imaginative pleasures they afford me, but for their making me love the very books themselves, and delight to be in contact with them. I looked sideways at my *Spenser*, my *Theocritus*, and my *Arabian Nights;* then above them at my Italian poets; then behind me at my *Dryden* and *Pope*, my romances, and my *Boccaccio;* then on my left side at my *Chaucer*, who lay on a writing-desk; and thought how natural it was in C. L. to give a kiss to an old folio, as I once saw him do to *Chapman's Homer*. . . . . While writing this article I am in my study again. Like the rooms in all houses in this country (Italy) which are not hovels, it is handsome and ornamented. On one side it looks toward a garden and the mountains; on another to the mountains and the sea. What signifies all this? I turn my back upon the sea; I shut up even one of the side windows looking upon the mountains, and retain no prospect but that of the trees. On the right and left of me are book-shelves; a book-case is affectionately open in front of me; and thus kindly inclosed with my books and the green leaves I write. If this is too luxurious and effeminate, of all luxuries it is the one that leaves you the most strength."

Of book-borrowing he speaks in the same essay:

"I own I borrow books with as much facility as I lend. I cannot see a work that interests me on another person's shelf without a wish to carry it off; but I repeat that I have been much more sinned against than sinning in the article of non-return, and am scrupulous in the article of intention. I never had a felonious intent upon a book but once; and then, I shall only say, it was under

circumstances so peculiar that I cannot but look upon the conscience that induced me to restore it as having sacrificed the spirit of its very self to the letter, and I have a grudge against it accordingly. Some people are unwilling to lend their books. I have a special grudge against them, particularly those who accompany their unwillingness with uneasy professions to the contrary, and smiles like Sir Fretful Plagiary. The friend who helped to spoil my notions of property, or rather to make them too good for the world 'as it goes,' taught me also to undervalue my squeamishness in refusing to avail myself of the books of these gentlemen. He showed me how it was doing good to all parties to put an ordinary face on the matter; though I knew his own blushed not a little sometimes in doing it, even when the good to be done was for another. I feel, in truth, that even when anger inclines me to exercise this privilege of philosophy, it is more out of revenge than contempt. I fear that in allowing myself to borrow books, I sometimes make extremes meet in a very sinful manner, and do it out of a refined revenge. It is like eating a miser's beef at him."

Hunt's nice observation of the ways of men appears in almost everything he wrote. It is manifested in a very pleasing way in his good-natured description of *The Old Gentleman:*

"He is very clean and neat; and in warm weather is proud of opening his waistcoat half-way down and letting so much of his frill be seen, in order to show his hardiness as well as taste. His watch and shirt-buttons are of the best, and he does not care if he has two rings on a finger. If his watch ever failed him at the club or coffee-house, he would take a walk every day to the nearest clock of good character, purely to keep it right. He has a cane at home, but seldom uses it, on finding it out of fashion with his elderly juniors. The old gentleman is very particular in having his slippers ready for him at the fire when he comes home. He is also extremely choice in his snuff, and delights to get a fresh boxfull in Tavistock-street, in his way to the theater. His box is a curiosity from India. He calls favorite young ladies by their Christian names, however slightly acquainted with them. He grows young again in his little grandchildren, especially the one which he thinks most like himself, which is the handsomest. He asks little boys in general who was the father of Zebedee's children. He is much struck when an old acquaintance dies, but adds that he lived too fast; and that poor Bob was a sad dog in his youth, 'a very sad dog, sir; mightily set upon a short life and a merry one."

Leigh Hunt's periods are addressed more to the fancy than to the understanding, and aim rather to please than to instruct. This design is apparent in all he wrote. He greatly dreaded the displeasure of the public. His sensitiveness to the opinions of others was an amiable weakness in his character. There is a passage in his autobiography which sets forth this trait in a light both ludicrous and beautiful. He is acknowledging gratefully some large and liberal pecuniary aid, which he received at a time when unable to relieve himself. He wonders whether he ought to blush for stating his obligation so publicly. He expresses his readiness to do so if it were thought fit he should, being loth not to do what is expected of him, "even by a respectable prejudice, when it is on the side of delicacy and self-respect."

There are different tastes as to how a tale or drama ought to end;

some preferring a bloody murder and others a happy marriage at the winding up. Our author wrote two endings for more than one of his longer pieces; one, to gratify those whose fondness is for intense tragedy, and another for those who are miserable unless all the characters "marry and live happily ever afterward."

Notwithstanding his accommodating spirit, Leigh Hunt never shrunk from the advocacy of his opinions, however unpopular at the time. He was very persistent in his own literary ways and habits. Critics abused him for what they regarded as affectations and faults, but he never turned aside a hair's-breadth to follow their unfriendly advice. So faithfully did he adhere to his peculiarities, that they were at length regarded as elements of his genius. When Blackwood's Magazine leveled its keenest shafts at him and his friends, he never lost his equanimity nor abandoned his position. At last when missiles ceased to fall around him, his possession of the field was proof of victory, and his name began to be held in honor. A man with persistent boldness, in whatever cause, at length wins a kind of admiration from beholders. Many a character in literature, like one of Hunt's own heroes, has

> . . . . "Made 'twixt daring and defect
> A sort of fierce demand on your respect."

Some of Leigh Hunt's productions fell almost lifeless from the press, which afterward became very popular. Supposing that there was more in his works than the world perceived, he patiently prosecuted his literary career until at length he saw the tide turn in his favor. The public reread his books and found that there was more in them than they at first discovered. They remind us of the treacherous brother as affected toward the bride in the *Story of Rimini.* They look with interest upon

> "E'en what before had seemed indifference,
> And read them over in another sense."

Hunt's connection with politics often threw a cloud over his literary prospects and partially delayed the dawning of the day of his popularity. During many of the years in which he was struggling up to eminence tory critics lorded it over literature, and by their railing accusations and partisan abuse deterred the public from that admiration of his writings which would otherwise have risen spontaneously to greet him. So much unjust odium did the critics contrive to cast upon him, that he published his *Sir Ralph Esher,* a fictitious autobiography of the time of Charles II., anonymously, as the publisher would not permit his name to accompany the book lest it should injure the sales! Hunt was happy in being permitted to live until his name was held in better estimation.

The old hostility between himself and government was many years ago succeeded by a perfect reconciliation. He had the happiness of seeing many of the reforms which he had so ardently advocated in his youth quietly prevailing in his later years. He saw as much to admire in his queen as he had seen to detest in some of her remote relatives. Several of his beautiful poems are laden with compliments for her whom he calls

> "The rose,
> On whose stem our safety grows."

For the last ten years of his life the good-will of government was manifested toward him in the bestowment of a pension of two hundred pounds per annum.

Leigh Hunt died in August last, a loved and honored old man. For many years his house was a place of pilgrimage to friends and admirers from his own and other lands. A multitude of writers had grown up without the prejudices and animosities of some of their predecessors. These gathered affectionately and reverently around the genial patriarch of literature, and for many years scarcely a word has been written to his injury. He was eminently the friend of poets. Had he written nothing himself his name would long live enshrined in the writings of his brother poets. Keats wrote a beautiful poem in commemoration of the day of Hunt's release from prison. The last poem Shelley ever wrote was one welcoming his friend to Italy. It was a fitting and coincident return that the last words Leigh Hunt wrote for the public were to vindicate his friend from what he regarded as a misapprehension.

Art. V.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

[THIRD ARTICLE.]

VII. Our next department of review presents Mr. Wesley's character as a commentator.

The New Testament text of Mr. Wesley does not keep his name in remembrance or support his fame, but the Notes, the short, pithy, spirited, practical notes on the text. As a commentator or annotator he is not altogether original, acknowledging that he is indebted to Dr. Heylin, Dr. Guise, and Dr. Doddridge; but mostly to the learned German divine, Bengel or Bengelius, who became prelate of Wurtemburg, and died two years before the issue of the Explanatory Notes. The notes on the Revelation are chiefly from Bengel.

With the notes another advantage is given, namely, an analysis of each book, showing clearly the method and contents of the writing of the inspired authors. The Notes are not only intrinsically useful, and sufficient for their own preservation from generation to generation, but they are useful to the Methodist connection as a standard of doctrine. No man has a right to preach in a Methodist church unless he "preach no other doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament." (*Larger Minutes.*) The Notes, then, are destined to live so long as the Methodist organizations continue, perhaps to the end of the world.

He did not confine his attention to the New Testament, but began to collect and arrange matter for "Explanatory Notes on the Old Testament," which work was published in three quarto volumes ten years after. The preface says that he had no wish to undertake such a work, but importunity prevailed over him; and yet it seemed incredible to himself that he should be "entering upon a work of this kind when," says he, "I am entering into the sixty-third year of my age." Yet the new commentary was mostly made up of old ones. He set about shortening Mr. Henry's large commentary of six folios, making it plainer to common readers, cheaper to poor ones, more conformable to the doctrine of universal redemption, and fuller in various important places. After he had gone through Genesis he began to use Mr. Pool's "Annotations on the Bible," and as freely, or more so, than Henry's work. His desire and aim was "to give the direct literal meaning of every verse, of every sentence, and, as far as I am able, of every word, in the oracles of God." A most excellent design for a commentator! But commentators are very fond of giving profuse explanation and remark on plain passages, and passing over, with little or no observation, the dark and intricate texts. The Old Testament notes seem never to have attained a great circulation. Had the work been in one quarto volume instead of three, the circulation would doubtless have been much greater. But a mere compilation from other authors was never likely to be very popular, even with a respectable name and useful alterations. I do not find that the work ever went into a second edition. At the present the commentary is seldom seen, and is regarded mostly as a curiosity. A copy was lately presented to the Wesleyan College, in Coburg, Canada, by a gentleman of Montreal.

VIII. We pass by the commentator and view him next in the very different path of a POLITICAL WRITER. Private and secluded men often feel deeply interested in public affairs, but public men

generally much more so. The two Wesleys were men of this sort, deeply interested not only in the moral and religious, but in the civil and political state of the English nation. In the war with France and Spain, involving a European war, from 1742 to 1748, England was in a very unsettled state, and great fears were entertained that the Pretender would supplant George II. on the English throne. Both Wesleys used all their influence for the reigning, the Protestant prince. Charles wrote hymns for these "times of trouble." The energetic and loyal hymns beginning:

"Sovereign of all, whose will ordains,"
"Lord, thou hast bid thy people pray,"

and also,

"Sinners, the call obey,"

were prompted by these times, and exhibit the feelings of the poet and the state of the nation.

Among the remaining writings of Mr. Wesley are some tracts on political economy and public affairs. His "Free Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs, in a Letter to a Friend," were written in 1768, and profess to answer the question, "What do you think is the direct and principal cause of the present public commotions, of the amazing ferment among the people, the general discontent of the nation?" Is the king the cause? In reply he ingeniously defends George III. as a wise and good prince, "whose whole conduct, both in public and private, ever since he began his reign, has been worthy of an Englishman, worthy of a Christian, and worthy of a king." Was the ministry the cause? Two troublesome questions were before the government, namely, the taxation of the American colonies and the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the House of Commons. Still he did not consider the present ministry any worse than others. Is the Parliament the cause? No. What then? He believed French gold was the principal cause, in feeing Wilkes, feeing writers of addresses, petitions, remonstrances, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers. Other causes were covetousness, hungering after lucre and lucrative employments, ambition after honor and honorable positions, pride and envy, and resentment through disappointment and preferences. Another of the subordinate causes was the popular letters of Junius, increasing the discontent and complaining of the people. The "Free Thoughts" were penned in a very disinterested manner, and doubtless were useful to all readers but intemperate partisans.

About the same time, and when the ferment of the nation was up from the Letters of Junius and the successful election of Wilkes, he wrote and published his "Thoughts upon Liberty." The popu-

lar cry was for liberty! liberty! "And who can deny," says the writer, "but the whole kingdom is panting for liberty?"

> "Is it not for the sake of this that the name of our great patriot is more celebrated than that of any private man has been in England for these thousand years; that his very picture is so joyfully received in every part of England and Ireland; that we stamp his (I had almost said adored) name on our handkerchiefs, on the cheerful bowl, yea, and on our vessels of various kinds, as well as upon our hearts? Why is all this but because of the inseparable connection between Wilkes and liberty; liberty that came down, if not fell, from heaven, whom all England and the world worshipeth?"

In this piece of quiet irony is seen the wonderful popularity of the cause of Wilkes, the "great patriot!" with a popularity not to be equaled "for these thousand years!" But, calmly asks the writer, "might it not be advisable to consider, What is liberty?" Do the patriots mean the liberty of savages, to kill all they are displeased with? The liberty of the old and free natives of Scotland and Ireland, to make excursions and take away the cattle and property of their neighbors? The liberty of the soldiery to take the wives and daughters of the foe in time of war? The liberty of calling a disobedient king to account, as King John and Charles I.? No. Is it religious liberty to choose our own religion? "In the name of wonder, what religious liberty can you desire, or even conceive, which you have not already?" [The Dissenters might have answered that they had religious liberty, but not religious equality.] "Is it civil liberty? a liberty to enjoy our lives and fortunes in our own way; to use our property, which is legally our own, according to our own choice? We have it. What then is the matter? What is it you are making all this pother about?" He accounts for the outcry to the infatuation of the people caused by erring and wicked men, as Wilkes and the writer Junius. He advises a "leasing-making" law, to punish "such willful lies as tended to breed dissension between the king and his subjects."

Another of his political tracts was "On the Origin of Power." He means "supreme power, the power over life and death, liberty and property, and all things of an inferior nature." In the treatise he combats the popular theory that the supreme power is from the people.

In the winter of 1773 there was a great want of food in England, so that thousands of the people were starving in every part of the nation. "The fact I know," says Mr. Wesley; "I have seen it with my eyes in every corner of the land. He published a tract on the subject, entitled, "On the Present Scarcity of Provisions."

In 1774 he published "Thoughts upon Slavery." The slave-trade was now going on prosperously; a large part of the English commercial navy was in the trade; and a hundred thousand

negroes, at least, were yearly carried from the coast of Africa, and poured into the American colonies. The writer did not design this tract for the public, nor for the Parliament, as a hopeless object; but to operate on the minds of captains and seamen, the slave merchants of England, and the American planters. He gives them, 1. A short history of the African slave-trade. 2. A description of the fine country and the simple manners of the negroes. 3. An account of the manner in which the negroes are procured, carried to, and treated in the colonies. 4. A challenge for a defense of the trade; and denies that, on the principles of honesty, justice, and mercy, any excuse or justification can be offered. Next he applies the observations to seamen, merchants, and planters. He regards the latter as the worst of the three:

> "Now it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and the African butchers. You therefore are guilty, principally guilty of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their own country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. The blood of thy brother (for whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) crieth against thee from the earth, from the ship, and from the waters. O whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late; instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood-guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands are at present stained with blood! Surely it is enough: accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent."

But the planter replies, "I do not buy any negroes. I only use those left me by my father." He answers:

> "So far is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting revelation aside. It cannot be that either war or contract can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature."

Thus did this benevolent man lift up his voice to man for the oppressed, and thus he pleaded with Heaven:

> "O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast mingled of one blood all the nations upon earth, have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth! Arise and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilt upon the earth like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood! Stir them up to cry unto thee, even in the land of their captivity; and let their complaint come up before thee; let it enter into thy ears! Make even those that lead them away captive to pity them, and turn their captivity as the rivers in the south. O burst thou all their chains in sunder; more especially the chains of their sins! Thou Saviour of all, make them free that they may be free indeed!"

It is not probable that his pleadings with the planters had much effect, as the controversy with the mother country had now commenced, and next year the war of the American Revolution began. In that year he published his "Calm Address to our American Colonies," in which he goes into the question then debated on both sides of the Atlantic, namely, Has the English Parliament a right to tax the American Colonies? He said, Yes. In reply to the objection, there should be "no taxation without representation," he said that thousands in England were taxed and not represented, namely, women, minors, and non-freeholders. The inference was that as Parliament had a right to tax the unrepresented subjects in one place, so in another. Conceding the right, was it expedient? He does not touch the expediency of the case. The address was shipped for the colonies, but the ports were shut, and therefore it had no effect one way or the other.

But in 1776, he published another pamphlet on the same subject, calling it, "Some Observations on Liberty, occasioned by a late tract." The tract was Dr. Price's defense of the revolution going on. The argument of the reply was, that the colonists had always enjoyed liberty, and therefore could not be fighting for it; and that liberty could exist without independence.

The same year he issued another pamphlet on the subject, called "A Seasonable Address to the more serious part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain, respecting the unhappy Contest between us and our American Brethren; with an occasional word interspersed to those of a different complexion." He recommends the "serious" to do as if a neighbor's house were on fire, namely, not to add to tho flames, but try to extinguish them. On those of another "complexion," he urges reformation and piety. He regarded the war as a divine punishment on the nation for sin, especially for blood shed in the wars of India by the East India Company, and in the trade of African negroes by the nation in general. God punished the nation and the colonies by withdrawing providential restraints, and suffering evil and foolish counsels to prevail in the government and among the people.

In 1777 he published "A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England." He mentions that the address to the colonies could not be read by them, on account of the ports being shut; yet tens of thousands of copies had been scattered at home. "The effect," says he, "exceeded my most sanguine hopes." Another view was taken of the Revolution by multitudes, who saw that the Parliament had the right of taxing the colonists, and in consequence, less dissatisfaction was felt toward the government. His present

address was to quell the remains of the tumult at home, and to exhort all to "fear God and honor the king."

In 1778 he issued "A Serious Address to the People of England with regard to the State of the Nation." The American war continuing, involving war with France, the nation was in frequent alarm. The cry now was, that the nation was on the very brink of ruin! To allay the alarm, he boldly declared that, in view of the existing plenty, and the prosperous agriculture, manufactures, trade, etc., instead of alarm there was cause only for congratulation.

Soon after the publication of the address he set out for Ireland, and found the panic in London, Bristol, and several of the counties had spread to the neighboring kingdom. "The people were terrifying themselves and their neighbors just as they did in London." General Washington, they said, had an army of sixty-five thousand troops; the French fleet and army were to be added to them; Spain was going into the war, and so was Portugal; and France was about to invade the British Isles. "What can follow but ruin and destruction?" He tries to calm the Irish people by issuing "A Compassionate Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland," dated Limerick, May 10, 1778. He calls the "inhabitants of Ireland" "my dear brethren." He assures them that General Washington had not more probably than five thousand, while General Howe had eighteen thousand, and "plenty of all things." As for France, Spain, and Portugal, the British are "well able to deal with them." As for internal enemies, (the White Boys,) says he, "Blessed be God, there is still within the kingdom some thousands of regular troops of horse as well as foot, ready to march whenever they shall be wanted." "But is there not another ground of fear? have not England and Ireland filled up the measure of their iniquities?" He allows

"The rich, the poor, the high, the low,
Have wandered from His mild command;
The floods of wickedness o'erflow,
And deluge all the guilty land;
People and priest be drowned in sin,
And Tophet yawns to take them in."

But yet he denies that the nation's measure of iniquities is filled up; because, first, the blood of good men was not shed; secondly, of the many righteous in the nation, who also prayed to God for the land; and thirdly, God was reviving his work, and religion was increasing among the people.

In 1762 he answered the inquiry, "How far is it the duty of a Christian minister to preach politics?" He considered that ministers should speak well of the lawful authorities at all times, and on

particular occasions should "confute unjust censures." In the same year he printed "An Estimate of the Manners of the Present Times," and considered that not sloth and luxury are the characteristics of the English nation, but ungodliness. "Ungodliness is our universal, constant, and peculiar character," that is, total ignorance and contempt of God. In 1785 he wrote a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine concerning his eldest brother, who was declared to be a Jacobite. "No," says Mr. Wesley, "he was a Tory; so was my father; so am I." What did he mean by a Tory? He says a Tory is "one that believes God, not the people, to be the origin of power." A singular definition, and so comprehensive as to include many who abhor the name.

These are the writings on public and civil affairs remaining, showing our founder to be a lover of his country as well as a lover of God.

IX. We have next to review his career as a CONTROVERSIAL WRITER in most of the religious disputes of his day. Great divines, ancient and modern, have usually distinguished themselves, not so much by calm expositions of the various parts of the body of divinity, as by the defense of particular articles of the Christian creed. So Mr. Wesley, in the course of his long life, often drew the sword of controversy—and in the predestinarian warfare even threw away the scabbard—and rebuked "sharply" (not with sharpness of temper, but of logic) many disputants who were not "sound in the faith." As a controversialist he was very useful, earned himself great fame, and may now be set up as a model in the use of logic and the disuse of temper. Like all other great polemics, however, he created a host of enemies, (especially among the predestinarians,) who were thoroughly beaten in the battle, but would not acknowledge the defeat.

1. The first and last and principal controversy in which he was engaged was the "quinquarticular" or *predestinarian*. The unfortunate secession of Mr. Whitefield from the Arminian to the Calvinistic tenets was the rise of the controversy, which lasted, with occasional lulls, all the life of Mr. Wesley. The sword was first drawn in 1740, by preaching his still celebrated sermon of "Free Grace" in Bristol, and afterward printing it. The text is: "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all," etc. He says, "I abhor the doctrine of predestination;" and the sermon fully justifies the declaration. He was sorry to "oppose the sentiments of those whom he esteemed," but the "strongest conviction" of duty compelled. Charles Wesley added a hymn on the same subject to the sermon. Mr. Whitefield replied; and here ended the first stage of the controversy of fifty years.

The next publication of Mr. Wesley, finding the Calvinistic tenets spreading, was called "Predestination calmly considered." He argues chiefly with the "half and half" predestinarians, who assert the decree of election, and not the decree of reprobation. He shows that one decree cannot exist without the other; also, that the principal authorities of the predestination school never minced reprobation, but asserted boldly a foreordination to everlasting damnation. The treatise shows, as the title professes, predestination calmly (and carefully) considered; only, when the reprobate millions are thought of, pity infringes on the equanimity. Does the reprobate suppose Christ loved and died for him?

> "Loved thee, thou reprobate! gave himself for thee! Away! thou hast neither part nor lot herein. Thou believe in Christ, thou accursed spirit! damned or ever thou wert born!"
>
> "God giveth thee of this world's goods on purpose to enhance thy damnation. He giveth thee now substance or friends, in order hereafter to heap the more coals of fire upon thy head. He filleth thee with food, he maketh thee fat and well-liking, to make thee a more specious sacrifice to his vengeance. Good-nature, generosity, a good understanding, various knowledge, it may be, or eloquence, are the flowers wherewith he adorneth thee, thou poor victim, before thou art brought to the slaughter. Thou hast grace, too! but what grace? Not saving grace. That is not for thee, but for the elect only. Thine may properly be termed damning grace; since it is not only such in the event, but in the intention. Thou receivedst it of God for that very end, that thou mightest receive the greater damnation. It was given, not to convert thee, but only to convince; not to make thee without sin, but without excuse; not to destroy, but to arm the worm that never dieth, and to blow up the fire that never shall be quenched."

In this extract the use of irony is very appropriate and effective. A "Dialogue between a Predestinarian and his Friend" followed, in which the predestinarian sets forth election, reprobation, and the consequences, in the words of the standard Calvinistic authors. In respect to these quotations, the tract is still useful for a reference. Calvin's celebrated expression, "I confess it [reprobation] is a horrible decree," is herein quoted.

Antinomianism is often a consequence of the belief in predestination, especially in the new converts to the system. A number in the Wesleyan societies had been proselyted to the Calvinistic denomination and creed. "And one only have I known among them all," says Mr. Wesley, "after the closest and most impartial observation, who did not evidently show, within one year, that his heart was changed, not for the better, but for the worse." So he wrote a "Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend." In 1765 he wrote a "Second Dialogue," having the appropriate motto, "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law." The antinomian is made to speak his opinions in the

words of the recognized authorities of the system. The leaders of the antinomian party at that time were William Cudworth and James Relly, who separated from Mr. Whitefield. "These were properly antinomians; absolute avowed enemies of the law of God, which they never preached or professed to preach, but termed all legalists who did. With them, preaching the law was an abomination." (History of Methodism.)

The next tract on the subject was "Serious Thoughts on the Perseverance of the Saints." Eight portions of Scripture are quoted, and eight strong propositions are deduced from them, against the unconditional and final perseverance of Christians, and to show that they may fall and finally perish. The tract also rebuts false interpretations, wrong conclusions, and various objections. Like the other treatises on the Calvinistic controversy, it is clear, concise, to the point, earnest, and effective. Singular is the tenacity in which the predestinarians hold fast to the point of final perseverance. St. Paul declares that one may be destroyed or lost "for whom Christ died." (Rom. xiv, 15.) No, say the predestinarians, none can be lost for whom Christ died. No, says the commentator, Mr. Scott; "the apostles did not write in that exact systematical style which some affect, or they would scrupulously have avoided such expressions," namely, as that any could be destroyed for whom Christ died. The commentator forgot that his author wrote not for a system but from inspiration of God.

The Rev. James Hervey—now remembered as the author of the florid and piously sentimental composition of "Meditations among the Tombs, in a Flower Garden," etc.—published a predestinarian work in the form of Dialogues of Theron and Aspasio. Mr. Wesley sent letters to the author (his former pupil, and one of the Oxford Methodists) objecting to various parts of the dialogues Mr. Hervey prepared eleven letters in reply, but hesitated to publish. In 1758 he died, and his executors published them. They were noted for great asperity, and were very injurious to the spread of Methodism, especially in Scotland. In his Preface to Goodwin's treatise on Justification, Mr. Wesley notices and refutes twelve of the personalities. Some of these accused him of acting unworthy a gentleman, a Christian, or a man of sense; of impudence; of denying justification by faith, and being an enemy to the righteousness of Christ; of being a heretic, propagating poisonous doctrine; of being an antinomian; of teaching popish doctrine; and of being a knave, a dishonest man, one of no truth, justice, or integrity. It was thought that these ornaments in the eleven letters were interpolations of the publisher, William Cudworth, the Antinomian.

The Rev. Dr. Erskine, a Scotch minister, wrote a defense of Mr. Hervey's writings. Mr. Wesley published in 1766 "some remarks" on the defense, complaining of the bitter spirit of Dr. Erskine, and of his recommendation of the eleven letters:

> "You ushered into this part of the world [Scotland] one of the most bitter libels that was ever penned against me; written by a dying man, (so far as it was written by poor, well-meaning Mr. Hervey,) with a trembling hand, just as he was tottering on the margin of the grave. . . . He then fell on one to whom he had the deepest obligations, on one who had never intentionally wronged him, who had never spoken an unkind word of him, or to him, and who loved him as his own child. O tell it not in Gath! The good Mr. Hervey (if these letters were his) died cursing his spiritual father! And these letters another good man has introduced into Scotland, and warmly recommended."

After this he answered the question "What is an Arminian?" and signed himself in the tract "a lover of free grace." Many looked upon an Arminian as a mad dog, and yet knew not what an Arminian was. The answer shows that the chief difference in the Calvinist and Arminian is, that the former holds to unconditional and the latter conditional election. The whole predestinarian dispute may be resolved into the two words, conditional election or unconditional!

Accompanying the tract is another, showing "Thoughts upon God's Sovereignty." One expression in the treatise comes to the verge of Calvinism:

> "It may be allowed that God acts as Sovereign in convincing some souls of sin, arresting them in their wild career by his resistless power. It seems also that, at the moment of our conversion, he acts irresistibly. There may be likewise many irresistible touches during the course of our Christian warfare."

So far he speaks as a Calvinist; but as an Arminian, he says that "every individual may, after all that God has done, either improve his grace, or make it of none effect."

In 1770 came out the celebrated Minutes of the London Methodist Conference, kindling up as a wind the predestinarian dispute to the highest flame. The Minutes asserted that the Methodist preachers, in their care not to offend, had leaned too much toward Calvinism, 1. In not enough insisting on the necessity of man's faithfulness; 2. In not sufficiently showing that there is working *for* life as well as *from* life; and, 3. In not insisting enough that man must do (not nothing, but) much in order to justification. The Calvinists were exceedingly displeased. Lady Huntingdon and her friend, Rev. Mr. Shirley, sounded an alarm that Mr. Wesley and his preachers had broached principles "injurious to the very fundamental principles of Christianity," forming "dreadful heresy." Here was the occasion of the Rev. John Fletcher entering on the

path of controversy. First, he published a Vindication of the Minutes, or his first Check to Antinomianism. Then followed his second, third, and fourth Checks. The new Arminian defender did the work so well, and was found so able to cope with the dispute and the disputants, that Mr. Wesley did not enter the arena.

But in 1772 he sent out "Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's Review of all the Doctrines taught by Mr. John Wesley." He laments Mr. Fletcher's gentleness and mildness in writing to the bitter Calvinists, which were interpreted as "mere sneer and sarcasm;" as for himself, he says: "I have humbled myself to these men for these thirty years; but will do so no more. Whatever mercy you show, you are to expect no mercy from them. 'Mercy,' did I say? Alas! I expect no justice; no more than I have found already. As they have wrested and distorted my words from the beginning, so I expect they will do to the end." Here we have an insight into the bitterness of the predestinarian writers of the eighteenth century. Next to Mr. Hervey, Mr. Richard Hill (afterward Sir Richard) was the most angry controversialist:

"Growing desperate, and making toward him
With a determined gladiatorial air."

Mr. Wesley contends that all the objections in the Review were old, and had been answered again and again, excepting one, a note in the New Testament, which he promised to correct. Having drawn the sword in the new predestinarian campaign, he also threw away the scabbard. Says he:

> "I will no more desire any Arminian, so called, to remain only on the defensive. Rather chase the fiend, Reprobation, to his own hell, and every doctrine connected with it. Let none pity or spare one limb of either speculative or practical antinomianism; or of any doctrine that naturally tends thereto, however vailed under the specious name of free grace."

Mr. Hill replied to Mr. Wesley, who replied again in "Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's Farrago Double Distilled," in 1773, and related the following little anecdote:

> "One Sunday, immediately after sermon, my father's clerk said, with an audible voice, 'Let us sing to the praise and glory of God a hymn of my own composing.' It was short and sweet:
>
> 'King William is come home, come home!
> King William home is come!
> Therefore let us together sing
> The hymn that's called Te D'um!'"

Sir Richard gave up the contest to Mr. (afterward Rev.) Rowland Hill, who issued "Imposture Detected." Mr. Wesley replied in 1777. Rowland Hill in his youth shadowed forth the coarseness of

his mature and old age. He scrupled not to call the venerable Wesley "the lying apostle of the Foundry," and spoke of the claws of the designing wolf;" designated the conference "Wesley's ragged legion of preaching tinkers, scavengers, draymen, and chimney sweepers;" and asks, "Why do not they keep the shatter-brained old gent locked up in a garret?" Next came on the arena the Rev. Augustus Toplady; but all Mr. Wesley wrote against this "young bold man" was a tract of four pages. Nor did he soil his fingers any more with these virulent predestinarians, but left them in the grip of Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Sellon. Still he kept up a fire on Calvinism in his Arminian Magazine, begun 1778, as long as he lived.

The predestinarian controversy, we see, occupied a large amount of the attention of our founder, as well as his brother, and the preachers generally. They all looked upon Calvinism as the deadly enemy of Scriptural holiness, and therefore fought it with all their might. "All the devices of Satan, for these fifty years, have done far less toward stopping this work of God than that single doctrine. It strikes at the root of salvation from sin, previous to glory, putting the matter on quite another issue." (Larger Minutes, quest. 74.)

2. The philosophical and religious subject of *Necessity*, a kindred topic to predestination, attracted the thoughts of Mr. Wesley, and he published two tracts on the inquiry, Whether man is under the law of necessity? or, Is he a free agent? He takes notice of and opposes different theories, as the vibrations of the brain, the animal spirits, the inward mechanism as clock-work, and the scheme of motives by President Edwards. The latter argues that actions are caused by motives, that motives are not under our power, and therefore what we do is from necessity.

3. One of the earliest controversies of Mr. Wesley was on the subject of *Miracles*. The Rev. Dr. Middleton, librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, published, in 1748, a "Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the Earliest Ages." Several writers attacked the work, (of nearly four hundred quarto pages,) which was generally condemned by the clergy. "I had designed to set out with a friend for Rotterdam," says Mr. Wesley, January 2, 1749, "but being much pressed to answer Dr. Middleton's book against the Fathers, I postponed my voyage, and spent almost twenty days in the unpleasant employment." The answer is called "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Conyers Middleton, occasioned by his late Free Inquiry." The promise to work miracles is Mark xiv, 17, 18. Another Scripture for the exemplifications of the power is Acts ii, 16, 17.

And a further account is 1 Cor. xii, 4–11. The chief spiritual or miraculous gifts were eight, namely: "(1.) Casting out devils; (2.) Speaking with new tongues; (3.) Escaping dangers, in which otherwise they must have perished; (4.) Healing the sick; (5.) Prophecy, foretelling things to come; (6.) Visions; (7.) Divine dreams; and (8.) Discerning spirits." After the lifetime of the apostles, these gifts remained with the Church until the fourth century, as is proved by the testimonies of the early writers, and by the traditions handed down from generation to generation. Middleton (not a strong believer in the Scriptures, though a reverend) attacked the evidences, argued that they only proved frauds and no miracles; or if miracles, then the same kind of evidence proves the frauds of the Romish Church miracles. In reply, Mr. Wesley contended that the testimonies of the Fathers for the miracles of the three first centuries is good; but not so the testimonies for the popish frauds. He also declares that in overturning the testimonies of the early Fathers, he overturns the testimony of the earlier Fathers, the writers of the New Testament, for the miracles of Christ, the apostles, and the first Christians. Middleton is closely followed by his logical opponent, who convicts him of many false conclusions, of no little ignorance of the Fathers, of various instances of self-contradiction, and for affording ground for suspicion of his own orthodoxy. The letter is still worth reading on the important subject of the Miracles of the Primitive Church. Dr. Middleton's work excited much interest (as well as some other of his works) in their day, chiefly by their excellent style. The Inquiry is noted for effecting the conversion of Gibbon, the historian of the Roman Empire—then a student in Oxford—from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic Church in 1753.

4. The *defense of Methodism*, as the new system was called by the enemies of it, engaged the controversial pen of the founder for many years of his life. He began in 1740, and in a reply to "a late pamphlet, entitled, 'A brief History of the Principles of Methodism,' written by a Dr. Tucker." His reply gave the real "Principles of a Methodist," and was, he considered, his first appearance as a controversialist. Says he:

> "I have often wrote on controverted points before, but not with an eye to any particular person; so that this is the first time I have appeared in controversy, properly so called. . . . I now tread an untried path with fear and trembling; fear not of my adversary, but of myself. I fear my own spirit; lest I fall where many mightier have been slain."

He considered a controversialist should "keep steadily and uniformly to the question, without ever striking at the person;" and his many controversies show that this he ever kept in view.

His pen was used, in 1747, against the Bishop of London, who, in his charge to the clergy, numbering more than two thousand, attacked the Methodists and Moravians as enemies to the Established Church, and as spreading "doctrines big with pernicious influences upon practice." The "Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, occasioned by his lordship's charge late to his clergy," is a spirited and dignified reply. He says he has passed by for several years "abundance of persons" who had wrongfully charged him; but he could not be silent when so distinguished a person was "under considerable mistakes" concerning him, lest silence should be construed into contempt. The writer had "good reason to believe his lordship was entirely satisfied" with the answer. (Letter to Mr. Free.) Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield, a few years before, had waited upon Bishop Gibson; and a few years after many French prisoners petitioned the bishop to allow Mr. Fletcher to preach to them in their own language, and were refused. A few months after the refusal the bishop died of a cancer in his mouth. "Some may think this was a just retribution for silencing such a prophet on such an occasion. I am not ashamed to acknowledge that is my own sentiment." (Wesley's Life of Fletcher.) Bishop Gibson was in his eightieth year when he died; and though an opposer of Methodism, which he considered a system of enthusiasm, yet he was a useful man, and almost unequaled in the annals of literary exertion.

In 1750 a Rev. Mr. Baily, of Cork, wrote against the Methodist preachers of the city, and a defense of the corporation and clergy for the persecuting riots of 1749. Mr. Wesley replies to the curate of Christ's Church. One of the complaints against Mr. Wesley was, that he was as fond of riches as the most worldly clergymen. Says Mr. Baily, two thousand members paying "two thousand pence a week!" besides, "a fine yearly revenue from assurance and salvation tickets!" Mr. Wesley, in a letter to the Mayor of Cork, asked to be "treated (I will not say as a clergyman, a gentleman, a Christian) with such justice and humanity as are due to a Jew, a Turk, or a Pagan." A particular account of the Cork riots is to be found in the Journals.

One bishop had set an example of attack on the new sect; he was followed by another, the Bishop of Exeter, who published a book, entitled, "The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared." Mr. Wesley replied in a letter, dated 1750, and in another of 1752:

> "I began writing a letter to the Comparer of the Papists and Methodists. Heavy work, such as I should never choose; but sometimes it must be done. Well might the ancient say, 'God made practical divinity necessary, the devil

controversial.' But it is necessary: we must resist the devil, or he will not fly from us."—*Journal*, November, 1751.

Bishop Lavington undertook to prove that the whole conduct of the Methodists was but a counterpart of the most wild fanaticism of Popery, by citing the writings of both sects; and that the Methodists were advancing Popery. Mr. Wesley followed the bishop step by step unto the end in two letters, and thus winds up:

> "I have at length gone through your whole performance, weighed whatever you cite from my writings, and shown at large how far those passages are from proving all, or any part of your charge. So that all your attempts to build on them, of the pride and vanity of the Methodists; of their shuffling and prevaricating; of their affectation and prophesying; laying claim to the miraculous favors of heaven; unsteadiness of temper, unsteadiness in sentiment and practice; art and cunning; giving up inspiration and extraordinary calls; skepticism, infidelity, Atheism; uncharitableness to their opponents; contempt of order and authority; and fierce, rancorous quarrels with each other; of the tendency of Methodism to undermine morality and good works; and to carry on the good work Popery. All this fabric falls to the ground at once, unless you can find some better foundation to support it."

Doubtless the Methodists were and are possessed of some enthusiasm. So were Christ and the apostles. So our founder acknowledged to the charge: "I have much constitutional enthusiasm, and you have much more." (Letter to Charles Wesley, 1753.) And how can any great object be attained without enthusiasm? Bishop Lavington was a low disputant, seeing to help his cause he laid hold of slander. He published in his book that Mr. Wesley said to a certain maid "in his chamber in the night such things as were not fit to be spoken." Whereas he says he never slept a night in that house, and was never even in that town after sunset. Ten years after he was in Exeter. On Sunday morning he went to the Cathedral, a very large, ancient, and grand Gothic edifice, and heard a useful sermon. The great sounding organ particularly attracted his attention, as it does yet the attention of all strangers. After the public service he partook of the sacrament, administered by the bishop. He remarks: "I was well pleased to partake of the Lord's Supper with my old opponent, Bishop Lavington. O may we sit down together in the kingdom of our Father!"

Two years before he engaged with the Bishop of Exeter he ended a controversial correspondence with a Mr. John Smith, otherwise the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Thomas Secker. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1753. He wrote a series of letters to Mr. Wesley on the doctrines and practices of the Methodists rather in the spirit of an inquirer, and they were severally replied to. The correspondence began in 1745, and ended in 1748. John Smith's

letters are in an appendix to Moore's Life of Wesley. The replies are six, and are in the usual editions of Wesley's works.

In 1758 a Rev. Dr. Free attacked the Methodists and their founder, who replied in two letters. One was written in Tullamore, in Ireland. He says: "I wrote a short answer to Dr. Free's weak, bitter, scurrilous invective against the people called Methodists. But I doubt whether I shall meddle with him any more; he is too dirty a writer for me to touch." As Dr. Free published a sermon on the same subject, and in the same strain, Mr. Wesley gave him another letter, and says: "I wrote a second letter to Dr. Free, the warmest opponent I have had for many years. I leave him now to laugh and scold, and witticise and call names just as he pleases, for I have done." It may be supposed that in the great field congregations collections were usually taken up; but Dr. Free is told that "the pence and the preaching" did not "go hand in hand together."

In the same year he wrote a letter to the Rev. Mr. Potter, who had published a sermon "on the pretended Inspiration of the Methodists." In the letter he declares that he contended not for the extraordinary inspiration of the apostles, but for the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit to all Christians.

In 1759 we find "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Downes, Rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street, London, occasioned by his late tract, entitled, 'Methodism Examined and Exposed.'" Here is the conclusion of the whole matter: "In a word, all ancient heresies have in a manner concentered in the Methodists; particularly those of the Simonians, Gnostics, Antinomians, Valentinians, Donatists, and Montanists!" Says Mr. Wesley: "While your hand was in you might as well have added, Carpocratians, Eutychians, Nestorians, Sabellians." Nothing new was brought against the Methodists; but the old objections had to be answered again. The writer made bold assertions; but was "so bold because he was so blind." It appears that Mr. Downes did not see the reply, but died before it was published. The widow procured a tract to be written in answer; but as it contained no little virulence and scurrility he did not notice it. (Journal, November, 1760.)

In 1762 the Rev. Dr. Horne preached a sermon on justification before the University of Oxford, in which he spoke of the "heresies making their periodical revelations," and of the "new lights at the Tabernacle and Foundry," and objected to justification by faith alone, but rather by works accompanying it. Mr. Wesley replied to the sermon, and set forth the Protestant, the Church of England, and the Scriptural doctrine of justification by faith alone against

the five arguments of the preacher. The tract is a concise and clear defense of the doctrine against some plausible objections. Dr. Horne was the author of a Commentary of the Psalms, which Mr. Wesley thought was the best ever written. It seems that the gentleman was a Hutchinsonian in his creed.

ART. VI.—HOURS WITH THE MYSTICS.

Hours with the Mystics. A Contribution to the History of Religious Opinion. By ROBERT ALFRED VAUGHAN. 2 vols. London: Parker & Son. 1856.

Essays and Remains of the Rev. Robert Alfred Vaughan. Edited, with a Memoir, by the Rev. ROBERT VAUGHAN. 2 vols. London: Parker & Son. 1858.

THE intelligence of the death of Mr. R. A. Vaughan, in the autumn of 1857, produced peculiar feelings of disappointment and sadness in the hearts of his many personal and theological friends. He had been known as the author of a volume of poetry, *The Witch of Endor and other Poems,* published while a student in the Lancashire Independent College. Subsequently, his papers in the *British Quarterly,* marked as they were by vast research and chastened imagination, gave his name admission to some of the leading literary circles of England and Scotland. But thus far his reputation as an author was only circumscribed, and it was not until the appearance of *Hours with the Mystics* that the public became fairly acquainted with him. The work was received with instant attention and favor. A number of the prominent critical periodicals contained commendatory and exhaustive reviews of it, while it created no little stir among the gowned race on the banks of the Isis and the Cam. Not that it was hailed with such enthusiasm as deifies some books that are born in a palace on a bright morning, but die before night by the wayside, and are buried in the potter's field. Denied such an ostentatious natal hour, it was happily spared from a like premature and ignoble grave. Its mission was not to the masses, but to the thinking mind and the feeling heart. The facts it contained had never before been condensed into even a score of works; the style was pure and engaging, the treatment skillful and attractive. The favorable judgments upon it were for the most part from exalted sources; and the author's laurels were of such value that but a tithe of them would have been ample reward for those five years of unremitting labor in languishing health.

But scarcely had Mr. Vaughan time to witness such a favorable

reception of his work before he was compelled to lay down his pen and die. The interest previously excited in reference to him was now doubled; and to satisfy this, as well as to pay a tribute to the worth of an affectionate and gifted son, Dr. Vaughan, himself an eminent English author, collected his various minor productions and published them under the title of *Essays and Remains.* The work embraces a memoir, contributions to British magazines, the best poems of the deceased, and some fragmentary but valuable reflections on religion. The memoir was sad work for a father, but we thank him for it, because it admits the light into a great soul, and shows us how much of love and usefulness can be combined into a brief lifetime. Though painted by a kindred hand, we can detect no attempt to gloss irregularities of feature. We discover many traces of a father's tears, but nowhere do they blind the critic's eye or bribe his pen.

It would be alike instructive and interesting to linger at some of those parts in the course of the *Memoir* that describe the phases of Mr. Vaughan's inner experience, but we are assured that we deal stricter justice to the dead in giving but a hasty glance at the events of his life in order to widen the field for the consideration of his greatest work. He was born in Worcester on the 18th of March, 1823. At the close of his thirteenth year he entered the school of University College, London, and in 1842 he took his Bachelor's degree with honors in the classics. We find him a student in the Lancashire Independent College in 1843; and after completing his theological course in that institution he went to Germany, and was matriculated at the University of Halle. Not long had he been attending the lectures there before he began to be acclimated to the hazy atmosphere of German speculation. He was learning to dream too, and his faith was on the wane. Unlike many unfortunate ones, however, under similar circumstances, he saw his error and embraced the remedy for it. So he passed through the ordeal of rationalistic doubts, and came out like tried gold. After enjoying the rare opportunities afforded him, not least of which was the society of the saintlike Tholuck, he returned to England a stronger and better man. He then accompanied his father on a tour through Switzerland and Italy, after which he assumed the active duties of the ministry by becoming assistant pastor in Bath with that distinguished and useful man the Rev. William Jay. In 1848 he was married, and continued his pastoral labors in Bath two years. From there he was called to Birmingham, where he remained until the summer of 1855, when failing health compelled him to resign his charge.

It was during his residence in the last named place that he performed the most of his literary work. Marvelous does it seem to find this young man writing articles for the best reviews of England, learning languages and dialects in order to apply their treasures to his commenced *magnum opus*, ministering to the spiritual wants of a large congregation, and all this with a constitutionally delicate and now diseased body. The consumption had fastened upon his lungs, and cessation from ministerial labor was his only reasonable hope of protracting life. It was a bitter day to him when he parted with his Church, but submission to God was no new lesson for him to learn. The subsequent intervals of strength he devoted mainly to composition; and he died in great peace of mind in the thirty-fifth year of his age, but shortly after the emphatic utterance of the words, "Yes, God is very good." Thus ended, as calmly as a summer day, a life singularly earnest, spiritual, and suggestive. Of all men Dr. Vaughan was best adapted to sketch it, for the intelligent interest and counsel of the father had much to do with the molding it; while in return there were confided to that father's heart all the plans, and hopes, and prospects of a nobly gifted son.

In passing through the rich gallery of the *Essays* we will only linger a moment before a few of the finest paintings. The article on *Origen* was Mr. Vaughan's first essay in Church history. The sources from which he was required to draw his materials were obscure and chaotic; but patient study, a sound judgment, and the imagination of the true poet have clothed the Alexandrian Father in such a modern but truthful dress as the most ardent admirer of patristic times would have deemed impossible. You are transported to an enchanted country, a Ulysses on Ogygia, but without the dangers of shipwreck or the wiles of Calypso. We first read the *Origen* in travel, commencing on the cars, and concluding in a superannuated, creaking stage. When finished it was like awaking from a dream; certainly were all history written in such a style, the world would read it as the richest romance. The studies pursued in connection with Origen, awakened in Mr. Vaughan's mind not only an interest in the mysticism of that day, but a strong inclination for the study of religious opinions throughout the Middle Ages. This was the source of his best essays, as also of the work on which his reputation now rests. In an article of the *Eclectic Review*, which we are guaranteed in ascribing to the chaste and scholarly pen of the Rev. John Brown Paton, of Sheffield, we find this mention: "This first historical study of his [the *Origen* of Mr. Vaughan] we doubt not was the seed, accidentally dropped, which brought

forth such stores of fruit in *Hours with the Mystics*. His chief articles, written afterward, hover near the same subject, showing the fascination with which it engrossed his mind." The monograms in *Schleiermacher* and *Savonarola and his Times*, abound less in imagery, but have magic power to transport the reader to other times and lands. They were conceived and studied during the author's student life in Germany. There is no thinker of modern times more misunderstood than Schleiermacher; and we have here such a clear setting forth of his doctrines and their merit that we have not been able to find an approach to it in our language. It may be profitably studied in the absence of a rigid investigation of the varied works of the great Berlin professor and preacher. We have then reviews of Mackay's *Religious Development in Greece*, Kingsley's *Hypatia*, Lady Holland's *Sydney Smith*, and Young's *Christ of History*. This last paper is a manly defense of the supernaturalism of Christianity. It proves the author to have been trained in the school of Henry Rogers, only a tithe, it may be acknowledged, of the service rendered by the Independent Church of Great Britain to the cause of evangelical truth. We trust the barriers she has raised may successfully resist the further progress of German Rationalism in England. The next essays are on Lewes's *Life and Works of Goethe*, *French Romances of the Thirteenth Century*, and some *Fragments of Criticism*. The work closes with two poems, *Antony, a Masque*, and *The Disenchantment*. Many of the articles in these two volumes attracted marked attention as they appeared, but that false dignity which requires a man's property to circulate without his name, precluded the possibility on the part of many from identifying their author. We meet a number of old friends in this work whose acquaintance we first made in the *Eclectic Magazine* of New York. It makes them doubly dear to us to know the writer's name, and something of his interesting life. But his pen will yield no more of that rare fruit, in which beauty of style, deep research, and kindness of heart ever held such friendly company.

But the *Essays and Remains* of Mr. Vaughan were only the coastings of his venturesome youth, the mere pleasure-trips of his genius. The great voyage of his life, by which we become possessed of so much treasure, is *Hours with the Mystics*. The work is in the form of a dialogue. A circle of friends converse about the Mystics and their doctrines. They read essays also, and thus, by a pleasing variety, they pass through the entire field of mysticism down to the death of Swedenborg. Verily these intimates have chosen a strange topic; but let us sit down with them and listen to

what they say. First of all let us hear one of them define their theme:

> "Mysticism, whether in religion or philosophy, is that form of error which mistakes for a divine manifestation the operations of a merely human faculty. . . . Speaking of Christian mysticism, I should describe it generally as the exaggeration of that aspect of Christianity which is presented to us by St. John. . . . I refer chiefly to that admixture of the contemplative temperament and the ardent by which he is personally distinguished, the opposition so manifest in his epistles to all religion of mere speculative opinion or outward usage, the concentration of Christianity, as it were, upon the inward life derived from union with Christ. This would seem to be the province of Christian truth especially occupied by the beloved disciple, and this is the province which mysticism has in so many ways usurped. . . . Thus much I think is evident from our inquiry, that mysticism, true to its derivation as denoting a hidden knowledge, faculty, or life, (the exclusive privilege of sage, adept, or recluse,) presents itself, in all its phases, as more or less the religion of internal as opposed to external revelation, of heated feeling, sickly sentiment, or lawless imagination, as opposed to that reasonable belief in which the intellect and the heart, the inward witness and the outward, are alike engaged."

Thus much for mysticism; as to the real Mystic, let us hear Charles Kingsley as he has described him in *Fraser's Magazine:*

> "A Mystic, according to the Greek etymology, should signify one who is initiated into mysteries, one whose eyes are opened to see things which other people cannot see. And the true Mystic, in all ages and countries, has believed that this was the case with him. He believes there is an invisible world as well as a visible one—so do most men; but the Mystic believes also that this same invisible world is not merely a supernumerary one world more, over and above the earth on which he lives, and the stars over his head, but that it is the cause of them and the ground of them; that it was the cause of them at first, and is the cause of them now, even to the budding of every flower, and the falling of every pebble to the ground; and therefore, that having been before this visible world it will be after it, and endure just as real, living, and eternal though matter were annihilated to-morrow."

With these data in view we are now prepared to trace the course of that changing but fascinating *ignis fatuus* called mysticism, which first rose far back in the early and shadowy history of Hindoostan. We afterward find it standing over Alexandria in the time of Philo and Plotinus; then attracting the attention of the Greek and Latin Churches; and after trying to eclipse the scholasticism of the fourteenth century, we behold it leading some of the Reformers to the wildest extremes of fanaticism. For a while it lingered over the romantic and chivalrous, though superstitious land of Spain; then shooting across the Pyrenees, it dazzled the master minds of the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. In England it shone with decreased luster, but only to burst forth with more than its ancient splendor over the land of Emanuel Swedenborg. How fitful its course, how unsteady and different colored its light! Truly "it has

been incorporated in theism, atheism, and pantheism. It has given new gods at every step, and it has denied all deity except self. It has appeared in the loftiest speculation and in the grossest idolatry. It has been associated with the wildest license and the most pitiless asceticism. It has driven men out into action, it has dissolved them in ecstacy, and frozen them to torpor. . . . It has no genealogy. It is no tradition conveyed across frontiers, or down the course of generations, as a ready-made commodity. It is a state of thinking and feeling to which minds of a certain temperament are liable at any time or place in Occident or Orient, whether Romanist or Protestant, Jew, Turk, or Infidel." But as flowers, however unlike to the uncultivated eye, are subject to system and class, and are often found to harmonize in species, so there are landmarks even to the extravagances and antipodal developments of mysticism. They can all be embraced in three classes; 1. The theopathetic; 2. The theosophic; 3. The theurgic. The first of these is subdivided into transitive and intransitive. To transitive theopathy belong "all turbulent prophets and crazy fanatics. . . . such as Tanchelm, who appeared in the twelfth century, and announced himself appointed as the residence of deity; as Gitchel, who believed himself appointed to expiate by his prayers and penance the sins of all mankind; or as Kuhlman, who traversed Europe, the imagined head of the Fifth Monarchy, summoning kings and nobles to submission. . . . But we must not forget that this species of mysticism has been found associated with the announcement of vital truths, for instance, by George Fox and the early Quakers." Intransitive theopathy claims such men as St. Bernard, notwithstanding his many active labors, together with Suso, Ruysbroek, Molinos, and all the Quietists. Second: theosophy. "The theosophist is one who gives you a theory of God, or of the works of God, which has not reason but an inspiration of his own for its basis." Plotinus and Behmen are the representatives of this class. Third: theurgic mysticism. The theurgic Mystic "works marvels, not like the black art by help from beneath, but as white magic, by the virtue of talisman or cross, demigod, angel, or saint. . . Is not content, like the theopathetic, with either feeling or proselyting, nor, like the theosophic, with knowing; but must open for himself a converse with the world of spirits, and win as its prerogative the power of miracle." Jamblicus, Dionysius, Proclus, Apollonius of Tyana, Peter of Alcantara, Asclepigenia, and St. Theresa were theurgic Mystics.

The most striking characteristics of mysticism, as they were developed in different ages, are to be found combined in its very earliest history. The Bagvat-Gita of old India contains a species of mys-

ticism in many respects identical with that of Christendom. The Hindoo Mystic aimed at an ultimate absorption into the Infinite, which amounted, in fact, to the destruction of personality. But to reach this, the trance, "a withdrawal into the inmost self," must be inculcated. The Bagvat-Gita also contains pantheism in abundance, which Hegeliaus must know is the key-stone to the superstitions of modern India. Besides this, it recognized miraculous powers in man, and obliterated the distinction between good and evil.

Mysticism appears next in connection with Philo, at Alexandria, "the first meeting place of the waters of the eastern and western theosophies." It was the labor of Philo to harmonize the Old Testament with his favorite philosophy, Moses with Plato. We now meet ascetic mysticism full in the face as practiced by the Therapeutæ. "Their cells are scattered about the region bordering on the farther shore of the Lake Mareotis. The members of either sex live a single and ascetic life, spending their time in fasting and contemplation, in prayer or reading. They believe themselves favored with divine illumination—an inner light. They assemble on the Sabbath for worship, and listen to mystical discourses, or the traditionary lore which they say has been handed down in secret among themselves. They also celebrate solemn dances and processions, of a mystic significance, by moonlight on the shore of the great mere. Sometimes, on an occasion of public rejoicing, the margin of the lake on our side will be lit with a fiery chain of illuminations, and galleys hung with lights row to and fro with strains of music sounding over the broad water. Then the Therapeutæ are all hidden in their little hermitages, and these sights and sounds of the world they have abandoned make them withdraw into themselves and pray." Meanwhile Plotinus appears upon the stage as a leading character. So numerous were the systems of philosophy that presented themselves to his mind, that he is tossed on a sea of doubt and perplexity. While in this state of mind he accompanies a friend to hear Ammonius Saccas lecture. Ammonius is the champion of eclecticism. The two friends find him declaring that Plato and Aristotle can be reconciled. Plotinus is ravished at the lecture; he is soon a willing student at the feet of Ammonius. With the new disciple Platonism becomes everything; "it alone can save men from the abyss of skepticism." He grows more charmed with his teacher every day, and in process of time he emerges the veritable father of Neo-Platonism. The points of difference which our author lays down between Platonism and Neo-Platonism are condensed into one very sound and intelligible paragraph:

> "The Neo-Platonists became ascetics and enthusiasts; Plato was neither. Where Plato acknowledges the services of the earliest philosophers—the imperfect utterances of the world's first thoughts—Neo-Platonism (in its later period at least) undertakes to detect, not the similarity merely, but the identity between Pythagoras and Plato, and even to exhibit the Platonism of Orpheus and of Hermes. Where Plato is hesitant or obscure, Neo-Platonism inserts a meaning of its own, and is confident that such, and no other, was the master's mind. Where Plato indulges in a fancy, or hazards a bold assertion, Neo-Platonism, ignoring the doubts Plato may himself express elsewhere, spins it out into a theory, or bows to it as an infallible revelation. Where Plato has the doctrine of Reminiscence, Neo-Platonism has the doctrine of Ecstasy. In the Reminiscence of Plato, the ideas the mind perceives are without it. Here there is no mysticism, only the mistake incidental to metaphysicians generally, of giving an actual existence to mere mental abstractions."

The opinions of Plotinus did serious injury to the Christian Church of the third century; as, thirteen centuries later, were the wild views of some who were favorable to Protestantism, exceedingly detrimental to the purity and progress of the German Reformation. But if Plotinus was a Plato worshiper, Porphyry did equal honors to Aristotle. The latter did not accept paganism as it existed, although he contended for it. His battle was against two powerful foes: the superstitions of old paganism, and the growing power of young Christianity. But Christianity could not be repulsed, and paganism could not be reformed. It is true that Porphyry was the most powerful of all the enemies of the early Church; but it should be remembered that he was not an unmitigated heathen. For "he and men like him constituted themselves the defenders of a paganism which did but partially acknowledge their advocacy. Often suspected by the emperors, they were still oftener maligned and persecuted by the jealousy of the priests. They were the unaccredited champions of paganism, for they sought to refine while they conserved it. They defended it, not as zealots, but as men of letters. They defended it, because the old faith could boast of great names and great achievements in speculation, literature, and art, and because the new appeared novel and barbarian in its origin, and humiliating in its claims. They wrote, they lectured, they disputed in favor of the temple and against the Church, because they dreamed of the days of Pericles under the yoke of the empire; not because they worshiped idols, but because they worshiped Plato." This same error is a prominent feature of the Unitarianism of the nineteenth century. We mean a mistaking of the esthetics for religion, and of cultivating the abstractions of the mind to the complete overthrow and annihilation of the emotions of the heart. Heaven deliver us from our Boston Porphyrys!

Theurgic mysticism claims Jamblicus for its founder. According to him there are four great orders of spiritual existence: gods,

demons, heroes or demigods, and souls. Below these are the malignant demons, or antigods. The gods confer blessings on the body and soul, and the demons afflict them. The subordinate powers confer temporal advantages, preside over matter, and stimulate the soul to great actions. Proclus closes the list of Neo-Platonists; and what an end to Neo-Platonism in general, and Proclus in particular!

> "After years of austerity and toil, Proclus—the scholar, stored with the opinions of the past, surrounded by the admiration of the present; the astronomer, the geometrician, the philosopher; learned in the lore of symbols and of oracles, in the rapt utterances of Orpheus and of Zoroaster; an adept in the ritual of invocations among every people in the world—he, at the close, pronounces Quietism the consummation of the whole, and an unreasoning contemplation, an ecstasy which casts off as an incumbrance all the knowledge so painfully acquired, the bourne of all the journey."

Thus far has mysticism been on the side of paganism, and battling with the doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth. Let us now see it in warm friendship with Christianity as it existed in the early Greek Church. They have never met before; we must therefore not be shocked at the ridiculous visions of St. Anthony and the mystic Anchorites. But the first prominent character whose acquaintance we make is Dionysius the Areopagite. Whether or not Dionysius wrote the books that bear his name is a disputed point, which, like so many others in the thread of history, research and ingenuity have never been able to untie. The most we can do is to look at them as they are. Dionysius was a convert to Christianity under the preaching of St. Paul on Mars Hill. But the works ascribed to him were not considered genuine until A. D. 533. As they were afterward found to favor the claims of the hierarchy, the Church stamped them with her seal of approval, and it soon became heresy to deny that Dionysius was their author. The probabilities, however, are against their genuineness, and history long ago called the writer of them the pseudo-Dionysius. He labored "to accommodate the theosophy of Proclus to Christianity, . . . to strengthen all the pretensions of the priesthood, and to invest with a new traditionary sanction the ascetic virtues of the cloister." His views on hierarchies form the boldest and most influential part of his whole system: God and the lowest angel are united by many intermediate links, and the members of one spiritual class are always striving to attain the next highest, so as to approach as near as possible to God. Thus he demonstrates the celestial hierarchy, "a corresponding series to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the visible world. . . . The Saviour is rather the Logos of the Platonist than the Son of God revealed in Scripture. He is

allowed to be, as incarnate, the founder of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; but, as such, he is removed from men by the long chain of priestly orders, and is less the Redeemer than remotely the illuminator of the species." Such are the opinions of the man who began at Byzantium to dig the channels for the flow of European mysticism. No wonder that both great branches of the Church began to believe in the supernatural powers of the priesthood.

Mysticism now comes westward, and from its home among the Greek Christians it takes up its residence within the pale of the Latin Church. Through John Scotus Erigena and Hugo, of St. Victor, the hierarchal system of the pseudo-Dionysius is transplanted from the Euxine to Atlantic. And now let us turn from its revels in Byzantium to witness its operations within the celebrated Abbey of Clairvaux. St. Bernard is prior. At the mention of his name what a series of wonderful events rise up before us like spirits from the past! Bernard was not a mere dreamer, but he did whatever his hand, his head, or his heart found to do. He was as willing to work with his monks in the abbey garden as to strive to reconcile rival popes; to speak words of encouragement and love to his inferiors as to fight the fearless Abelard; and to found abbeys and organize a crusade as to help cook a dinner in the kitchen of Clairvaux. Though carried away at times by fanaticism, he was withal a practical man; far more so than could be expected in an age when superstition was held to be religion, and enthusiasm the noblest development of a virtuous heart. His opinions had a large admixture of truth, though we can see that his brilliant imagination had much to do with all of them. But hear our author's estimate:

> "In the theology of Bernard reason has a place, but not the right one. His error in this respect is the primary source of that mystical bias so conspicuous in his religious teaching. Like Anselm, he bids you believe first, and understand, if possible, afterward. He is not prepared to admit the great truth, that if reason yields to faith, and assigns itself anywhere a limit, it must be on grounds satisfactory to reason. . . . Faith, with Abelard, receives the treasure of divine truth wrapped up *involutum*. The understanding may afterward cautiously unfold the envelope and perfect the prize, but may never examine the contents at first to determine whether it shall be received or not. . . . Great, accordingly, was Bernard's horror when he beheld Abelard throwing open to discussion the dogmas of the Church; when he saw the alacrity with which such questions were taken up all over France, and learned that not the scholars of Paris merely, but an ignorant and stripling laity were discussing every day at street corners, in hall, in cottage, the mysteries of the Trinity and the immaculate conception. 'Faith,' he cried, 'believes, does not discuss.'"

Now behold his mysticism:

> "The design of Christianity is, in his idea, not to sanctify and elevate all our powers, to raise us to our truest manhood, accomplishing in every excel-

lence all our faculties both of mind and body, but to teach us to nullify our corporeal part, to seclude ourselves, by abstraction, from its demands, and to raise us, while on earth, to a superhuman exaltation above the flesh—a vision and a glory approaching that of the angelic state. He extols the state of those who, not by gradual stages of ascent, but by a sudden rapture are elevated at times, like St. Paul, to the immediate vision of heavenly things. . . . Totally withdrawn into themselves, they are not only, like other good men, dead to the body and the world, and raised above the grosser hinderances of sense, but even beyond those images and similitudes drawn from visible objects which color and obscure our ordinary conceptions of spiritual truths."

Bernard carried the symbolical meaning of the Scriptures to a ridiculous extent. In fact, he spiritualized the whole Bible, deeming it his duty "to draw as much meaning as possible from the sacred text." But this, with many other errors of his life, should entitle him rather to our pity than to unmitigated criticism. His eventful career is a lesson to the world of what a man can do when he has the will, and a warning to the unwary of the power wielded by an uncontrolled imagination over even the strongest reason.

Hugo of St. Victor appears in the early part of the twelfth century. Bernard had fought against the speculations of the schoolmen, and he always waxed warm in the struggle; but Hugo of St. Victor labored to unite mysticism and scholasticism. In this he was successful; for under his hands "mysticism lost much of its vagueness, and scholasticism much of its frigidity." Hugo drew his doctrines from the pseudo-Dionysius, and wrote a large commentary on the *Heavenly Hierarchies*. The result was, as Mr. Vaughan pointedly expresses it, Dionysius became more scriptural and human. Our faculties he classified into three divisions: 1. *Cogitatio*, the lowest; 2. *Meditatio*, the middle; 3. *Contemplatio*, the highest. These he subdivides and spiritualizes. After Hugo came Richard of St. Victor. He did more in the development of previous views than in the conception of new ones. With him we find our matter-of-fact Bible changed into a bundle of metaphors. His fancy casts a silken robe over every scriptural event. Like Bernard, Richard laid special stress on ecstasy: "When the body is asleep, and the soul is off in the presence of the Lord."

From the Latin Church mysticism takes up its abode in Germany. German mysticism, how full of fancies, legends, and romance! Though half of them are better to doze over and dream about than to narrate, yet there is much that is instructive and entertaining. Unwillingly do we desist from gathering some of the fine flowers in this magnificent garden to give them to the readers of the Quarterly; but we must content ourselves with plucking only a leaf or two; or, at most, of sipping the honey from a few of the

sweetest. These may impress us with the charms of the spot and the luxuriance of the parent flowers.

In the fourteenth century the Rhineland was teeming with different sects and conflicting opinions. Indeed, it reminds us forcibly of a certain village in the United States, where there are several churches in the place; but so theological or independent are the people that you must multiply their churches by five before reaching the sum total of their creeds. The river Rhine flowed by the door of many a church whose shibboleth was very different from that of its neighbors. A black-gowned and scuttle-hatted man you could meet in your shortest morning excursion. No wonder that "folks called the Rhineland the 'Parson's Walk.'" Of all the preachers, Master Eckhart and Tauler are leading the van. Everybody is frantic about them. Master Eckhart preaches in Cologne, and when it is announced that he is to speak the whole city puts on its finest clothes and goes to hear him. The multitudes gaze on him with wonder, and listen to him with rapt attention as he rises from ideas clear to a child to theories which no one of his auditors could comprehend. But obscurity the people mistook for brilliance, which error was not confined to Master Eckhart's day. But there were a stateliness and grandeur about his best thoughts which filled his hearers with astonishment. He overawed them. Tauler's style is altogether different. He has more of the comprehensible and emotional in his sermons. He possesses the highest style of eloquence, for he makes you weep, while Master Eckhart only lifts you up in wonder. Better see something where you are that makes you feel and think, than to be lifted above the highest peaks to be dropped into the deepest chasm. Tauler is a fine character for study. It is a relief to meet with such a one when we find so many of his age carried away into the wildest extravagances. There are passages in his sermons that exhibit the finest diction as well as the purest doctrine. Would there had been more John Taulers at that time to lay stress on the condition of the heart, instead of indulging in such meaningless fancies![*] After Tauler the first prominent Mystic we meet is Suso, who had been a disciple of Master Eckhart at Cologne. It is a sad sight to behold his self-torture. He seems, indeed, to have taxed all his inventive powers to devise means for inflicting upon himself the most exquisite pain. Suso had remarkable visions withal. They surpass all that St. John claims to have seen; and his adventures are so remarkable that they throw David's and Paul's quite in the shade. Poor man! he passed from earth believing

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[*] To the labors of Miss Susanna Winkworth are we indebted for an excellent translation of Tauler's best sermons, as well as of the *Theologica Germanica*.

them. After Suso we meet with the names of St. Brigitta, Hildegard, Joachim, Savonarola, Angela de Foliqui, and Catherine of Siena. But we must not forget that good and quiet old monk, Thomas à Kempis. He cares not for speculations; he scorns them as cordially as did Melancthon at a later day. Sooner than dispute, he would have been led to the block. The heart was his study; to dive into its recesses was the labor of his long life. John Locke said of himself that he made his own mind the subject of his thought and inquiry; and from that source was produced his *Human Understanding.* What his mind was to Locke, his heart was to Kempis. What wonder then that the *Imitation of Christ* has led to so many conversions? It has been a world-book for centuries, and will never grow old.

We have long ago seen that mysticism took but little thought for its company. Not content with its alliance with Neo-Platonism and afterward with the prevalent Christianity of Europe, it seeks a new empire in distant Persia, and seals a bond of union with Mohammedanism. It there formed a sect and assumed the name of Sufism. So great did its influence become that it reached the Persian throne, and the descendants of a Sufi occupied it until the close of the seventeenth century, after an ascendency of two hundred years. In that eastern climate mysticism developed itself in poetry, and a real Sufi was at the same time an ascetic, Mystic, and a devotee of the Muses. For centuries had the world been in doubt as to the value of the poetry of the Sufis, until Dr. Tholuck, of Germany, opened the sealed book, and made some of its precious contents public. Himself an ardent admirer of the purer forms of mysticism, he has cast such a ray of light upon its poetical development in Persia as entitles him to our lasting gratitude. Thus highly does he speak of the strains of the oriental mystic: *Der orientale, in seinen Palmenhainen, von der Welt zurückgezogen, hattedem Mysterium des inneru Lebens gelauscht, und es ausgesprochen, in den zartesten und lieblichsten Liedern, welche in menchlicher Brust entstanden sind.* The only two mystic poets of the West that deserve mention are Angelus Silesius and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The former lived in the seventeenth century; the latter is a familiar name to us now living. We were at a loss to know where Mr. Vaughan would place our distinguished essayist and lecturer. But here he is, a brother of the Sufis. So we must not be surprised to hear of Bostonians making a pilgrimage to Mecca and writing oracular songs by the way.

A most interesting era in the history of mysticism is its connection with the Reformation. If we are disposed to laugh at its absurdities at times, we must not depreciate its usefulness in arming

Germany against the abuses of papacy. Under Tauler it had grown more scriptural than formerly, and it was he who paved much of the way for Luther's great battle against Romanism. As soon, therefore, as Luther announced that the doctrine of justification by faith was scriptural, the best of the Mystics came heart and hand to his assistance. It was what they had been seeking so long, but in vain. They found here what they could not find in mysticism alone. But on the other hand, the extravagant Mystics seized arms against the great Reformer. They were headed by Dr. Bodenstein, who called himself *Carlstadt*, after his native city. He was a professor in Wittenberg, and at first was a powerful advocate of Luther's doctrines of the Reformation. But his excitable passions led him astray to such an extent that he greatly endangered the very cause he had espoused. He talked much about "self-abandonment" and "the blessed loss in the One." Soon he became *lost* in the wildest vagaries. But Luther is in his little room in the Wartburg Castle, busy day and night in translating the Greek Testament into soul-stirring German. Carlstadt does not dream of it now, but that little book is destined to deal as heavy a blow to all his mystical extravagances as to papal superstitions. Meanwhile there arose a band of fanatics in the town of Zwickau, who declared that there was no necessity for the Bible. The Holy Spirit, say they, operates directly upon the heart; what is the use of a Bible if man can commune directly with God? The magistrates drive them from Zwickau. What must they do? In the emergency a happy thought occurs to them: Carlstadt is the man. The next we hear of them is in Wittenberg. Carlstadt joins hands with them, tells his students that their Greek, Latin, and Hebrew is useless study; inspiration is far better. Now what is to become of the infant Reformation? Its best friends think of Luther and write to him. He appears at once among the fanatics, blows away their inspiration at a puff, and the Zwickauers are glad enough to leave Wittenberg with their lives. Thus mysticism, though it had prepared the way for the Reformation, was poisonous to it in the battle-hour. But years after the death of Luther, when the Church was undergoing a process of petrifaction, it became once more a power on the side of truth.

After the Reformation we find the theosophic element of mysticism in the ascendency—"a strange mixture of the Hellenic, the Oriental, and the Christian styles of thought." Cornelius Agrippa is the first great name we meet. His two works on *The Threefold way of Knowing God*, and on *The Vanity of the Arts and Sciences*, attracted universal attention, and placed him first among the theosophic Mystics. He traveled much, learned much, and perplexed

many. Paracelsus was likewise a prominent man in his day. His tastes lay nearly altogether in the direction of medicine. He abused the quackery of his day in the foulest language, and declared that there was more wisdom in his beard than in the heads of all the wise doctors of Europe. But we are impatient to make acquaintance with that old shoemaker theosophist, Jacob Behmen. History shows us but one such man; nowhere will we find an approach to him. There he sits in his shop at Görlitz, "that little man, apparently about forty years of age, of withered, almost mean aspect; with low forehead, prominent temples, hooked nose, short and scanty beard, and quick blue eyes; who talks with a thin, gentle voice." Behmen was a good Lutheran from his youth, but he deplored the formalism into which his Church had fallen. It grieved him to see more stress laid upon the Augsburg Confession than upon the Bible, and he despised the subtle disputes of his day. On one occasion, while meditating in his room, and almost overcome with melancholy, he fell into a trance. It commenced by the reflection of the sun on a tin vessel that was hanging to the wall. He was dazzled by it, and a panorama of gorgeous visions began to move before him. He tells all about them in his *Aurora*. This and his *Book on the Three Principles* were his chief works. What a curious style is Behmen's; but not strange when we see him at work:

> "Behold him early in his study, with bolted door. The boy must see to the shop to-day; no sublunary cares of awl or leather, customers and groschen, must check the rushing flood of thought. The sunshine streams in—emblem, to his 'high-raised phantasy,' of a more glorious light. As he writes, the thin cheeks are flushed, the gray eye kindles, the whole frame is damp, and trembling with excitement. Sheet after sheet is covered. The headlong pen, too precipitate for caligraphy, for punctuation, for spelling, for syntax, dashes on. The lines which darken down the waiting page are, to the writer, furrows into which heaven is raining a driven shower of celestial seed. On the chapters thus fiercely written the eye of the modern student rests, cool and critical, wearily scanning paragraphs digressive as Juliet's nurse, and protesting with contracting eyebrow that this easy writing is abominably hard to read."

True, Behmen's fancy did run mad sometimes; but in that old shoemaker there was a soul brimfull of love. He hated corruption in every form. No less bitter was his animosity to a dead religion, and his self-imposed task was to make warm blood circulate once more through the Church. His was a peculiar way of work, but he did much for the vitality of Lutheranism. All the learned men of some lands have done less for humanity than Germany's two brothers in St. Crispin's art, Jacob Behmen, of Görlitz, and Hans Sach, of picturesque old Nüremburg, the minstrel of the Reformation.

Odd enough is the origin and history of the Rosicrucians. Never was a barrel of Bavarian beer in greater ferment than was all Ger-

many in their day. Their rise is almost incredible, ridiculous in the extreme. Good old Frau Andreä has given her boy Valentine as good an education as her limited means will allow, and now he is about leaving her to commence the travel which, at that age, was considered a necessary part of every young man's liberal education. She puts into his hand twelve kreutzer and a rusty old coin, as pocketpiece; and now her eyes follow him until they are blinded with tears. Years pass on, and Valentine, by dint of self-denial and perseverance, has succeeded in traveling over the most interesting portions of the continent. He returns to the fatherland and settles quietly down as a Lutheran pastor. He begins to see the evils of his times. He bethinks himself and wonders if he can cure them. He thinks he can; so he sits down and writes a little book. He calls it *The Discovery of the Brotherhood of the Honorable Order of the Holy Cross*, and dedicates it to all the great men of Europe. The book maintains that there had lived a certain Christian Rosenkreuz. He was a man of remarkable learning, and communicated his knowledge to eight disciples who lived with him in a house called the Temple of the Holy Ghost. This building has come to light, and behold the uncorrupted body of Rosenkreuz, who has been dead a hundred and twenty years! The various disciples whom he left, and who are scattered throughout Germany, claim to be true Protestants, and call upon all men to help them in their efforts to promote learning and religion. They possess great secrets, the world ought to know them. They are perfectly at home in bottling the elixir of life, and the philosopher's stone they have had long ago. Their great object is to benefit their fellow-creatures; who will follow them? Such was the burden of Valentine Andrea's little book. The consequence was, it set all Germany on fire. People never dreamed for a moment that it was a burlesque on the times. Thousands left their labor to follow the advice and demands of Andrea's maiden work. He wrote book after book, on seeing what mischief he had done, in denial of his account of Christian Rosenkreuz. But nobody believed him; they could not be deceived so badly as that. His first work was the only one they would receive. All the land ran mad after the fabulous knowledge of Rosenkreuz and his imaginary disciples. The world knows how long such infatuation lasted in Germany, and what evils it produced. Beyond doubt this was mysticism on its fastest horse.

In Spain we find mysticism under the control of the Church. Wherever it had appeared before, it was connected with free inquiry, and had been "a kind of escape for nature, . . . but now the Church, by means of the Confessor, made mysticism itself the innermost

dungeon of the prison-house; every emotion was methodically docketed; every yearning of the heart minutely catalogued. The sighs must always ascend in the right place; the tears must trickle in the orthodox course." The name of St. Theresa is associated with the most ridiculous superstition and the wildest fanaticism. She was at first fond of the world, but finally became an Augustinian nun in Avila. In her forty-fourth year she was in a state of rapture, and from that time until her death was in an unbroken series of trances and visions. St. John of the Cross ends the catalogue of Romanist Mystics. His title he derived from his love of crosses. Self-denial seemed to be the business of his life; the hardest way with him was always the best. He left behind two works, *Obscure Night*, and the *Ascent of Carmel;* these, with his example, give him a high place on the Roman calendar.

It was under the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. that mysticism crossed the Pyrenees into France. It assumed the specific name of Quietism—"pure love," "holy indifference," when the soul is in the quiet contemplation of God. Of all connected with the Quietism of France, Madame Guyon is most distinguished. Possessed of extraordinary beauty and powers of conversation, she shone in society and attracted universal attention. Before she was sixteen she married a wealthy, but gouty and crabbed man, some twenty years her senior. As might have been expected, there was no sympathy between them in heart or mind; their life was consequently a succession of family jars. She was naturally of a contemplative turn of mind, and was subject in early life to seasons of the most excruciating melancholy. One of these lasted seven years, in which time her husband died. An old Franciscan monk told her that she was seeking without what she could only find within. "Accustom yourself," said he, "to seek God in your heart and you will find him." At the end of the seven years she emerged in light and happiness. But she does not revel in trances. Her mysticism takes an active turn, and she spends her powers in the useful field of beneficence. Her's is Quietism of heart, but not of body. But the Church does not authorize her labors, nor does she ask the Church for its seal of approval. Soon the sharpest arrows of wrath are leveled at her. Some call her a sorceress; others are more severe, and stigmatize her as a Protestant. Her teachings, however, became influential, and mysticism grew to be a Parisian fashion. But after a while her writings were condemned, and we find her on a sick bed at Meaux. The vain Bossuet took sides against her. The meek Fenelon was her friend, but that great book-war between these French divines terminated in her overthrow. After spending four years within the

gloomy walls of the Bastile, she went to the old city of Blois, where she died in 1717. Thus lived and passed away one of the most remarkable characters in all history, a woman of extraordinary powers and fervent piety, but subject to heartrending misfortunes. With the prophetical and oracular Madame de Krüdener ends the mysticism of France, noted for its zeal and devotion, but far inferior in thought and originality to that of Germany.

We must not expect to find much mysticism in England; she has had too much else to do. The only prominent name we meet with is George Fox, the father of the Quakers. He was thoughtful and shunned society. In later life he declared that at eleven years of age he knew pureness and righteousness. He carried a Bible in his pocket, and always sought the most sequestered spots to read it. He professed to have been in rapture, and he describes in his journal his experience while exalted into what we can call nothing more or less than a real Jacob Behmen ecstacy. He spent much of his life in visiting prisons and in the exercise of other charitable deeds. Mr. Vaughan pays no little compliment to him and his followers when he says, "the elements of Quakerism lie all complete in the personal history of Fox."

George Fox died at the close of the seventeenth century, and nearly fifty years passed by without witnessing any new development of mysticism in any land. But the wandering *ignis fatuus* was only hid behind a cloud. It was soon to blaze forth with tenfold brilliance in a different quarter. An anomaly in history no less than in the more circumscribed field of theology, is Emanuel Swedenborg, "the Olympian Jove of Mystics." We have seen that, hitherto, mysticism, has labored under two mistakes in reference to the Bible. One extreme was an ignoring of its necessity altogether, the other was a symbolizing and spiritualizing of it. But Swedenborg does not seem to labor under either error. He maintains the absolute necessity of a "book-revelation," and he professes to draw his doctrines from a literal interpretation of it. In another respect, too, he is far ahead of the older Mystics. He has not his ups and downs as they had, now basking in sunlight on a heaven-reaching mountain top, and now groping in a gloomy vale uncheered and unlighted by the smallest star. No, Swedenborg is not like them: "They have their alterations; their lights and shadows are in keeping; they will topple headlong from a sunny pinnacle into an abysmal misery. But Swedenborg is in the spirit for near two-score years, and in his easy chair, or at his window, or in his walks, holds converse, as a matter of course, with angels and departed great ones, with patriarchs and devils." The two works

containing his most important views are, *The Apocalypse Revealed*, and *A New Method of finding the Longitude.* His opinion on the atonement is sadly defective and dangerous. We cannot but be reminded of Mohammed's picture of Paradise when we read Swedenborg's description of heaven. We call to mind, too, Gabriel's communications to the Arabian prophet in what Swedenborg says of the Church of the New Jerusalem and of his own mission:

> "Since the Lord cannot manifest himself in person to the world, which has just been shown to be impossible, and yet he has foretold that he would come and establish a new Church, which is the New Jerusalem, it follows that he will effect this by the instrumentality of a man, who is able not only to receive the doctrines of that Church in his understanding, but also to make them known by the press. That the Lord manifested himself before me his servant, that he sent me on this office, and afterward opened the sight of my spirit, and so let me into the spiritual world, permitting me to see the heavens and the hells, and also to converse with angels and spirits; and this now continually, for many years, I attest in truth; and further, that from the first day of my call to this office, I have never received anything appertaining to the doctrines of that Church from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while I was reading the Word."

The mysticism of Louis Claude de Saint Martin, *le philosophe inconnu*, was an oasis in the infidelity of the land and times. His best productions were, *Le Ministre de l'Home-esprit*, *L'Homme de Desir* and *L'Esprit des Choses.* In these works there is much that is evangelical and tangible, though it cannot be denied that in Saint Martin's cosmological and psychological views there is a very perceptible vein of pantheism. He did great service in the cause of truth, however, and deservedly occupies one of the most honorable niches in the temple of modern mysticism.

Here we must take our leave of the mystic magnates, a people with whom there are many points of sympathy, especially when we remember the dark days in which the most of them lived. Their casket of thoughts and fancies glitters with many a gem of truth, and their imagination did far more violence to the intellect than to the heart. As far as our country is concerned we have never had, until recently, any manifestation of mysticism. Spiritualism can justly be termed one of its numerous developments, and nowhere would we go for an apter illustration of a theurgic mystic than to a medium of the Judge Edmonds school. The vagaries of Mrs. Cora Hatch are more disgraceful to our age than were the wildest visions of the Spanish Mystics to the sixteenth century. But she has acquired a lofty position among the spiritualist leaders, and after death has silenced her oracles, she may justly be canonized the St. Theresa of American mysticism. As for Mormonism, it is too much honor to apply to it the bare name of delusion. It possesses no marks in common with the most extravagant illuminism, save self-

deception; and a stranger to our sphere would hardly be able to believe that Jacob Behmen and Joe Smith had inhabited the same planet. Mormonism is a sewer for the bad passions, blasted reputations, and broken fortunes of the vile. Yet, judging by the fruit, we must call it the twin sister of spiritualism. Heaven hasten the day of their death and burial!

We would have wished that Mr. Vaughan had shown somewhere in his masterly work the amount of truth in the higher forms of mysticism. At this there are hints, and but little more; because, no doubt, he felt his province to be historical rather than doctrinal and didactic. But the Christian student will naturally inquire, after closing this romantic *contribution to the history of religious opinion*, How much truth is there after all in the quietism of the best Mystics? Can it be that Behmen, Madame Guyon, and George Fox were altogether deluded by their fancy? Is there not a stratum of scriptural truth underlying all this luxuriance of theory. We firmly believe there is, though men are accustomed to consider mysticism and madness synonymous. The Scriptures claim for man a higher attainable state than of being in the paradoxical condition of sin and righteousness at the same time. This elevated state is the focal point of all biblical doctrine, the essence of an intimate union with God. John Wesley termed it *perfection*, not for the want of a more Scriptural but of a more unexceptionable word. In his own day he witnessed some gross perversions of the term; and in his writings he expresses forebodings here and there lest it might be still more misapprehended when it was no longer possible for him to define its limits. More than a century has passed by, which time is long enough for the world to test a doctrine, and the Church that dates its organization from his judicious mind and earnest heart has found no reason to expunge that doctrine from its creed. Nay, Methodism as firmly maintains it now as eighty years ago, despite the thrusts of her avowed foes, and the still more dangerous ones of her own household. This truth is what the noblest Mystics sought. Their error lay in part in *the way they sought it*, for many relied too much upon the untrusty utterances of philosophy, and too little upon the purer teachings of the word of God. Others did not fail here, but their professedly intimate union with God exercised the passive to the neglect of the active virtues. The Bible was to them a book rather teaching how to suffer and be calm than to labor zealously and fight courageously in the struggle for salvation; prescribing a state of holy quiet, but not inciting to vigorous action; filling the heart with unutterable joy, but leaving the body in seclusion and lethargy. This we conceive to be the grand mistake of the

Coryphei of mysticism. Madame Guyon approached nearest the truth, but no one reached it. Sadly enough do they all illustrate Adam's confession to Raphael:

> "But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
> Unchecked, and of her roving is no end,
> Till warned, or by experience taught, she learn
> That, not to know at large of things remote
> From use, obscure and subtle; but to know
> That which lies before us in daily life
> Is the prime wisdom. What is more is fume,
> Or emptiness, or fond impertinence;
> And renders us, in things that most concern,
> Unpracticed, unprepared, and still to seek."

In the study of *Hours with the Mystics* we have discovered no parade of research and learning. The author's unobtrusive nature, and the dialogue form he adopted, could alike preclude the possibility of such a misfortune. The gem-seeker shows you his treasure, but tells you nothing of his previous toil. Lest he might lose something of value, Mr. Vaughan studied, in addition to the Greek and Latin of classical times, the French, Dutch, German, Alexandrian Greek, Mediæval Latin, old German, and Provençal French. So greatly was Dr. Tholuck surprised at his familiarity with the old German, that he affirmed in a letter that there were not more than one or two scholars even in his own country who could boast so great an acquaintance with their own mother German. From such a quarry did he get his marble; but with it he has built a superstructure so firm, harmonious, and stately, that an English admirer compares it, not very unsuitably, to a Gothic Cathedral.

ART. VII.—THE CHURCH RELATION OF INFANTS.

In a former article we spoke of the "moral condition of infants;" in the present we propose to speak of their "Church relation." The object of the former article was to show what was the state of our common humanity, by virtue of the atonement, prior to any responsible act of the creature; the object of the present article is, to show what is the condition in which our human nature should be placed, according to the prospective designs of redemption, in order that its responsible action may be suitable to the will of God, and that the grace of childhood may be rendered effectual to the early and continued salvation of the child. What we are before responsible action,

by the unconditional benefits of grace, is one thing; but what are the possibilities of our nature by the efficacy of that same grace, under appointed instrumentalities, through all the developed grades of moral action, is quite a distinct question.

We propose to discuss the present subject under the following heads: I. The nature and force of the Church relation of children. II. The method by which the spiritual blessings of this relation become available to the child. III. The efficacy of an early and faithful use of the appointed means for the salvation of childhood.

I. 1. A perpetual cause of stumbling to the faith of the Church is, that the *nature and force of the Church relation of infants* are not clearly comprehended. Children are related to the Church spiritually, really, vitally. It is no figure of speech, but a first truth in the divine economy. When our Lord said that "of such is the kingdom of heaven," he affirmed a spiritual relation. He did not predicate their membership in his kingdom of the simple fact of their baptism or their circumcision, but of their being redeemed children. Their relation to the "kingdom" arose from their relation to the King, and it applied to all children as such. Baptism is only the sign and seal of membership; the spiritual relation, which is the real one, precedes the emblematic and the conventional, and is the moral ground of the latter.

So also when our Lord says, "Whoso receiveth one such little child in my name receiveth me," (Matt. xviii, 5,) he completely identifies little children with himself and his spiritual family, the true Church. In Mark ix, 41, the phrase, "*in my name*," is explained to mean, "*because ye belong to me*." This is decisive of the sense. On no other ground could they be "received in Christ's name." And this he affirms of little children, such as one could hold in his arms, as Christ then held that little one. (Compare Matt. xviii, 2, etc., with Mark ix, 36.) Now, this "*receiving*" one in Christ's name is an act of Church fellowship, a recognition of true discipleship, and draws after it an acknowledgment of all the duties arising out of that admitted relation. Here is no hyperbole, no exaggeration, no strong language that needs to be pared down and qualified till it suits the sentiments of a remiss or a godless Church; but a literal and glorious declaration of the Head of the Church, a command to NOW recognize them as legitimate members of the spiritual commonwealth. It is an instruction officially delivered to the apostles, to be transmitted to the Church through all ages; and for the fulfillment of the same both Church members and officers will render an account to the Master. Of the same import is the

official instruction and command: "Suffer little children and forbid them not to come to me." The quibbling of Tertullian, that they must wait till they are grown up in order to "*come*," is unworthy a Christian minister. These children were of an age too tender to come to Christ from personal conviction. They were "*brought*" to him, and the command to the apostles and to the Church to "suffer them to come," is a command to "*bring*" them. It is a duty now, as then, and will remain a duty while there are children and a Church of Christ upon the earth. And this duty of "bringing" them to Christ, and of "receiving" them "in his name," is a duty to do for them all that their age and wants demand, in order to their earliest knowledge of Christ, and their continued enjoyment of the spiritual blessings of his Church.

2. When the apostle says to the believing husband, or wife, that the two are sanctified to each other, so that, although one of them does not believe, yet they are to live together under the sanction of Christian law, and not separate, as the Mosaic law would oblige them if one were a heathen, he offers this fact, publicly known in the Church, as proof that the Christian law sanctions the union, namely, "*else were your children* UNCLEAN, *but now they are* HOLY." (1 Cor. vii, 14.) Here *holiness* is affirmed of the children, but it is affirmed on the ground of the faith of one of the parents, and therefore is not a moral holiness, but simply an ecclesiastical, or ceremonial one. As if the apostle had said: "Else were your children [reckoned as] *ακοθαρτα*, *heathen*, but now are they [counted as] *ἁγια*, *saints*, or *members of the Christian community*." The children, says Tertullian, were *designed for holiness* (*sanctitati designati*) by baptism. "Every soul," he adds, "is reckoned in Adam, till it be anew enrolled in Christ, and so long *unclean* till it be enrolled." "Their children," says Bishop Burnet, "were not *unclean*; that is, *not shut out from being dedicated to God*." This baptismal holiness, this external admission to membership in the Christian family, is only a conventional recognition of a spiritual and pre-existent relation to Christ, a relation directly created by Christ.

3. The design and purpose of God in the constitution of the Christian Church is, as Paul states it in Eph. i, 10, "that he might gather together in one [body, or community] all things in Christ." The apostle here does not intend inanimate "*things*," as the neuter gender of the pronoun *τα παντα* might seem to indicate. "The neuter is sometimes found," says Winer, "where *persons* are signified, when the writer would express his meaning in a general way." It is not of *things*, but of redeemed *human beings*, that Paul is speaking. And he is speaking of a particular class of these human beings,

namely, *τα παντα εν τω χριστω*, *the all* [who are] IN CHRIST." These, says the apostle, it is the "mysterious will and good pleasure of God, which he hath purposed in himself," "*ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι, to bring together under one head.* This "head" is Christ, and all who are "in Christ" are to be brought together in one family, and comprehended under this one headship. This is the design of the Christian Church. All who are in Christ have a real and spiritual connection with his body, which is the Church. "Christ is head over all to the Church, which is his body." Eph. i, 22. "Christ is the head, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together, . . . maketh increase," etc. Eph. iv, 15, 16. "Christ is the head of the Church. . . . The Church is subject to Christ." Eph. v, 23, 24. "Christ is the head of the body, the Church." Col. i, 18. "Of whom [Christ] the whole family in heaven and earth is named." Eph. iii, 15. That is, saints in heaven and saints in earth. "Christ as a son over his own house [household] whose house [household] are we." Heb. iii, 6. "The house [household] of God, which is the Church of the living God." 1 Tim. iii, 15. This doctrine runs through all the New Testament. Those who are Christ's in a spiritual sense, saved by his merit, are of his "body," his "Church," his "family," his "household." They are comprehended under one headship. When Paul would describe the definite limit and number of "the general assembly and church of the first born;" that is, the New Testament Church, he simply says, "*whose names are enrolled in heaven.*" Heb. xii, 23. And this enrollment of names in heaven is the registration of names in the "book of life," the true family register, the final test and proof of a fitness and title to heaven. "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into a lake of fire." Rev. xx, 15. This "book of life" is "the Lamb's book of life," Rev. xxi, 27; "the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Rev. xiii, 8. It is Christ's register of all who are spiritually his.

So then we must erase children from the "book of life," from their "enrollment in heaven," before we can sever their spiritual and real connection with the body of Christ, his family, his household, his Church. The idea that the Church is made up only of believers, is as rational and scriptural as that a family, or commonwealth, is made up only of adults. It is not the personal act of faith apart and by itself that is to be considered, but the spiritual relation to Christ. If an infant without faith can belong to Christ, who is the head, an infant without faith can belong to the Church, which is the body, or community comprehended and brought together under that head.

4. As to *denominational Church life*, we need only say, that all

creeds, symbols of faith, forms of church government, or special covenant obligations, such as denominational branches of the Catholic Church may adopt, are only their views of Scripture doctrine and duty, and are applied only as prudential tests of fitness for adult membership. They are only so many methods of arriving at the knowledge of that essential fitness for membership which is required of responsible beings as such, and which children enjoy by the unconditional benefits of the atonement, and on the authority of the declaration of Christ. These denominational tests do not have the effect to admit the person to a new Church, different from that to which the baptized child belongs; but only to supply an adequate test of adult membership in the old Church, the Catholic, New Testament, Abrahamic Church; such test becomes requisite only upon a new condition of the candidate, namely, a responsible condition. It is a provisional guard upon the purity of the Church in relation to all who are of mature age. The fitness and Church rights of the child, during childhood, are determined on other grounds. But in either case the Church is the same. If denominational ecclesiasticism assumes a higher ground than this, it does so by usurpation. We have space only to state the doctrine, not to adduce the proof. Children have a real connection with, and valid right to, the real and only living Church of God.

II. We come now to speak of the method by which the Church relation becomes available to the child for those spiritual ends for which it was ordained. The Church relation is ordained as a means or instrumentality of effecting the gracious ends of redeeming love toward responsible beings. With the Church corporately is vested those divinely instituted means by which the life of God is nourished and promoted in the soul, and his kingdom extended in the earth. The life and growth are directly the gift of God, but the instrumental or secondary causes rest with the Church. Here is her responsibility, corporately and severally; like the living organs of the body, her members are to supply those offices upon which nourishment, growth, and extension secondarily depend.

There are two stages of Church life, according to the original plan and purpose of God: the first is realized in the family, the family as in covenant with God, and comprehended in the Church as an integral primal Church agency; the second stage is that Church life that is assumed upon personal conviction and responsibility. The first is the period of minority, wherein the member is the recipient merely, enjoying the benefits of Church guardianship, instruction, and influences, and is simply preparatory; the second is the period of majority, or full age, in which not only the immunities of Church are

enjoyed, but its responsibilities borne; wherein the member is not a recipient merely, but an actor. The first is the period of nursery life, the second the period of fruit bearing, as well as nurture. In the natural life, and also the civil life of each man, the same twofold aspect appears. It is the order of nature, of reason, and of grace. The child has a civil life, civil rights and immunities, before he is of full age, before he comes to the full powers of citizenship. He was a citizen before, but the sphere of his citizenship is now extended and perfected.

As we are speaking only of children in this article, we shall consequently speak only of this first stage of Church life, the minority or nursery stage. Our position is that *the Church relation becomes available to the child first through the agency of the parent, the parent as in covenant with God; and secondly, through the instrumentality of Church offices and ordinances, but all during the family life of the child.*

1. Historically, the first period of the visible Church was its patriarchal or family period. The "covenant," which is the form and charter of the Church, was with a family as such, and recognized the family relations. This was not accidental and temporary, but fundamental and perpetual. "I will establish my covenant between ME and THEE and THY SEED after thee . . . to be a God unto THEE and to THY SEED after thee." Gen. xvii, 7. "The promise is unto YOU and to YOUR CHILDREN." Acts ii, 39. The covenant, as Maurice well says, is "with a man *expressly and emphatically as the head of a family.*" Remove the relations of parent and child, and you render nugatory the whole tenor, conditions, and design of the covenant. It was in the faithful fulfillment of the duties of the family relation that the promise of the covenant fell due. "For I know Abraham, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, THAT THE LORD MAY BRING UPON ABRAHAM THAT WHICH HE HATH SPOKEN OF HIM." Gen. xviii, 19. When, in later days, the Church under Moses emerged from its patriarchal to its national character, the family was still recognized and brought out as the true normal element of Church power. Parents and children are addressed as such, and duties laid on them which, while they were of a distinctively Church character, could be performed only within the family relations. In the New Testament the national idea of a Church is dropped, but its public, corporate, and primitive covenant character retained; yet the family is clearly brought out as the true germinal state of the Church, the primitive nursery life of its members. These statements will receive further confirmation in the progress of our argument.

2. The proof of our position will further appear if we take into view *the religious design of the family constitution.* This is stated by Malachi, chap. ii, 15. Speaking of husband and wife, and of the religious ends of the family relation as originally constituted, he says: "And did not he [God] make ONE? Yet had he the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? THAT HE MIGHT SEEK A GODLY SEED." Bear in mind that the prophet is speaking of the original constitution of the family headship by the Creator, and he directly affirms that the design of God in this ordainment was religious, and this religious end was to be realized in the children of the united pair, *that he might seek* זֶרַע אֱלֹהִים *a seed of God.*" God might have made myriads of human beings to people the earth, each a responsible agent, as he made the angels, the consequences of whose good or evil conduct should terminate on himself, but he did not. He who "breathed" into Adam "the breath of life," still possessed the undiminished energy of the creative and life-giving spirit, but he did not at once people the earth with adult beings. This would have precluded the grand scheme of a RACE of beings whose life, and sympathies, and dependencies, and obligations should be blended into UNITY, and made the strong guards and guarantees of religion. It would have precluded the idea of FAMILY. He might have made a plurality of "help-meets" or companions for the first man, but this would have weakened the social bond and sympathy of the family, opened the door of discord, shattered parental authority, and defeated the grand religious end. All history shows that polygamy leads to this result. The "residue" of the spirit was with him, but his prolific energy was restrained, and the Creator, excluding all other schemes of human society, shut himself up to this, not from a physical but a moral reason. Religion, godliness, explains the end and reason of the Creator's plan of family. Its sympathies are more open to religion, and when its relations and affections are sanctified it is more powerfully concentrative of holy influences. It is thus that the Creator has *carefully sought out* a godly seed, as when one *seeks by feeling after the object;* so the word מְבַקֵּשׁ, denotes, *to search by feeling out.* Here is forethought and design in the Creator, and as the prophet is speaking expressly upon the subject of the moral reason of the family constitution, we take the passage as decisive of the case. How perfectly harmonious is this original design with the subsequent Church covenant established in the family of Abraham.

3. The whole tenor of law bearing on the family relations, both in the old and New Testaments, proves that the family is a distinct

and normal agency in the Church for the early culture and confirmation of piety. In the decalogue God conditions the perpetuity of the Hebrew nation upon the religious order of the family. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The word כָּבַּד, *honor*, denotes the acknowledgment of the relation and authority of the parent, and the rendering due reverence and obedience to the same. But this can never be without a religious recognition. The parent is supposed to be under the law of God, and his most emphatic investiture of authority relates to the duties and obligations of family religion. The promise annexed is a covenant promise—a promise never carried outside of the covenant relation. Paul, quoting this law, says, "it is the first commandment with *promise*." A speciality attaches to this circumstance. In the recapitulations of the essential laws of morality and religion by Moses and by Christ, this law of the family is repeated. Deut. v, 16; Matt. xix, 19. How prominently the religious authority and duty of the parent stand out in the Divine law! "Tell in the ears of thy sons, and thy son's sons, what things I have wrought in Egypt." "Teach them thy sons, and thy son's sons, specially the day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb." "And these words which I command thee this day shall be in thy heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children." "For the Lord established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, *that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments, and might not be as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation; a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God.*"

This last passage from Psa. lxxviii, 2–8, is of great importance. It is an inspired exposition of the religious ends of that "testimony" and "law" in Israel which required the parent to instruct the child, and proves incontestably that this parental law was a Church provision; both parties, parent and child, being in covenant with God. Correlating with this is the long line of precepts to children, which we have not space here to enumerate. But the point of the argument lies here: as the authority of the parent is a divine investiture for religious ends, and charged with religious duties, the "HONOR" due the parent is reverence for that authority *as religious;* obedience to the ends for which it was conferred. The apostle, in his rapid generalization of family duties, brings out this salient

point of the divine scheme. "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honor thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise." And again he says: "Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord." "Fathers . . . bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" in the instruction and discipline of the Lord, says Doddridge. Here are three points to be especially noticed: 1. The source and limitation of the authority of the parent. This is denoted by the genitive, *κυριου*, "*of the Lord;*" "bring them up in the instruction and discipline *of the Lord.*" "The genitive *κυριου*," says Olshausen, "is to be explained by the circumstance that both discipline and exhortation are conceived as proceeding from Christ himself." 2. The limit and end of filial obligation. This is denoted by the dative *εν κυριου* "*in the Lord.*" "Children, obey your parents *in the Lord.*" The dative, as denoting *rest in a place*, implies that both parties addressed, both parents and children, are supposed to be "*in the Lord;*" that is, saints, Christians, in mutual Church relations; and that this spiritual relation modifies and bounds the obligations of both parties. 3. Observe the sanctions appended to these commands. "For this *right,*" says Paul; that is, right according to the evangelical standard. Again he says: "For this is *well pleasing unto the Lord.*" Col. iii, 20. Now, here are sanctions or motives which are appreciable and relevant to those only who are "*in the Lord.*" They belong to no other class. The whole instruction falls completely and only within the purview of Church relation, by the very terms of the precepts; and when we consider that they are the words of the apostle officially addressed to the Church, the argument becomes complete.

A second stage of the Church life of children is marked in Scripture by two circumstances; the teaching them by public *ordinances* after they have attained sufficient age to ask, "*What mean you by this service?*" and their instruction by *Church officers.* The first is brought to view in such passages as this: "And when thy son *asketh* thee in time to come, *What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments which the Lord our God hath commanded you?* then thou shalt say unto thy son," etc. Deut. vi, 20–25. Also, with specific reference to the passover, Exod. xii, 26: "And when your children say unto you, *What mean you by this service?* that ye shall say," etc. Also, in reference to the redemption of the "first born," the monuments at Gilgal, the bitter herbs at passover, etc., Exod. xiii, 7, 8; Num. iii, 11–13; Josh. iv, 4–7, 21. The second is brought to view in the numerous instances of public teachers, prophets, and apostles addressing themselves to children,

and of our Saviour's instruction to the apostles touching this matter, which our space forbids us to dilate.

It was in pursuance of these ordained methods of religious instruction and discipline that the Hebrews admitted their children to the public participation of the ordinances after they had sufficiently learned their import and history. They were instructed in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, and if they showed an appreciative mind, were admitted to the passover, the great national and religious test of a true Israelite, at the age of twelve or thirteen years. At twelve years old our Lord attended the passover with his parents, and joined in the solemn temple service." "When a Jewish boy," says Mr. Frey, "has arrived at the age of *thirteen years and a day*, he is considered a *man*, fit to be one of the *ten* necessary to constitute a full number for public worship." Under the Christian system the same general laws should obtain, always guarding the point of the proper evidences of personal piety. When the child has been properly instructed, can appreciate the great idea of the Christian passover, and gives evidence of sincere faith in the Saviour and obedience to his commands, he should be admitted to the full participation of public ordinances. All early instruction should have this in view. The admission of the Jewish child to the passover and temple-worship was an epoch in its life, anticipated with devout longing of soul. So should our children learn to reverence the house of God, and to aspire to the feasts of Jerusalem, "whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimonies of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord."

III. We proceed now to speak of the efficacy of an early and faithful use of the appointed means for the salvation of responsible childhood. Responsibility is a plant of slow growth, and is susceptible of advancement or retardation almost indefinitely. It is the joint product of the growth of the moral and intellective powers, and its earliest manifestation is always in the least perceptible degree. It should be the first object of all instruction and discipline to develop in the child a just sense of accountability to God, and to parents as the divinely appointed sponsors and guardians of the juvenile mind. In the process of our discussion under this head we shall recognize the following principles:

First. The unconditional grace of the atonement bestowed upon infancy remains in force until the child comes under a new condition of moral life, the condition of responsibility.

Secondly. The law of responsibility in the creature, in so far as it obtains, modifies the divine administration: the bestowment or

continuance of saving grace in such a case, and all measures of increase of such grace, being secured thereafter only by a right exercise of the responsible powers.

Thirdly. There is no stage of human responsibility in which a state of present salvation and acceptance with God may not be actually possessed, and the realization of this state by the child (where it does exist) will be in proportion to its intelligent consciousness and right instruction.

1. Ever precious is the example of Christ in its bearing on the salvation of childhood. "Christ took upon him our nature," says Bishop Taylor, "to sanctify and save it, and passed through the several periods of it, even unto death; and therefore it is certain that he did sanctify all the periods of life. Why should he be an infant, but that infants should receive the crown of their age, the purification of their stained nature, the sanctification of their persons, and the saving of their souls by their infant Lord and their elder brother?" This argument is not fanciful. If the holy life of the *man* Jesus shows us how *men* should live, the holy childhood of the *child* Jesus equally illustrates the possible attainments of *children.* Jesus was a perfect child before he became a perfect man. Is there no moral significance in his childhood? It is said of him, at and after the tender age of forty days: "And the child *grew* and *waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him.*" Luke ii, 40. At twelve years old he says to his parents, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" From and after this age it is said of him, "he was *subject to his parents,*" and Jesus "*increased in wisdom* and in *stature,* and *in favor with God and man.*" Luke ii, 51, 52. His human character was progressive, yet perfect in every stage. "This," says Olshausen, "is precisely the idea of the Messiah in his human development, that he presents each stage of life pure and unsullied by sin; yet so as never to obliterate the character of the stage itself. He was completely a child, completely a youth, completely a man; and *thus hallowed all the stages of human development.*"

2. How perfectly consonant to this is the language of Scripture in regard to Samuel. When his mother had weaned him, "she brought him unto the house of the Lord, *and the child was young,*" and Samuel "*worshiped the Lord there.*" "And the *child Samuel grew before the Lord.*" "And Samuel *grew on,* and was *in favor both with the Lord, and also with men.*" "And Samuel *grew, and the Lord was with him.*" Now, what do all these reiterated statements of infantile and growing piety mean? Paul dates

Timothy's saving knowledge from the time he was *βρεφος, an infant, a young child.* 2 Tim. iii, 15. Isaiah was called of the Lord "from the womb;" and God says to Jeremiah: "Before thou wast born I sanctified thee." John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb." Such early and effectual grace, however, always supposed and comprehended a faithful instrumentality. The Hebrew Church law is fairly laid down by Isaiah, touching the period for commencing effective and earnest training of children. "Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? *They that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts.*" Isa. xxviii, 2. The time of weaning among the Hebrews was at three years of age. Thus early did religious training take effect and bring forth fruit. And how else can that ancient prophecy receive its fulfillment? "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength [established praise] that thou mightest still [restrain, cause to desist] the enemy and the avenger." Psa. viii, 2. The spiritual, evangelical, and literal character of this prophecy is established beyond a doubt by our Lord's application of it. Matt. xxi, 15, 16: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." The praises of God are to be established upon the lips of childhood, and this is to be, in Gospel times, a power to silence, and confound, and disarm infidelity. The children in the temple who cried "Hosanna," were children of the Levites between the ages of five and twelve years. Innumerable instances of piety, dating back in the twilight of childhood, and developing by a gentle progress with the growth of years, might be cited from the records of authentic biography, but our space forbids.

3. But this same truth is taught by all those precepts which require of the parent the early and continued training of the child. Take, for example, Eph. vi, 4: "Ye parents, bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." The question is, At what age of the child does this parental duty take effect? When is the parent to begin? Answer this question, and we will tell at what age instruction may make the child "wise unto salvation." At the moment this precept becomes a binding obligation on the parent, at that moment the provisions of grace are sufficient to make the fulfillment of this duty effectual to the salvation of the child. And so of each successive moment up to mature years. Now, this command to "bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," is a command to begin with them at the earliest moment that they are susceptible of this *παιδεια και νουθεσια κυριου, training and instruction of the Lord,* and to continue it thereafter without intermission.

The word *εκτρεφετε*, *bring them up*, *train them up*, *educate*, *nourish them*, as a precept covers all the period of childhood, or minority, not exempting one day or hour. Its sense is more fully brought out in its Septuagint use, and the corresponding Hebrew word גָּדַל, *gadal*, *to grow*, *nourish*, *bring up*. We offer this simply as an illustration of the entire code of precepts, both in the Old and New Testaments, covering this branch of parental duty. And so we would understand Prov. xxii, 6: "*Train*, *initiate*, *dedicate a child at the entrance of his path.*" The obligation of the command, "Thou shalt teach thy children diligently," etc., dates at the earliest susceptibility of instruction in the child, and terminates only at the point where the mature responsibility of the child supersedes parental control; and through all the intermediate points of this period this instruction is appointed as the instrument of saving grace to the child.

4. The child does not grow up religious by a law of natural development. The elements of religion are not in his nature, needing only education, and right social influences, to bring them forth to ripeness. Religious instruction and discipline do not rest upon the aptitudes of nature for their promise of success, but upon grace antecedently bestowed. Prevenient grace is a fundamental truth, never to be set aside as a condition of successful instrumentality either in the adult or child. In the child, prior to accountability, all prevenient grace is saving grace; in the adult, prior to regeneration, it is assisting grace. This saving grace in the child, as in the adult, never increases but by use, and use implies accountability. It is like the life of a seed as distinguished from the life of a plant. The enveloped life of the unplanted seed retains only its normal condition, but the developed life of the planted seed expands through new and beautiful and progressive forms of existence. "The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field." Mark the two points of the analogy: 1. A "seed," possessing a *principle of life*; 2. A genial *condition*, "which a man took and *sowed in his field*." The similitude would utterly fail if this latter circumstance were wanting. It is not the "*seed*" merely, but the seed "*sown*," the seed brought into congenial contact with external nature, suited to its germination and growth, which illustrates the life, growth, and perfection of the kingdom of God. "For so is the kingdom of God, as if a man should *cast seed into the ground*, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knew not how. For the earth bringeth forth of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." Beautiful similitude! "I have PLANTED, Apollos WATERED, but God gave the INCREASE." Chang-

ing the conditions of the metaphor somewhat, Peter says: "As *new born babes* desire the *sincere milk* of the word, that ye may *grow* thereby." If the grace of infancy never comes forth to maturity, let the Church and the parent, to whom belong the planting, the watering, and the pruning, well consider it. God gives no "increase" but according to established laws. "They that are planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God." The one talent never increased, because never used.

5. On the metaphysics, or mere abstract possibilities of the question, whether a child can grow up in a regenerate state, without ever forfeiting its infantile state of grace, we have not hitherto proposed to enter, considering that form of the question more curious than practical. Standing on the immutable declaration of Christ, we say: "Except, τις, *any person* be born again—born, εξ πνεματος, *by the Spirit*—he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And standing on the ground laid down in this argument, everywhere recognized in Scripture, we say that this grace denoted by regeneration is available to our humanity at every period of its existence. Nay more, if any one period of our life is more susceptible of grace than another, it is that of childhood; and if the faithful use of religious instrumentality has greater promise of success at one period than another, it is that of our earlier consciousness. The child may sin and repent without any greater forfeiture of its antecedent, unconditional justification, than the adult believer incurs who is "overtaken with a fault" and is "restored." Sin and grace in such instances are both in proportion only to the moral development of the child. The parent, in laying down the obligation of repentance to the child, is not required to go back of its personal consciousness. It should, indeed, be taught to confess the sinfulness of its nature, like David, who, says Calvin, "commences the confession of his depravity at the time of his conception." Psa. li, 5. It should so confess, because this fallen nature is the perpetual occasion of departing from God, and in itself offensive to his holiness, and in yielding to it we seem to adopt and approve it, and thus make it, in a sense, our personal offense. Yet the Christian life and warfare may be successfully carried on, and a state of favor, and increasing favor with God, maintained through all the stages of childhood.

6. In conclusion of this brief article, we go back and plant our feet upon the last projecting verge of prophetic utterance in the Old Testament, and endeavor, with Malachi, to lift the warning voice against the remissness of the Church in regard to family religion. "Behold," says God, "I send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord; *and he shall turn*

the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.' Does this prophecy look forward to the restoration of the primitive, religious order of the family? No other construction is easy, natural, and consonant to all the connecting facts. To give the particle עַל, translated "*to*," the sense of *with*, and read it, "the hearts of the fathers *with* their children," as indicating that whole families, fathers and children together, were to be turned, is a possible sense, and would imply the order of family religion. But this gives not the force of the passage. It is well enough translated in the common English; or, perhaps, we should take its more radical sense of *down upon*, as we find it in 2 Kings xiv, 1: "The king's heart was *upon* Absalom." This setting "the heart of the father *upon* the child, and the heart of the child *upon* the father," with reference to religious ends and religious duties; this turning family affections and interests into their proper channel, and making them subservient to their original ends, namely, to secure "a godly seed;" this is the point of the prophet's utterance. Church reformation begins with family reformation. "Every man should build over against his own house." The religious claims of the children must first be looked after. This prophecy is of such marked significance that it is quoted in the Apocrypha, (Eccl. xlviii, 10,) where the "turning of the father to the son" is the means of averting divine judgments, and "restoring the tribes of Israel;" and is also repeated as the first prophetic announcement of the New Testament. Luke i, 17. The awful import of these words rolled their solemn reverberations through the fallen Jewish Church, who, by their human traditions, had unsettled the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, and thus "made void the law of God;" and they reach down to us, and will forever stand like a beacon fire on the walls of a godless Church and family. "That thy days may be long in the land," is the blessing promised; "Lest I smite the land with a curse," is the malediction threatened. Let the Church see to it.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—THE REVIVAL MOVEMENTS have continued also during the last three months in England, Ireland, and, though to a lesser extent, in Scotland. From England, in particular, it is reported that there is scarcely a town where special prayer-meetings are not held for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Yet fewer reports of special interest have been received, and the physical manifestations, which at first drew so much attention, have been diminished. The demand for publications on the revival of religion is very great, and "*The Revival,*" a four paged quarto, giving news of the progress of the awakening in the United Kingdom, has a circulation of not less than twenty-five thousand weekly. An interesting discussion on the revivals took place at the last London quarterly meeting of the Unitarians, almost all the speakers regarding them as being brought about by the direct and immediate agency of the Holy Spirit of God. THE SPECIAL SERVICES FOR THE WORKING CLASSES are again held in a number of larger churches, and in order to reach these classes better, a committee of gentlemen—Churchmen and Dissenters—decided on hiring from the lessees several of the low theaters in the more densely populated portions of London for Sunday evening services. The experiment, commenced on December 18, has been, so far, quite successful. A case of high importance, concerning the RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE, is still pending before the law courts of Scotland. On the appeal of Mr. Miller, the minister of Cardross, who had been deposed by the General Assembly of the Free Church for attempting to interpose the civil courts between him and discipline, the judges called on the assembly to produce in court the constitution of their Church, on which they claimed the right to depose him. This the Church refused to do, denying the jurisdiction of the court. On December 23 the court unanimously repelled the preliminary defenses for the Free Church, ordaining them to satisfy the production, and finding them liable in the expenses of process since the preliminary defenses were lodged. On January 18 a special meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Free Church was convened, to consider the steps to be taken in consequence of the decision of the court. The report recommended to satisfy production in terms of the order of the Court of Session, the Church always being prepared to resist any attempt of the court to make use of this act for reviewing the ecclesiastical procedure, connected, with the sentence produced. This resolution was unanimously adopted. In England, it is especially the Church Rates question which continues to agitate the public mind with regard to the relation between Church and State. The Church Defense Association held recently a great meeting at Bath, where one of the speakers pronounced upon "the utter inefficiency of the voluntary principle wherever it had been tried," while another expressed the belief that the Wesleyan Methodists would not join in the movement for the abolition of the Church Rate. At a private meeting of the Episcopal bench, recently held in compliance with an earnest invitation from the Primate, it was unanimously resolved to oppose any change. Among other questions agitated in the Church of England we mention only the MOVEMENT AGAINST THE ALTERATION OF THE LITURGY, as proposed by Lord Ebury. A circular signed by Dr. Trench, Dr. Jelf, and others, has been distributed among the clergy with a view of calling forth an explicit declaration of their opinion on this question. THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS of England and Ireland differ in their opinion on the education question. Both bodies have formerly been opposed to the Irish National Board of Education. But at the last Irish Conference, in June 1859, a majority decided that the Wesleyan schools might be placed under the control of the commissioners, while the committee to which the English Conference, in Manchester, had referred this question, adopted, at its meeting in November, a resolution affirmative of the former principles of the Methodists on the subject.

The Roman Catholic Church.—MEETINGS IN FAVOR OF THE POPE and the preservation of his temporal sovereignty, have been held all over Ireland and in

many towns in England. But it has been observed that the participation in them has been neither so general, nor so enthusiastic as was expected, and that several Roman Catholics of influence declared themselves opposed to these demonstrations. THE PRESENT STATISTICS of the Roman Church in England and Scotland are stated by the London Catholic Directory for 1860 as follows: Churches, chapels, and stations in England, 767; in Scotland, 183. Priests in England, 1,077; in Scotland 154. Colleges in England, 10, of which three are conducted by Jesuits; in Scotland, 3. Religious houses and communities of men, 37; Convents, 123.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS with the new Imperial Patent of Sept. 1 has proved to be almost general, and their opposition to the carrying through of the new Church constitution much more decided and energetic than the Austrian government anticipated. The convocations of the old superintendent districts, though abolished by the new constitutions, have assembled as usual, in spite of the direct prohibition of the Austrian government, and entered their protest against the right assumed by the government to change the constitution of a Protestant Church. The most important of these convocations was that at Debrezim, held on January 11, which was also attended more numerously than any other yet held on the Imperial Patent. The summons of the Imperial commissary to disperse, met with a resolute refusal; the chairman declaring that, by the law of Hungary, they had an undoubted right to assemble to make such a protest, that that right they were determined to exercise, and that if force were employed they would have recourse to force. The presiding officers of one of these convocations have been sentenced to imprisonment. A deputation, consisting of two distinguished noblemen, which was sent to Vienna to lay their petition for the restoration of their legal rights in the hands of the emperor, was not received by the emperor, while a private audience, offered to them as individuals, was declined by them. At last the government seems, however, to have been intimidated by the determined attitude of the Hungarians. On February 1 the two chairmen of the Protestants were invited to an audience by the emperor, who declared himself willing to redress the grievances of the Protestants. The deputation hit upon a plan which would remove the greatest difficulties, without compelling the government to expressly revoke the patent. The government consented to this plan, but the Protestant conference of Pesth did not indorse the transactions of their deputation, and insisted that the eight old district convocations must meet once more, in order to sanction the proposed expedient. It is generally believed that the Protestants will soon carry their point. In PRUSSIA the question of a reorganization of the Church is again ventilated. Several clergy and laymen of Berlin, mostly belonging to the school of Schleiermacher, lately presented a petition to the Prince Regent, praying for the convocation of a general synod for the purpose of drawing up a Church constitution. The Prince Regent, in his reply, countersigned by Herr von Bethman Hollweg, assured the petitioners that it is his wish to convoke a general synod as soon as it will be feasible, but that at present he does not consider the Church ripe for such a movement, and therefore a gradual progress in that direction preferable.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE CONCORDAT WITH BADEN is at present the most exciting theme in Germany. Its publication has given rise to a very extensive agitation. The court, the ministers of the state, and the higher aristocracy side, in this question, with Rome, while nearly the whole population of the large towns, both Catholic and Protestant, nearly the whole press, and the Universities of Heidelberg and Freiburg, stand on the other side. The unanimity with which the University of Freiburg has pronounced itself has exceeded the general expectation. Eighteen of the twenty-one ordinary professors who do not belong to the theological faculty, and both the two extraordinary professors, have drawn up a *promemoria* regarding the "freedom of teaching," which they maintain will be annihilated should the following clause in the Concordat, "Whenever the archbishop deems that any teacher in the university, it matters not to what faculty he belong, puts forth in his lectures anything not in accordance with the dogmas of the Catholic Church, the grandducal government pledges itself to give, on application, all needful aid for the removal of the grievance," pass into law. A meeting of Protestant clergy and laity was held at Durlach for discussing the best means of protecting the rights of the Protestant Church, and

it has created much bad feeling that the seven members of the committee appointed by this meeting, have been required by the government to give an account of themselves. One of the passages which are most obnoxious to the laity of both (Protestant and Roman) Churches, is the provision on mixed marriages, according to which no Protestant pastor dare perform the marriage ceremony where one of the parties is a Roman Catholic, without a direct license from the parish priest. In some towns, as Heidelberg and Manheim, a large majority, even of the Roman Catholic population, have signed the petitions against the Concordat. It is generally understood that not above six or eight members of the second chamber, and not more than four of the first, will vote for the Concordat, While this proves conclusively that Rome has not yet regained a firm hold of the Roman Catholic population of Baden, the ADDRESSES OF SYMPATHY TO THE POPE have been signed very numerously in Prussia, where, as is now generally conceded, the attachment of the Roman Catholic population to the Church is stronger than in any other part of Germany. The address of the diocese of Cologne has been signed by 155,000 men, that of Breslau by 106,000, and in the other Prussian dioceses the signatures are equally numerous. The eight archbishops and bishops of Prussia have also prayed the Prince Regent of Prussia, in a joint address, to protect the rights of the pope as a legitimate sovereign. The union heretofore existing in the second chamber of the Prussian Parliament between the ministerial and the Roman Catholic parties has been dissolved, and consequently the leader of the latter party has not been reelected first vice-president of the chamber. The Catholic party in the second chamber counts at present forty-two members. A considerable number of the Roman Catholic members do not belong to it.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches.—The Parliaments of all the three Scandinavian kingdoms have been occupied with the discussion of questions partly changing the ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION. In Sweden a bill brought in by the government, and proposing some mitigations of the intolerant old code, is likely to be adopted. It is, however, much less liberal than the propositions made to the diet by the late King Oscar. In Norway a Church committee, consisting of one bishop, two provosts, two pastors, two lawyers, and two countrymen, which was appointed on January 27, 1859, has recommended the election of vestries in every congregation, and a revision of the legislation of divorces. In Denmark the draft of a new constitution has been submitted by the government to the diocesan conventions of the clergy. Public opinion in Denmark continues to pronounce itself decidedly in favor of an entire separation of Church and State, and motions to this effect have again been made in the diet. The Free Churches advance rapidly. The Baptists. in Sweden, in spite of the incessant persecution, have increased to more than three thousand. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Norway and Denmark has six congregations, with more than four hundred members. In Norway also the Free Apostolic Church, founded by Pastor Lammers, is advancing; and in Denmark the number of the Free Lutheran congregations increases.

The Roman Catholic Church.—GREAT EFFORTS are made by the Roman missionaries, especially in the province of literature. Though their membership in all Scandinavia counts only a few thousand, they have started, during the past year, their third periodical, a political weekly. Recently, also, a history of the Roman Church in Denmark, from 828 to 1536, has been published by a Roman Catholic author, which attracts some attention, because it is, as yet, the only historical work on this period in the Danish language. In Copenhagen a free school has been established, where poor children receive not only free instruction, but also support, on which account it is visited also by many poor Protestant children.

FRANCE.

The Protestant Church.—THE LANGUAGE OF THE LEADING FRENCH PERIODICALS on Protestant affairs is attracting considerable attention. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the most thorough of all French papers, has brought out during the last year several articles in which a grand future is prophesied to the Protestant Church. An article of Emile Montegut on the works of Madame Gasparin remarks: "Noble Church, which in the midst of universal enfeeblement numbers yet so many loyal and valiant souls! Courage! In one way or another a grand future is reserved for you!" Similar are the sentiments of Prevost Paradol, one of the assistant editors of the *Journal des Debats*. He has recently published a new edition of

an older work on French Protestantism, and added to it an introduction on "the *future* of Protestantism in France," in which he describes the prospects of Protestantism as very good. But while thus Protestantism is advancing, the STRIFE OF PARTIES continues within. Rationalism is far from being extinct, and it is even asserted by some that it is again spreading among the younger clergy. Several new ultra-rationalistic and deistic books have been published by pastors of the French Churches, and indorsed by many others, and the views of men like the late Monod, have been pronounced by a Reformed pastor of Paris as antichristian, antihuman, and antidivine. The periodicals of the evangelical party strongly advocate the re-establishment of synods, from which they hope some remedy of the existing evils. The minister of public worship is favorable to this plan, but a majority of pastors is believed to be opposed to it. The evangelical party has recently suffered a great loss by the death of Mr. Bonifas, a young, pious, and talented professor of theology in the faculty of Montauban. His death will undoubtedly give rise to severe contests regarding the appointment of a successor.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The new year opens with GLOOMY PROSPECTS for the Roman Church. The pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congres* left no doubt on the intentions of the emperor. The pope's reply, ignoring the author and stigmatizing the pamphlet itself as hypocritical; the emperor's categorical assumption of the principles therein laid down; and, lastly, the encyclica of the pope to all the Roman bishops of the world, proclaimed to the whole world that the pope had completely fallen out with the most powerful protector of the Church among the European princes. That the immense majority of the French bishops and priests side with the pope cannot be doubted, for eighty-one out of eighty-three archbishops and bishops have come out publicly in defense of the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and only one, the Bishop of Troyes, has indirectly censured the demonstrations in favor of it. The suppression of the *Univers*, the leading Roman Catholic Daily of the world, is a proof that the emperor is not afraid to take up the gauntlet, and unless he finds it in his interest to change again his policy, we may expect for the current year a struggle between Church and State of the highest consequence. Both the great divisions, into which the so-called Catholic party of France is divided, the strict ultramontanes (Univers) and the more moderate school, (Montalembert, Falloux, Lacordaire,) are in this question united against the emperor. Even some heirs of the old Gallican traditions have issued strong declarations in favor of the temporal power of the pope, among which no one has created greater surprise than that of Silvestre de Sacy, the editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Debats*. On the other hand there are, however, also several priests who have dared to declare themselves for the abolition of the temporal power. Among them Abbé Michon, who some years ago proposed to the pope to take up his residence in Jerusalem, is the most known. Great interest is also taken in the establishment of a new Anti-Roman periodical, called *l'Union Chrétienne*, of which the first number was published in November. The *prospectus* is signed by Abbé Guettée, well known as the author of the best work on the history of the Gallican Church, and by a priest of one of the Eastern Churches. The aim seems to be to unite all the episcopal Churches of the world on the basis of the œcumenical councils of the first centuries.

ITALY.

The Roman Catholic Church.—AN ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF THE POPE, of January 19, announces to his "venerable brethren, the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, united by grace and the communion of the apostolic see," that the Emperor of France has openly adhered to the doctrines of the pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congres*, notwithstanding these doctrines had previously been branded by the pope as hypocritical and extremely iniquitous; that he has advised the pope to give up the legations, and that the pope has replied that the papal rights of sovereignty could not be abdicated without violating the solemn oaths which bind the pope, and without weakening the rights of all the princes of the Christian world. The encyclical letter evidently regards the breach between Rome and the French government as complete, and anticipates serious troubles for the papacy. In the mean while the ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION in the states of Central Italy (Parma, Modena, Tuscany, the legations,) continues to undergo thorough changes. Three decrees are prepared in Tuscany; first, a commission will be appointed to draw up a report on the condition of the revenues of the various eccle-

siastical corporations of Tuscany, preliminary to the introduction of a bill for a more just distribution of the wealth of the Church, and the augmentation of the stipends of the rural clergy; secondly, an annual endowment of 40,000 lire (about $6,000) will be created for the Jewish Establishment; thirdly, the concordat concluded under the late Grandduke Leopold will be abolished. Similar decrees are prepared in the other three states.

The Protestant Churches.—The news on the PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM is highly important. In Lombardy several societies are in the field for the work of evangelization. The Bible Society of Elberfield supports six colporteurs; the Italian Evangelical Society of Geneva three or four; the Vaudois one; the depot of the British Bible Society at Genoa two. An evangelist of the Italian Church of Dr. de Sanctis, at Turin, is active at Milan. The new Waldensian congregation at Milan not only supports the pastor, but also enables him to send six colporteurs into Lombardy. In Sardinia an edition of the Italian New Testament is in progress at Turin. The Tract Society of Turin has been busy printing tracts during the summer. A new Waldensian chapel has been opened at Aosta, where a few years ago not a Protestant was to be found. Now one of the magistrates is a professed adherent. In Tuscany permission has been given for the introduction of the Bible through the custom-house, and a number of copies, after having been long imprisoned in the custom-house, have been liberated. The Waldensian congregation has obtained permission to open a separate place of worship, instead of conducting its services in the Swiss church, and a hall has been hired for the joint use of the Scotch and Italian congregations. Signor Mazzarella, from Genoa, preached for several weeks to crowded audiences, until the government, as was believed, intimidated by the archbishop, temporarily shut up the place of gathering. Mazzarella then returned to Genoa, and Count Guicciardini, whose Plymouthian views are said to have injured the congregation in the estimation of the government, also left Florence. In January the Plymouth party formally separated from the congregation, led by an ex-priest, Gualtieri, who is supported as an evangelist in Florence by a committee in Nice. The congregation has found a new chief or evangelist in the person of a carpenter named Barsali, and the communicants, who were two hundred a few weeks ago, have now reached the number of three hundred. The agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society has removed his headquarters from Genoa to Florence, and numerous colporteurs are now traversing the country. Congregations have been formed at Pisa and Leghorn. Colporteurs and Scripture readers are also proceeding to Bologna, Parma, Modena, and throughout the whole of Tuscany.

SPAIN.

The Protestant Church.—Senor Escalante, the colporteur who for circulating the (Roman Catholic) Spanish version of the Scriptures has been in prison for eight months, has now been condemned by the court to nine years of imprisonment. A meeting at Edinburgh, Scotland, held on January 23, has invoked the interposition of the British government in his behalf.

The Roman Catholic Church.—A new concordat was signed on Nov. 25. According to Spanish papers the Pope consents in it to the sale of the Church property, and the salaries of the clergy are entered in the register of the public debt, to be paid by the state as interest.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

I. GERMANY.

1. Exegetical Literature.

Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Græce. Vol. i, pp. cclxxviii, 696; vol. ii, pp. 681, 8vo. Leipsic: A. Winter. 1859. There is no difference of opinion concerning the great merits of Professor Tischendorf in behalf of the Greek text of the New Testament. Nearly twenty years of his life have been devoted to the most thorough investigations for the purpose of re-establishing the original text in its purity. Numerous discoveries of great

importance have rewarded his incessant zeal, and established his reputation as the highest living authority in all questions relating to the purity of the sacred text. The preface gives, among other matter, a survey of the manuscripts of the New Testament, the version and the patristic works which Tischendorf has discovered and partially published, and of those which he has compared again, in order to find new material for his edition; a treatise on the order of the books of the New Testament; a review of the most important editions, and a survey of the whole material made use of by him. The text itself is accompanied by critical notes, giving the authorities for the readings of the common text, of the readings adopted by Tischendorf, and of the various readings in general. Since the publication of the seventh edition of the New Testament Professor Tischendorf has made a new journey to the East, and discovered a new manuscript more important than any other heretofore known. We give a brief account of it below under literary notices.

New volumes have been recently published of the two great Bibleworks of Bunsen and of Professor Lange in Bonn. The latter work, (*Theologische Homiletisches Bibleœrk. Bielefield*, 1859,) whose author is a prominent member of the evangelical party and known by many other theological works, meets among the German clergy with a very favorable reception, as it not only gives in condensed form all the results of modern exegetical theology, but has also a very rich homiletic department. Ministers who can read German will find the work in this latter respect very useful and instructive.

The lectures of the late Professor Neander on the two Epistles to the Corinthians have been published by Beyschlag, court preacher at Carlsruhe. (*N.'s Theologische Vorlesungen*, vol. ii. Berlin.)

Professor Wiesler, of Goettingen, has published a new Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. (*Commentar uber den Brief au die Galater. Goettingen*, 1859.) Professor Hupfeld, of Halle, the third volume of his Commentary on the Psalms. (*Die Psalmen. Gotha*, 1860.) The fourth volume, completing the work, will appear in 1861.

Of the exegetical manual on the apocryphal books, by Fritzsch and Grimm, (*Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen. Leipsic*,) the fifth volume has appeared.

The only work in the Roman Catholic theology worth noticing is a new manual of introduction to the books of the Old Testament, by Professor Reusch, of Bonn. (*Lehrbuch der Einleitung. Freiburg*, 1859.) The author, one of the ablest young theologians of the Roman Church, admits the superiority of Protestant literature by the complaint that among the standard works to which he refers there are only so few of Roman Catholic authors.

2. Historic Theology.

Hefele, History of Councils. (Concilien geschichte. Freiburg, vols. i–iii.) This work is acknowledged everywhere as the standard work, and in fact the only complete work on the subject, as for a long time no other general history of councils had appeared. It contains the history of *all* important synods, all the decrees, and the important documents both in the original and in a German translation; also the references to the works of Harduin and Mansi. A fourth volume is in press; it will be completed in five volumes.

Köppen, C. F. The Religion of Buddha, vol. ii, containing the Lamaic Hierarchy and Church. (Die Religion des Buddha. Berlin, 8vo.) A History of Buddhism was a great *desideratum*, because a number of the most important documents have become known only during the last years. A survey of all the newly discovered sources was given a few years ago by Professor Weber, of Berlin, in his "*Indische Studien*." These sources have been made use of by Köppen, and therefore the former works may be regarded, to some extent, as being superseded by it. The first volume was published in 1857, and well received by all Orientalists. The preface of the second volume states that another work on the history of Buddhism has been published in Russia by Wassiliew, and that a new source of information has been opened by the publication of the historic work of the Tibetan priest, Varanutha.

On the history of the Protestant Church in Russia during the present and last centuries, treat *Harnack*, (Professor in Erlangen, strict Lutheran,) *The Lutheran Church of Livonia and the Moravians*, (Die Lutherische Kirche Lioland's Erlangen, 1859, pp. xiv, 400, 8vo,) and *Hasselblatt, on the Present Position of the Moravians in Livonia*, (Zur Beurtheilung der gegenwärtigen Stellung Herrnhuts in Livland. Dorpat, 1859.) A little book on the *Evangelical Church in Austria: its History, Constitution, and Statistics, by Hornyanski*,

the editor of the two Protestant papers in Pesth, Hungary, (Die evangelische kirche in Oesterreich, Pesth, 1859,) is very seasonable, as the struggles of the Hungarian Protestants for their rights attract just now general attention.

Several valuable new editions of church fathers have appeared, among which we mention: *Dressel, Clementinorum Epitomæ duæ.* Leipsic, 1859. 8vo., pp. ix, 334.) The editor is already well known by an edition of the Apostolic Fathers. Of the two epitomæ one appears in this edition in a greatly corrected form, while the other is published for the first time entire. *Krabinger, S. Cypriani libri ad donatum, de dominica oratione, de mortalitate, ad Demetrianum, de opere et eleemosynis, de bono patientiæ et de zelo et livore* (Tubingen, 1859. 8vo., pp. viii, 320) gives an improved text and critical notes. *Laemmer, Eusebii Pamphili historiæ ecclesiasticæ libri x.* (Schaffhausen, 1859. Vol. i, pp. xiv, 148, 8vo.) All the manuscripts of Germany and Italy have been again compared, the Latin translation of Valesius corrected in several places, and critical notes added. The edition of the celebrated work of *S. Hippolytus, Refutationis omnium hæresium librorum decem, by Duncker and Schneidewin,* the first part of which appeared in 1856, has now been completed. (Goettingen, 1859. pp. viii, 574, 8vo.)

Of the comprehensive *History of the Religion of Jesus Christ,* commenced by Count *Stolberg,* (Roman Catholic,) and continued, though with less talent, by Kerz, and, at present, by Brischar, Professor at Vienna, the fifty-second volume has been issued, together with a complete index to vols. xvi–li. Other continuations of historic works are: *Gfrorer, History of Pope Gregory VII.,* vol. iv, and *Hiemer, Introduction of Christianity into Germany,* vol. v.

3. Dogmatic Theology.

Professor *Schenkel's Manual of Christian Doctrines* (*Die Christliche Dogmatik,* Wiesbaden, vol. ii,) is now complete. Of Professor *Philippi's* (Professor at Rostock, and High Lutheran) *System of Doctrines* (*Glaubenslehre.* Stuttgardt, 1859,) the third volume has been issued, containing the doctrines of sin, of Satan, and of death.

4. Philosophical Literature.

F. Michelis, (R. C.,) *the Philosophy of Plato* in its inner relation to revealed truth. Part I., containing the introductions, the dialectic and Socratic dialogues (Munster, 1859.) *Ehlers, On the Influence of Ancient Philosophy,* especially the Platonic and Stoic, on the Christian apologetic writers of the second century. (Goettingen, 1859.) *Noack,* (Hegelian, author of a History of Christian Doctrines, and many other works,) *Schelling and the Philosophy of Romanticism,* vol. ii, which completes the work. (Berlin, 1859.) *Rosencranz,* (Hegelian,) *Science of the Logical Idea.* Part II. Logics and Doctrines of Ideas. (Koenigsberg, 1859.) *Apelt,* (adherent of the Philosophy of Fries,) *Philosophy of Religion,* (Leipsic, 1860,) tries to show that German theology, since Schleiermacher, has adopted false philosophic views, which have undermined the foundation of all theology, the true conception of the idea of God.

5. Periodicals.

Professor *Schenkel* of Heidelberg, in union with Professors Baur of Giessen, Jacobi of Halle, Heppe of Marburg, and other distinguished writers of the evangelical party, has established a new periodical called, *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* (Elberfeld, 1860,) of which ten numbers will be published during the year. The "*Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*" of Darmstadt, of which Professor Schenkel has been, until now, assistant editor, will be edited in future by Dr. Zimmerman, Dr. Palmer, and Dr. Lechler. In Austria the *Protestantische Jahrbucher fur Oestreich,* by Hornyanski, which were discontinued two years ago, have been revived. The *Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* of Rostock, one of the leading organs of the High Lutherans, changes its title into *Theologische Zeitschrift.* It will in future be edited by Professor Dieckhoff of Goettingen, and Dr. Kliefoth of Schwerin, and six numbers will be published a year. It will contain three departments: I. Articles; II. Religious Intelligence; III. Literary Intelligence.

6. General Literary Notices.

The New Manuscript of the Bible from Mount Sinai. The most valuable discovery made by Professor Tischendorf, during his late journey in the East, is a new manuscript of the Greek New Testament, more important for the establishment of the original text of the New Testament than any other manuscript of the Bible heretofore known. For many reasons Professor Tischendorf feels convinced that it was made in the first half of the fourth century, and that it is therefore the oldest manuscript of the New Testament which is extant. Only the celebrated Vaticana

can be compared with it, though even this is less valuable, because five entire books and one part of a sixth are wanting in it. The old age attributed by Tischendorf to this new manuscript, was contested by a member of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, but defended by Tischendorf with arguments which have given, in the literary world, general satisfaction.

II. FRANCE.

1. Theological Literature.

"*Christianity in the Middle Ages—Innocent III.*," (Le Christianisme au Moyen Age. Paris, 1859,) is the title of a new work of Count Agenor de Gasparin. No man of Protestant France has among the evangelical denominations of England and America a better name than Count A. de Gasparin. Equally opposed to the Roman and the rationalistic theologies, and a strenuous advocate of the interests of the Free Churches, and as conspicuous for ripe scholarship as for zeal and piety, he has stood for many years in the foremost ranks of the defenders of evangelical Christianity. This last work of his unites, according to the *Revue Chretienne*, the strictest impartiality of a truth-loving historian with an uncompromising opposition to the system of which it treats. This last work of Gasparin is one of a series of Lectures on Church History, by Gasparin, Bungener, Pressense, and Viguet.

Another distinguished writer of Protestant France, Edmond de Pressense, (editor of the Revue Chretienne,) has commenced in 1859 a new History of the Christian Church during the first three centuries, (Histoire des trois premiers siecles de l'Eglise Chretienne. Paris, 1859. 8vo., 2 vols.) A third volume has been promised for 1860. The leading literary and religious journals of France have devoted long articles to a review of this work, which is generally regarded as one of the best contributions of France to the literature of Church history.

Another historic work of importance is a *History of the French Reformation, by F. Puaux*, a pastor of the Reformed Church, of which also 2 vols. have been issued. The whole work will contain 6 vols., (Histoire de la Reformation Francaise. Paris, 1859. 8vo.)

The recent French literature is rich in works defending the principle of religious liberty, or, at least, toleration. If Protestant Christianity is not yet in the ascendancy in France, it at least receives credit from a vast majority of the intelligent Frenchmen for having successfully overcome some of the consequences of Roman theology. Among the recent works which treat of this subject, we mention a *History of Religious Liberty in France and of its Founders, by Dargaud*, (Histoire de la Libertie Religieuse en France et de ses Fondateurs, 4 vols. Paris, 1859,) and a work on *The Future of Toleration*, by *Ad. Schaeffer*. (Essai sur l'avenir de la Tolerance, 1 vol. Paris, 1859.)

The literary papers of France bring a large list of other recent interesting publications, but we have no space for extensive notices. We only mention some of the most important. *Sainte Beuve*, a great admirer of the Jansenists, has issued vols. iv and v of his work on "*Port Royal*," which is now complete. The indefatigable *Abbé Migne* is rapidly progressing in the publication of the Greek Church Fathers (*Patrologia Græca.*) At present the works of *Cyril of Alexandria*, and of *Theodoretus*, are going through the press. *Abbé Constant* has published two volumes of investigations on one of the sorest points of the Roman system, the infallibility of the Popes, (*L'Histoire et l'Infallibilitie des Papes.* Paris, 1859. 2 vols., 8vo.,) with what ability we have not yet been able ourselves to examine. To an observer of the Mohammedans in Algeria (*Ch. Brosselard*) we are indebted for valuable information on the constitution of the Mohammedan religious orders in Algeria. (Les Khouan, Alger., 1859.) Of one of the larger works undertaken conjointly by the congregation of French Benedictines, "*The Acts of the Martyrs from the Beginning of the Christian Church until the Present Time*," (Les Actes des Martyrs. Paris. 1859, 8vo.,) the third volume has appeared.

2. Periodicals.

In the Annual Catalogue of French Literature for 1859, published at Paris by Ch. Rheinwald, we find a list of the religious papers of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. The first contains 18, the second 15, the third 3 names. Among the Roman Catholics are two which are strongly antipapal, (l'Observateur Catholique and l'Union Chretienne,) and one in a foreign language. Deducting these three, we have the curious fact, that the one or two millions of Protestants support as many periodicals as the more than thirty millions of Roman Catholics.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, January, 1860.—1. Dr. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought: 2. Notes on Scripture: Matthew xxiii, xxiv: 3. Christ's Promises, in the Epistles to the Churches, to those who are Victorious: 4. The Indo-Syrian Church: 5. Designation and Exposition of Isaiah, chapters xlix, l, and li: 6. The Book of Judges: 7. Mr. Hequembourg's Plan of Creation.

II. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. The Synod of Dort: 2. Symbolical Import of Baptism: 3. Moses and his Dispensation: 4. No Priest but Christ: 5. Private Christians in their Relations to the Unbelieving World: 6. The Present and Past Physical State of Palestine: 7. The American Board and the Choctaw Mission: 8. The Raid of John Brown and the Progress of Abolition.

III. QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1860.—1 Masson's Life of Milton: 2. Dr. Alexander's Theory of Conscience: 3. The Philosophy of the Conditioned: 4. Evangelism: 5. The Classic Localities of our Land: 6. German Theology.

IV. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Christianity or Gentilism? 2. The Soul's Activity: 3. Manahan's Triumph of the Church: 4. The Bible against Protestants: 5. The True Cross: 6. The Yankee in Ireland.

V. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Sir William Hamilton's Lectures: 2. Rives's Life of Madison: 3. India. Part Second—British India: 4. Sprague's Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit: 5. Thomson's Logic: 6. Relations of Romans i, 18–23, to the General Argument with the whole Epistle: 7. Early Baptist History.

VI. THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. The Ministerial Office: 2. The Shekinah: 3. Israel under the Second Great Monarchy: 4. Baptism of Children, etc.: 5. Does John iii, 5, refer to Baptism? 6. Exposition of Matthew xi, 12: 7. English Lutheran Hymn Books: 8. Baccalaureate Address: 9. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 10. The Defense of Stephen.

VII. THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine: 2. Churchliness: 3. The Church and Charitable Institutions: 4. The Festival of Adonis: 5. The American Student in Germany: 6. Synodical Church Authority: 7. Cantate Domino.

VIII. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, January, 1860.—1. The Religious Life and Opinions of John Milton: 2. Church Theology and Free Inquiry in the Twelfth Century: 3. Limits of Religious Thought adjusted: 4. The Twofold Life of Jesus Christ: 5. Objections from Reason against the Endless Punishment of the Wicked: 6. Hymnology.

IX. THE NEW ENGLANDER, February, 1860.—1. Mr. Tennyson and the Idyls of King Arthur; 2. American Legislation: 3. Denominational Colleges: 4. The Reopening of the African Slave Trade; 5. Professor Lewis's New Work, "The Divine Human in the Scriptures": 6. The Minister's Wooing: From the Dr. Dryasdust Point of View: 7. Sir William Hamilton's Lectures on Metaphysics: 8. Professor Huntington's New Volume of Sermons.

X. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Inductive and Deductive Politics: 2. The Physio-Philosophy of Oken: 3. Classification and Mutual Relation of the Mental Faculties: 4. The Text of Jeremiah: 5. Primeval Period of Sacred History: 6. Dorner's Christology: 7. What is Christianity?

XI. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, January, 1860.—1. "Old and New School" Theology: 2. Schleiermacher: 3. Justice, as satisfied by the Atonement: 4. Archbishop Tillotson: 5. Presbyteries in Foreign Lands.

XII. The Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review, and Church Register, January, 1860.—1. The Evidence of Miracles: 2. The Lord Jesus and James the Lord's Brother were equally the Sons of Mary: 3. The Relation of Rational to Religious Morality. An Essay on Intuitive Morals: 4. A Letter to the Christian Laity of the United States: 5. Tennyson's Idyls of the King: 6. Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man.

XIII. The Christian Examiner, January, 1860.—1. The Women of Homer: 2. The Dark Places in the Divine Providence: 3. The Study of Nature: 4. Pestalozzi: 5. Slavery in the Territories: 6. The Messiah of the Jews: 7. Novels of 1859.

XIV. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, January, 1860.—1. Rationalistic Theology: 2. Humboldt: 3. The World at the Advent: 4. Destruction of Soul and Body in Gehenna: 5. The New Testament Doctrine of Salvation: 6. Exposition of 2 Corinthians v, 10.

XV. The Freewill Baptist Quarterly, January, 1860.—1. Gerritt Smith's Religion of Reason; 2. The Baptismal Question: 3. The Nature and Relations of Faith: 4. A Biographical Sketch of Rev. Elias Hutchins.

XVI. The United Presbyterian Quarterly Review, January, 1860.—1. The Bible on the Social Relations: 2. Review of Letters on Psalmody: 3. Bible Revision: 4. The Ancient Church: 5. The Early Scotch and Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania: 6. The Sabbath Question: 7. The United Presbyterian Church.

II.—*English Reviews.*

I. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1860.—1. Dr. N. W. Taylor on the Moral Government of God: 2. Barnes on the Atonement: 3. Sunday Laws: 4. Revised Book of Discipline: 5. The Theology of Edwards, as shown in his Treatise concerning Religious Affections: 6. Ballantyne's Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy: 7. The Geography of Palestine: 8. Bayne's Christian Life: 9. The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward.

II. The Christian Remembrancer.—1. Young Quakerism: 2. Virginia—the Old Dominion: 3. The Church Cause and the Church Party: 4. The Ambrosian Liturgy: 5. L'Union Chrétienne: 6. Realities of Paris Life: 7. Revision of the Prayer Book.

III. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, January, 1860.—1. On the True Reading and Correct Interpretation of Psalm xl, 6: 2. The Origin and History of the Sacred Slaves of Israel in Hivitia, Mount Se'yr, and the Hivite Tetrapolis: 3. Ancient and Modern Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures: 4. Theories of Biblical Chronology: 5. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John. Rev. xii: 6. Recent Syriac Literature.

IV. The British Quarterly Review, January, 1860.—1. Orators and Oratory: 2. Bushnell on the Natural and Supernatural: 3. Wordsworth: 4. Grattan's Civilized America: 5. The Christian Mediation: 6. Ethnological Varieties: 7. John Stuart Mill—Liberty and Society: 8. Old English Songs and Ballads: 9. The Germanic Confederation: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

In the article on Ethnological Varieties, we have some curious premonitions of American decay, founded on our deficit "of the subcutaneous adipose cushion."

"It has generally been a received dogma that the whole earth is the domain of man; that, whereas animal and vegetable tribes have their geographical and climatic limits, which they cannot pass with impunity, man may become a denizen of any latitude. Such is the truth in words; but when we examine facts, there are striking modifications necessary. Some varieties of men live and thrive,

where others only die or wither. To take a familiar illustration, Europeans cannot colonize a tropical country; to some extent they can *live* there, subject to a variety of diseases and a deterioration of constitution. But they cannot even live there without assistance; they cannot cultivate the soil; for this a tropical race is required. To this rule we know of no valid exception. England cannot colonize, properly speaking, India nor tropical Africa; Spain, in the same sense, could not colonize South America; France can hold Algeria as a military colony, but in what other sense? None of these can become inhabitants of the country invaded, in the proper sense of the term—independent, self-supporting. Their very numbers can only be kept up by immigration; let this cease, and probably in a century the invading race will die out."

"It is strongly suspected that this law is more general in its application than this; that difference of latitude is not the only bar to colonization. The mightiest colony the world has ever seen is that of the United States; its progress has been most márvelous; yet, as an Anglo-Saxon race, its future at least admits of doubt. An impression is growing that this race languishes in North America, all its apparent vigor notwithstanding. There are unmistakeable signs in the people of premature maturity and premature decay; and another certain mark of a tendency to decay is that the average number of children in families is small. Up to the present time, mighty masses of population, Saxon and Celt, are daily pouring fresh blood into the Union, rendering population returns of no value whatever, ethnologically considered."

"'But when this stream shall stop, as stop it must; when the colony comes to be thrown on its own resources; when fresh blood is no longer infused into it, and that, too, from the sources from whence they originally sprung; when the separation of Celt, Saxon, and South German shall have taken place in America itself—an event soon to happen—then will come the time to calculate the probable result of this great experiment on man. All previous ones of this nature have failed; why should this succeed? Already I can imagine I perceive in the early loss of the subcutaneous adipose cushion, which marks the Saxon and Celtic American, proofs of a climate telling against the very principle of life—against the very emblem of youth, and marking with a premature appearance of age the race whose sojourn in any land can never be eternal under circumstances striking at the essence of life itself. Symptoms of a premature decay, as the early loss of teeth, have a similar signification. The notion that the races become taller in America I have shown to be false; statistics, sound statistics, have yet to be found; we want the history of a thousand families, and their descendants, who have been located in America two hundred years ago, and who have not intermingled with fresh blood from Europe. The population returns now offered us are worthless on a question of this kind. The colonization, then, of Northern America by Celt and Saxon, and South or Middle German, is a problem whose success cannot be foretold, cannot reasonably be believed. All such experiments have hitherto failed.'"—Dr. Knox, *Races of Men*, p. 14.

V. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Government Contracts: 2. The Realities of Paris: 3. Ceylon: 4. The Social Organism: 5. Sicily as it was and is: 6. Christian Revivals: 7. Italy: the Designs of Louis Napoleon.

Had it been our task to furnish a predictive outline of what the Westminster would say about *revivals*, we could, we think, have furnished very nearly the programme of its article on that subject, an article which has been, really if not intentionally, well refuted by a counter view of the subject in the London Review, from the pen of Rev. William Arthur. The Westminster's article consists of about the staple ordinarily employed in manifestoes on such subjects from that standpoint. It has the marked excellences and other traits that distinguished the essays of Thomas Paine; frankness, individuality, strong vernacular English, a vein of coarseness and a subtone of cold irony. Perhaps the following passage from another part of the number, will present a view of the equivocal platform of so-called Christianity, upon which this publi-

cation undertakes to stand. Speaking of a professed French deistical author, M. Disdier, the Review says:

"He appears to be truly angry with M. Ernest Renan for having said of the Hebrews that they had an apostleship (*apostolat*) assigned them by Providence to declare to the rest of the world the truths of monotheism. M. Disdier may be correct in maintaining that others besides the Semites have arrived at the conception of one God—probably the Indian Aryans had done so in the præ-Vedic period, and a Plato did so among the Greeks—nevertheless it may be said, without intending it in any superstitious sense, that the Jews had a mission to make known or suggest that idea to others who would have been long in discovering it for themselves. Neither from our recollection of the essay itself, nor from M. Disdier's quotation of it, have we any impression that M. Renan intended his expression of *apostolat* to mean a supernatural mission. But M. Renan, though an unflinching critic of the Biblical records, would, we believe, on no account abjure the Christian name, or sever himself by any act of his own from the Christian community. And we hope M. Disdier will allow us to say, without offense, that the question at issue between himself and Christianity is not simply an intellectual one. Many may go a long way with him in what he considers the critical disproof of Christianity, and yet not abandon it in every sense. There are those who may have said to themselves, at successive stages of their inquiries, that they could not consider themselves Christians if they did not believe the true divinity of Jesus according to Nicene definitions; or, if they did not acknowledge in him some superhuman nature; or, if they did not believe his supernatural incarnation, and a miraculous origin of the Gospel; or, at least, if they did not conceive of him as humanly perfect. And yet, when some if not all of these questions have been in succession determined intellectually in the negative, they have felt themselves to be Christians still. It has been impossible for them to cut themselves off from Christian predecessors, through whom, along with whatever errors, there has come to them a moral teaching and a spiritual life. Many more, though they never have and probably never will open those other inquiries, nor could have the opportunity of settling intellectual and speculative points, are likewise Christians, not because of the dogmas or the wonders of Christianity, but because they have learned from it precious truths concerning God, and the soul, and good, and an eternal life. And so it has happened that the tree has continued to grow, though Paine and Voltaire prophesied the reverse, because it has its main hold not by the speculative but by the moral root."

VI. The National Review, January, 1860.—1. Mr. Kingsley's Literary Errors and Excesses: 2. The Foreign Office; Classic or Gothic: 3. Whateley's Edition of Paley's Ethics: 4. The Blind: 5. Intemperence; its Causes and Cures: 6. Theodore Parker: 7. England's Policy in the Congress: 8. Darwin on the Origin of Species; 9. The History of the Unreformed Parliament, and its Lessons.

The article on Theodore Parker, while conceding more truth to Parkerism than we can afford, contains some able counter views well worthy attention. On Mr. Parker's rejection of miracles we have the following utterances:

"To Mr. Parker's fundamental assumption that God always acts according to law—in other words, that the infinite perfection of his nature excludes the idea of all caprice, uncertainty, and contradiction in his modes of action—we can take no exception. But it does not follow that the laws already within our intellectual ken must embrace all possible laws. There are probably laws within laws only unfolded by degrees to human view; stratifications, as it were, of spiritual agency, one underlying the other, the deepest and widest of which may only *crop out* now and then on the outer surface of human affairs. To deny this seems to us a narrow dogmatism, which presumes to arrest at a certain point the development of man's acquaintance with the ways of God, and ties up by the result of a limited experience the possibilities of future knowledge. Mr. Parker's own religious philosophy, so comprehensive and spiritual, recognizing God as immanent in all things, and regarding all phenomena as the continuous effect of his omnipresent and unceasing energy, should have withheld him from sanctioning even in appearance a doctrine which would limit the divine free agency. Phenomena are ration undertakes to stand. Speaking of a professed French deistical author, M. Disdier, the Review says:

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"This leaves the question open for serious and devout inquiry. Religion, which makes its appeal to the soul, is not involved in the issue. One fact is well deserving of notice, that wherever in history we observe a new outbreak of religious life, it is always accompanied by a report of phenomena akin to the miraculous."

But certainly the hardest orthodoxy has ever been ready to consider miracle as strictly an event in the regular train of law—as a term strictly in a course of nature—as any other transaction. Nature in its lower sense—that is, our mundane "course of nature"—may indeed be viewed as a parenthesis in the great volume of the universal, eternal "course of nature," in which God and all higher existences and histories are included. A miracle then might be well defined, *an intersection of a lower course of nature by the higher course of nature.* But this definition would not be, as the Reviewer imagines, a contradiction of the old "hard orthodox" definition of miracle as "an interruption of the course of nature," but a different view of the same truth; for the course of nature which the definition specifies is interrupted, that is, intersected. Yet when the whole of nature is taken into view, the higher course, the lower course, and the intersection are all brought within the compass of a credible nature.

THE LONDON REVIEW, (WESLEYAN,) January, 1860.—1. St. James the Just: 2. Ethnology and Literature of Cornwall: 3. Barth's African Researches: 4. Geology of the Drift: 5. Dr. Cumming on the Great Tribulation: 6. Social Changes in Russia: 7. Children's Literature: 8. The National Portrait Gallery: 9. Aspects of American Slavery.

THE article on James the Just is a fine specimen of Christian scholarship, developing in definite and noble outline an apostolic character from the twilight

of the earliest Christian antiquity. The only drawback we find in the performance, may be resolved into difference of opinion on a given point. It is a regret with us that a considerable share of the article is employed in identifying St. James the Just with the apostle James the Less, son of Alpheus and Mary sister of the Virgin Mary, and cousin of Jesus. This is transforming "the Lord's brother" into his cousin, reducing the three Jameses to two, and perpetuating the ecclesiastical ban upon the sacredness of marriage, by making the Lord's mother both a wife and a celibate.

That the blessed Mary was mother of children who were half brothers of Jesus; that none of them were apostles, but unbelievers, during most if not all of our Lord's ministry; that three or four of them had names corresponding with some of the apostles, who were cousins, sons of Alpheus and the Mary sister; and that one of these half-brothers was this same James the Just, would, we think, never have been questioned but for dogmatical reasons. Our regret in reading this able article is, that it contributes to the disparagement of the exegesis and the permanence of the dogma. Let us give a compressed view of the argument:

1. The argument for Mary's subsequent maternity from the expression, Matt. i, 25, *He knew her not until she brought forth her first-born son*, is only weakened by all the solutions offered, not refuted. *Until* naturally, though not necessarily, implies a terminus to *he knew her not; first-born* naturally, though not necessarily, implies a second born. No exegete can honorably deny our claim, that though this passage is not conclusive, it is, after every extenuation, a *presumptive* proof of the birth of younger brothers or sisters to Jesus. It leaves the burden of proof on the negative side, while the mass of proof will be found on the affirmative. 2. In accordance with this presumption, we actually find the *ἀδελφοί* of our Lord more than ten times occurring; they are never called *cousins;* and though there were clearly cousins, the word brothers is never used in clear application to them. The cousins could never be ten times *brothers*, and never once *cousins*. To say that the word *ἀδελφοί* was used in a more extended sense than that of strict fraternity, is little to the purpose. Such extensions are generally vague and generic, and founded on some affectional purpose. Such extension can never cover a case like this, of a uniform and exclusive use of one specific and fixed term for another specific term. The argument, though scarcely commenced, might rest here. Without exegetical violence, our Lord was a *first-born* with *brothers*. 3. But Jesus had not only *brothers*, but *ἀδελφαί*, sisters; a term still more unsusceptible of extension. And these *sisters*, like their *brothers*, reside at Nazareth, at the home of their mother. 4. From their home at Nazareth, that *mother*, those *brothers*, and those *sisters*, all come to Jesus at Capernaum, apparently for the purpose of inducing him to return with them, from his ministry, home to Nazareth. Now if that mother was a literal mother, in all reason, the brothers were literal brothers, and the sisters were literal sisters. Here then we have a mother with her first-born, his brothers and his sisters; and to clinch the whole, they are expressly by himself called his *οἰκία*, family. And this answers a strange remark of the Review, that our Lord's family is never mentioned. An *οἰκία*, including a mother, her

first-born, with his brothers and sisters, constitutes a pretty well defined family. Equally conclusive is the language of the Nazarenes, Mark vi, 3: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses, and of Juda and of Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" Here are literal father, mother, sisters, and brothers, all combined in one family group. And here the term *brother* is applied to Jesus himself, and from other speakers than the evangelists, whose conformity with the evangelists in calling cousins brothers and sisters is utterly unaccountable. The family, be it noted, is all resident at Nazareth. 5. The cousins were *apostles;* the brothers were not apostles, but *unbelievers.* The Reviewer oddly considers this "the only difficulty" to his theory; whereas we have stated already some four or five points to which he scarce makes the offer of an answer. Of this "only difficulty," he states but a bare fraction, and to that fraction offers, we think, two very incomplete answers. His *first* answer is a quoted criticism on the word *believe*, to show that the disbelief of the *brothers* was not positive: to which he himself justly attributes little weight. His *second* answer is to attribute the disbelief to some other relatives at Nazareth, (called brothers,) which, inasmuch as no word in the text ever mentions their existence, is a purely arbitrary creation *a nihil.* Now, to cancel both these answers at one swoop, the disbelief of these brothers was positive, permanent, inclusive of them all, and utterly inconsistent with their being apostles. That it was positive is plain from our Lord's stern rebuke, closing the conversation in John vii, 3-7: "The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth," etc.; by the fact that they were probably the *relatives* who pronounced him "beside himself," Mark 3, 21; and by our Lord's declaration that he was without "honor in his own house." That this disbelief was inclusive of *all* his *brothers* is proved not only by this last expression of Jesus, but by John's words, vii, 5: *Neither did his brethren believe on him;* words that would not have been used, if true of but a part; showing both that the word *brothers* is specifically, not generically used, and that the whole *species* was disbelieving. 6. At this point we notice the *strong* argument of the Review, which is founded on the mere coincidence of names. For each name of three or four brothers, we grant there is a duplicate name among the two or three apostle cousins. There are at any rate duplicate Jameses, and Judes, and this duplication is, by a strong term for a feeble fact, styled by Lange, as quoted, "miraculous." Now it is, we think, about as miraculous as that there should be two Marys sisters; or two Herod Philips, brothers. It is not quite as miraculous as that there should be three duplicate names in the catalogue of the twelve; namely, two Simons, two Jameses, and two Judahs: for this duplication was accidental, whereas that in discussion was probably intentional. For if we will lay aside all prepossession from modern customs in regard to names, what marvel is it that two sisters, both whose names were Mary, should intentionally give duplicate names to three or four sons? Now between the two sides of these duplicates, we have in Matt. xii, 46-50, a very distinct separation. Jesus with his disciples is within a house, surrounded by the crowd; his mother, brothers, and sisters are announced to him as being without the house wishing to see him. Between the apostle cousins and the

unsympathizing brothers, therefore, there were the dense crowd and the house walls. Our Lord's refusal to see them, and his concluding declaration that his disciples were more to him than relatives, furnishes a significant intimation upon what errand the *οικία* had come. Moreover, the reviewer would require us to read Mark iii, 3, thus: Whoever shall do the will of God is my male cousin, and my female cousin, and my mother. 7. It is unaccountable, if these brothers and sisters are the children of the still living wife of Alpheus, that they are never found with their own mother, but are uniformly part of the *οικία* of the mother of Jesus. 8. In Acts i, 13, we have the eleven enumerated, including the apostle cousins, as present at prayer; and then in verse 14 we have added to the company present Mary the mother of Jesus, with his brothers. That is, all the living apostles are mentioned in one verse; and then the brothers of Jesus are separately mentioned in the next verse. If the brothers were apostles, then, they are most assuredly twice enumerated in the same sentence as being in the same company. If the passage means any thing, it means that the eleven apostles were present, and besides them the mother and brothers of Jesus.

That Jesus committed his mother to the care of John, and not to his brothers, is no stranger than his choosing John and not a relative to be his beloved disciple. That James the Lord's brother is afterward called an apostle, places him finally upon a par with Paul and Barnabas, as being an apostle extra of the twelve. That the apostle cousins should disappear from sight in the history subsequent, only places them in the same category with the majority of the apostolic college; who faithfully labored, but left no record, while new characters from Tarsus and Cyprus strangely spring into historic notoriety. Less strange, however, it is that the Lord's own brother, of the pure Davidic line, and he no less a character than James the Just, should rule as bishop where he had a lineal right to rule as prince. Let us, if it be parliamentary, "move a substitute" for this part of the reviewer's noble portraiture, to the following effect:

James, the eldest son of Joseph and Mary, resided at Nazareth with his mother after his father's death, and during the ministry of Jesus. He partook of the hardihood both of the Galilean and Nazarene character, added to the inflexibility which at this time formed the basis of the Jewish nature. There seems to have been some truth in the tradition which attributes to him tendencies to asceticism, and these strong Judaic tendencies rendered him reluctant to admit the claims of Jesus to supplant Judaism with a new dispensation. Hence he shared the opposition of his townsmen at Nazareth. With his younger brothers, he induced his believing mother and his sisters, under the persuasion that the ministry of Jesus was overtasking his strength, overstraining his intellect, and exposing him to danger, to attempt to recall him to the safe and healthful seclusion of his mountain home. But as Jesus drew near the end of his course, some strong evidences seemed to overcome the opposition of James. It may have been the final signal miracle of the raising of Lazarus; it may have been the scenes of sorrow and of stupendous miracle at the crucifixion; or it may have been the appearance to him of the risen Jesus, which converted James and brought him

with his mother and brothers to the prayer circle after the ascension. The same strong traits that made him so firm an unbeliever made him a firm servant of Jesus. As time developed his character and his religion, he became an apostle, a bishop, a pillar; the *'Αριστέιδης ὁ δίκαιος* of the Apostolic Church.

The article on American Slavery would be very useful for American perusal. It might show us where the disciples of Wesley and Watson, on the other side of the Atlantic, stand. The following passage introduces Rev. J. D. Long's book:

> "The *Pictures of Slavery* are not very artistically drawn, nor is the book very methodical or systematic; but it is, nevertheless, valuable as embodying facts in the personal experience of an apparently pious and earnest minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was born and reared in a slave state; but grew up with a horror of slavery. Finding, in after years, that this system was teaching his own sons '*hatred of work* and of slaves,' he removed to Philadelphia. In the struggle respecting slavery which agitated his Church, he was of course on the right side, and remained with the Northern or 'Methodist Episcopal' Church after the division. His volume, however, by its fearful denunciation of the slaveholding element in the border Conferences, has given umbrage to persons of influence and authority in that Church. Mr. Long adduces many facts in proof, not only that slaves are held, but that the breeding, buying, and selling of slaves are practiced by members of this Church, in those parts of her territory that abut upon the slaveholding Conferences of her southern rival. He argues, however, and as it seems to us conclusively, that, unless she shall declare slaveholding to be incompatible with Church-membership, except under the circumstances provided for in the old 'Discipline,' she will not be free from complicity in the atrocious practices which he describes. The social state which he depicts is fearful; the licentiousness both of whites and Negroes is proverbial; and it seems all but impossible to bring Church discipline to bear upon it, especially among the negroes. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, when the inviolability of the marriage bond as between slaves is nowhere recognized? when the power of the master—his legal power, we mean—overrides all Church authority? when he may drive from her house the husband of his slave-woman, and may compel her to take any colored man he pleases? Well may the author say, 'My opinion is, that the clergyman who believes chattel-slavery well-pleasing in the sight of God, and who justifies the master in separating husband and wife, ought not to marry slaves. If he does, he must do it under the impression that the master is equal in authority with the Deity, or the Lord of heaven and earth contradicts himself.' We understand that this question of slaveholding and membership is likely to be the prominent topic of discussion at the forthcoming General Conference; and we shall await the issue with much solicitude, though not without a sanguine hope that this great Atlantic Church will prove worthy of its English founder, who pronounced slavery to be 'the execrable sum of all human villany.'"—P. 511.

The following paragraph is a graphic picture of the Southern oligarch:

> "It remains to say a little (and not much is needed) respecting the social aristocracy of the South—the wealthy planters. Their portrait has often been drawn: Refinement of manner and of taste; the power of being agreeable to social equals; elegance of dress and equipage; attachment to literature and art; (that is, to *belles lettres* and dilettantism;) profuse and graceful hospitality; chivalrous gentlemen, and ladies of the highest grace and accomplishment. These are the lights of the picture, and have had full and repeated justice done to them. Nay, they have often misled susceptible Englishmen and Americans from the North, who refuse to believe any ill of that courtly and generous race whose home is among the orange-groves and magnolias, and beneath the balmy skies of the sunny South. But there are dark and terrible shadows. Intemperance, gambling, unrestrained licentiousness, dueling, assassination—who has not heard of these things as equally characteristic of Southern society? The

men who have made the sacred halls of the National Congress a proverb of vulgarity, ribaldry, and ruffianism, come chiefly from the South. And how can it be otherwise? It is not in human nature to withstand the enervating and demoralizing effect produced by the possession of such stupendous powers as belong to the slaveholder. Selfish, lordly, implacable, revengeful, must any community so circumstanced become; and it is both weak and sinful to be deceived by the roseate hue of the mere surface of its life. It is hard to say whether the system works more mischief to the poor slave or to his master. Its pestilential breath invades the negro hut, and poisons its inmates with squalidity, indolence, slovenliness, profanity, indecency, despair; or with that childlike thoughtlessness and mirth which, in an enslaved MAN, is worse than even despair. But the same breath floats through the scented atmosphere into *boudoir* and drawing-room; enervates the Southern beauty with voluptuousness and indolence, and kills her with *ennui;* sometimes, alas! makes the bosom that heaves and the heart that beats beneath the silken boddice as cold as marble and as cruel as death; while it steals away from the lord of the soil his Saxon manliness, self-reliance, candor, forbearance, self-control, and love of freedom, and makes him helpless, idle, prodigal, reckless, irascible, sensual, and cruel."—P. 531.

III.—*French Reviews.*

1. Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1, 1860.—1. Une Réforme Administrative en Afrique. I. Des Conditions de Notre Etablissement Colonial: 2. Salomé, Scénes de la Forêt-Noire: 3. Les Dégénérescences de L'Espéce Humaine. Origines et Effects de L'Idiotisme et du Crétinisme: 4. D'Espagne et le Gouvernement Constitutionnel Depuis le Ministère O'Donnell. Les Partis et la Guerre du Maroc: 5. La Marine Française dans la Guerre D'Italie. L'Escadre de L'Adriaque et la Flotille du lac de Garde: 6. Les Drames de la Vie Littéraire. Charlotte et Henri Stieglitz: 7. De L'Alimentation Publique. Le Thé, son role Hygiénique et les diverses préparations Chinoises: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 9. Revue Musicale.

January 15, 1860.—1. Les Commentaires d'un Soldat. I. Les Premiers Jours de la Guerre de Crimée: 2. Une Réforme Administrative en Afrique: 2. L'Ancienne Administration et les Gouverneurs-Généraux: 3. Souvenirs d'un Amiral. III^{e} Série. La Marine sous la Restauration. I. Une Expéditio Ango-Française Après 1815: 4. De la Métaphysique et de son Avenir: 5. Scénes et Souvenirs du Bas-Languedoc. Les Financés de la Gardiole: 6. Le Roman Satirique et les Mœurs Administratives en Russie. Mille Ames, de M. Pisemski, etc.: 7. Etudes D'Economie Forestiére. La Sylviculture en France et en Allemagne: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

> It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*The Divine Human in the Scriptures.* By Tayler Lewis, Union College." 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

Professor Lewis is one of the most accomplished scholars, subtle thinkers, and elegant writers of our country. His scholarship is profound and searching; yet rather graceful and ornamental to the texture of his productions than re-

pulsive or plodding. He is, if we mistake not, on some points ultra-conservative; and yet on others a deep digger for originality and a daring theorist. When we hesitate as to full acceptance of his theories and except to some of his extreme statements, we acknowledge the contribution of valuable thoughts and plausible illustration; nor do we at all admire the tone with which some of his productions have been treated in certain quarters.

The present volume we place among his best efforts. There is much for which the Christian public should be grateful, and very little indeed liable to objection. Its object is to show that the Bible is a book at once most truly divine and most intensely human. It is divine in all its thoughts, emotions, words. It is also truly human in all its thoughts, emotions, words. Its anthropomorphism is a true, sole, necessary method of intercommunication between the Infinite person and finite humanity. That method no human growth of mind can ever make obsolete. And as in this anthropomorphism consists the possibility of revelation, so in this is the source of its power; by which the Bible, and the Bible alone of all so-called sacred books in the world, can and must be a universal book. Originating in a secluded race, it is the book of the universal soul, most easily translatable into all languages, and making its conquests as sure and as sweeping in the modern Occident as the ancient Orient. The Professor sends a rapid glance through the Old Testament, and traces in the very text itself a striking line of internal proof of the truthfulness of its entire range of books. Less striking, but still impressive, is the same argument as applied to the New Testament. Upon the whole, both as to the inspiration and the truth of the sacred Word, it is a learned, an eloquent, an impressive book.

The following passage furnishes his view of the nature of inspiration:

> "It must, then, be one of the most unfaltering deductions of such a subdued spirit, thus believing in revelation as a fact as well as an idea, that not only its thought but its very language is divine. This one may hold without being driven to that extreme view of verbal inspiration which regards the sacred penmen as mere amanuenses, writing words and painting figures dictated to them by a power and an intelligence acting in a manner wholly extraneous to the laws of their own spirits, except so far as those laws are merely physical or mechanical. We may believe that such divine intelligence employed in this sacred work, not merely the hands of its media, not merely the vocal organs played upon by an outward material afflatus, not merely the mechanical impressions of the senses, or the more inward, though still outwardly reflected images of the fancy and the memory, but also the thoughts, the modes of thinking, modes of feeling, modes of conceiving, and hence, of outward expression—in a word, the intellectual, emotional, and imaginative temperaments, all their own, each peculiar to the respective instruments, yet each directed, controlled, made holy, truthful, pure, as became the trustworthy agents for the time being of so holy a work. The face is human, most distinctly human; yet each lineament, besides its own outward expression, represents also some part of that photographic process that had its origin in the world of light, and came down from 'the Father of lights,' with whom there is no parallax or shadow of turning.
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> "In this sense, the language, the very words, the very figures outwardly used, yea, the etymological metaphors contained in the words, be they ever so interior, are all inspired. They are not merely general effects, in which sense all human utterances, and even all physical manifestations may be said to be inspired, but the specially designed products of *emotions* supernaturally inbreathed, these becoming outward in *thoughts*, and these, again, having their ultimate outward forms in *words* and *figures* are truly designed in the workings of this chain, and

thus as truly inspired, as the thoughts of which these words are the express image, and the inspired emotions in which both thoughts and images had their birth. One theory of verbal inspiration begins with the language, as being that which is first and directly given to the inspired medium; that is, given to him outwardly, by impressions on the organs of sense, or by some action on the sensorium, or in some mode at least, that is outward to the most interior spirit; the other regards the supernatural action as beginning with the most interior spirituality, and ending with language as the last outward result. It is a product of a series, yet, as such product, representative of the entire spiritual action that has terminated in it, and having something corresponding to every step of such spiritual action in the whole course of its procession from the primal generative emotion to the ultimate sound or sign. It is all here, and a devout study of the language, aided by the spirit that gave it, will carry back the soul from the words to the images, from the images to the thoughts, from the thoughts to the spiritual emotion, or to communion with the *living word*, from whence the whole sacred stream has flowed. '*With thee is the fountain of life. In thy light do we see light. All the words of the Lord are pure; they are as choice silver tried; yea, seven times purified.*'

" Throughout the process it is, indeed, the human soul energizing in its psychological order, and according to the law of its freedom, yet, from the very incipiency of the inspiration, purified, elevated, guarded, and made unerring, by the power and presence of a higher spirit. The difference is a wide one, and yet this latter theory of verbal inspiration holds equally with the former that the very words are inspired; the peculiar language employed, (and sometimes it is very peculiar and characteristic of the individual medium,) the very figures, whether justified by the rules of ordinary criticism or not, are all chosen of God; they are 'choice words,' tried words, designed to be just what they are, and for special reasons *in themselves*, or their contexts, and not merely as connected with the general system of providential or natural means in the regulation of the universe. Like creation, it is a supernatural beginning, entering into and setting in motion a chain of sequences (natural, if any choose to call them so) to bring out results which no previously created nature alone, whether old or new, would ever have produced. Thus regarded, the varied intellectual and emotional temperaments of Isaiah, of Ezekiel, of Paul, and John, are as directly made use of as the hands with which they write, the mouths with which they speak, or the Greek and Hebrew language they employ as the most outward vehicle of their thoughts and emotions."—Pp. 27-32.

(2.) "*The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew*, with special reference to the Discoveries of Modern Times. In eight lectures, delivered in the Oxford University pulpit, in the year 1859, on the Bampton Foundation, by GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, editor of the 'History of Herodotus.' From the London edition, with the notes translated, by Rev. A. N. ARNOLD." 12mo., pp. 454. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1860.

In the preparation of this volume, as in the editorship of his Herodotus, lately noticed in our pages, Mr. Rawlinson had the full benefit of the profound archæological knowledge of his celebrated brother, Sir Henry Rawlinson. We may, therefore, assume that all the results of the laborious researches in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon are fully adduced for the illustration of the sacred volume. In connection with the valuable work of Hengstenberg, "Egypt and the Books of Moses," (not forgetting the volume on the same subject by Dr. Francis Hawkes,) we now have, issued from the press of our own country, a body of archæological lore, exhumed within the last half century, which places the true historical character of the Old Testament records beyond the reach of honest question.

Among the first important results of these researches is the new authentication conferred upon the fragments of Manetho and Berosus, and the sinking of the character of Ctesias. Some of the statements of the last author were standing contradictions to parts of Old Testament History. Corroborations of the Old Testament furnished by the first two authors, hitherto held of no great value, have received a new force. By a few simple principles for disengaging the historical from the mythical, their apparent enormous chronology is retrenched to a reasonable harmony with the Pentateuchal numbers; while the brief statements they furnish accordant with Scripture history are now valid, as so many ancient testimonies to the reality of the Scripture events.

The old objection that writing did not exist in the time of Moses is refuted by abundant facts. The tenth chapter of Genesis is pronounced by Sir Henry Rawlinson our best guide in tracing the affinities of primitive races. Linguistic investigations are approximating to an agreement in unity. At the obscurest parts of Hebrew history, in the times of Joshua and Judges, the condition of surrounding nations, as implied by Hebrew record, accords precisely with the view presented in their annals. The relative condition of Tyre to Israel, the degree of Tyrian power, and the name of Hiram as Tyrian and royal, are well authenticated. Then come the monuments, with the synchronical names of Shishak, Terah the Ethiopian, Jehu, Menahem, Hezekiah, Menasseh, Sennacherib, So, Necho, Tiglath-Pilezer, etc., tracing the descending line of Hebrew history with attestations, none the less conclusive for being incidental and laboriously detected, and indicating, as chance specimens, how complete would be the corroboration could the monument speak as articulately as the sacred page. The accuracy of the geographical allusions, a strong voucher as it is for historical truth, is receiving a large increase of illustration. The uncertainties of the position of some of the most ancient cities of the earliest chapters of Genesis are forever removed. Native inscriptions fix not only the historical reality, but the true locality of Ur of the Chaldees, Calah, and Erech; and with much probability of Accad, Ellasar, and Calneh. "If we were to be guided by the mere intersection of linguistic paths," says Sir H. Rawlinson, "and independently of all reference to the Scriptural record, we should still be led to fix on the plains of Shinar as the focus from which the various lines had radiated."

The work is not only an able and a fresh contribution to the permanent evidences of the authenticity of the Old Testament books, and the truth of their history, but a timely offset against recent attacks upon that part of the inspired canon. To wound the New Testament through the Old was remarked by Paley to be the standing method of infidelity. The ancient method has been reproduced, under a Christian guise, by Rev. Baden Powell and others, at the present day, in England. There is something strikingly synchronical if not providential in these resurrections, from the grave of the buried past, of new evidence for Scripture truth, against the searching skepticism of an ultra-critical age.

The matter of the volume, we are obliged to say, though expressed in graceful style and redolent of refined scholarship, is very crudely shaped. The lectures are produced in a free flowing spoken style; but at every moment

you encounter a little numeral which sends you to another part of the volume for the note containing the dry fact that supports the lecturer's statement. You have as much use for thumb and fingers in fumbling your pages as a tyro working a Hebrew Chrestomathy. It would have improved both the compact structure of the argument and the manual convenience of the volume, could the learned author have followed the example of Faber in his Horæ Mosaicæ, by reducing the matter to a symmetrical shape.

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(3.) "*Life of Jesus.* A Manual for Academic Study. By Dr. CARL HASE, Professor of Theology at Jena. Translated from the German of the third and fourth improved editions, by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE." 12mo., pp. 267. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

Hase is favorably known in America by his Church History, translated by Wing and Blumenbach, which, with a rationalistic tinge, is a fine specimen of spirited conciseness, compressing the narration to the most compact form without destroying the life. The present work will possess some interest to students who wish to examine a work of the class proudly claiming to be the final result of a demonstrative criticism; a criticism which has exploded all that precedes in its line, and leaves no choice to the reader but to adopt its conclusions or undergo a consignment to the limbo of the partisans of an obsolete past. This elegant braggartism is expressed by Hase, not, indeed, with the piquancy of similar bravado (unfulfilled!) in the pages of a Voltaire; but with an unusual vivacity for a German, no way bedimmed by the graceful pen of Freeman Clarke. All this simply means that the position from which the author surveys the Gospels is essentially pantheistic; that miracles were, indeed, supposably performed by Jesus; but with a power *somehow*, nobody knows *how*, coming out of mundane nature and resultant from impersonal laws; yet that Christ and Christianity come into existence with a plan and a predestined influence to be exerted upon the world; and yet, again, their coming into existence has been so poorly contrived that their first historical facts are but feebly authenticated, and are so blended with myth and legend that the most scientific criticism, constantly in action upon the earliest historic documents, can but imperfectly succeed in isolating the pure truth from the surrounding dross. To our scanty research, obsolete prejudice, and pietistic bigotry, the little volume is big with contradiction, and bigger with self-complacency. To our measurement the remnant left of the New Testament, of Christ and Christianity, after all its eliminations, is of very trifling value. The polemic between Hase and Straus is a mimic fight between a *minimum* of faith and a *nihil*. After surrendering to Straus all that Hase yields, we should not hesitate, *ex abundantia*, to fling in the residue.

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(4.) "*Ishmael;* or, A Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity. By the Rev. Dr. J. MUEHLEISEN ARNOLD, formerly Missionary in Asia and Africa, and late Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, London. The entire proceeds of this book will be given toward founding a Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Mohammedans." 12mo., pp. 524. London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place. 1859.

There is a mixture of erudition, dogma, and caprice in this work which give it piquancy, but very materially affects the confidence of the cautious inquirer

after reliable realities in the history, character, and destiny of Islamism. We give a paragraph on the existence of predictions current among the Turks of their own downfall. If these predictions possess no valid origin or character; if they are simply inklings of apocalyptic prophecy which have trickled into Islamism from Christian sources, they are curious, but valueless. If they possess marks of independent character, Mr. Arnold would have obliged the Christian public by giving a more thorough investigation of their genuineness and value. We give them as he presents them:

> "The oldest prediction was recorded as early as the year 1548. Another Turkish prophecy more clearly states that the 'fair sons of the North' would be the destroyers of the Osmanic Empire. In A. D. 1678 *Rycaut* speaks of a special liking for the Moscovites on the part of the Greeks, because they were destined, according to ancient prophecies, to become their deliverers and avengers. Another prediction says: 'The fair-haired race, with all their associates, will overthrow the Empire of Ishmael, and conquer the seven-hilled city with its imperial privileges. In Jerusalem, the gate on Mount Moriah, toward the Mount of Olives, is walled up, because of the tradition, that whenever a Christian shall pass through that gate, the Moslem religion and empire will go down. Within the mosque of Omar there is said to be a board containing so many nails, which mysteriously disappear one by one; and when all shall have vanished the Moslem rule will come to an end. As another presentiment of their ultimate expulsion from Europe may be mentioned the fact, that the Turks always bury their dead on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. An Austrian savant who has just traveled over Asia Minor a second time, in his work upon *Natural History*, states that the *entire Moslem community* expect a speedy dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and this upon the ground of ancient traditions. On a *Sunday* it will happen that the Christians will receive back all that was taken from them by the Moslemin. Not only European Turkey, but the whole of Asia Minor, and Syria, with the exception of Damascus, will be restored to the Christians, and Arabia alone will constitute their inheritance. How great will be the change in the position of Islamism when the ruins of the Ottoman Empire shall fill considerable portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa! and how encouraging to the Christian to look forward to the breaking up of the old, and the commencement of the new order of things!'"

(5.) "*Christ in History.* By ROBERT TURNBULL, D. D. New and Revised Edition." 12mo., pp. 340. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

This is a more complete edition of an eloquent and valuable work. It proposes to show, by a comprehensive survey, that the Incarnation is the central event in human history. The range of the author's thought is wide. He brings a thorough and extensive erudition to bear upon his topic. How clearly he impresses the great synoptic outline of his subject upon the mind of his reader we are not so certain. In the copious account of subsidiary detail, if we mistake not, sight is sometimes lost of the structural character of his work. It is, however, as a whole, a rich, a cheerful, a profitable survey of human history in the light reflected from the central person of the Incarnate.

(6.) "*Lectures on the Book of Revelation.* By Rev. C. M. BUTLER, D. D." 12mo., pp. 482. New York: R. Carter & Brothers; Washington: Wm. Ballantyne. 1860.

That copious but shallow improvisator, Dr. Cummings, has first gulped down Elliot's Horæ Apocalypticæ, and then poured it forth "in one weak washy everlasting stream" into the unprotected popular mind, with such effect that

we trust Dr. Butler's book may operate as a healthful counteraction. It is written in a fresh, flowing, copious style. Without indorsing all its results, we commend it as a valuable work.

When any commentator takes up the Revelation and commences predicting the result of any great cotemporaneous political event, or the destiny of any great living individual, we always pronounce that an alarming crisis has arrived in his case. His apocalyptic fever is rising to the maniac point, and the patient should be looked to. Ditto when he predicts the year in which any great change, crisis, or convulsion is to occur. He is then perverting the purpose of the book, and sinking to the level of a fortune-teller.

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(7.) "*Bishop Butler's Ethical Discourses and Essay on Virtue*, arranged as a Treatise on Moral Philosophy, and edited with an Analysis. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, D.D., President of Waterville College." 12mo., pp. 206. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co.; Cleveland, O.: Henry P. B. Jewett; New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.

(8.) "*Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion*, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. Edited with an Analysis. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, D.D., President of Waterville College." 12mo., pp. 271. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

These very neat editions of Butler's great works on Morals are constructed, with much skill, by a practical instructor for classic use. Some liberties are taken with the text, which would be held, perhaps, unjustifiable, were it not that Butler's works are perfectly secure from any permanent mutilation. The attention of collegiate faculties may be invited to these volumes.

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(9.) "*The Concord of Ages;* or, The Individual and Organic Harmony of God and Man. By EDWARD BEECHER, D.D." 12mo., pp. 581. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

The amiable character, the pure vein of piety, the indepedence of Christian thought manifested by Edward Beecher, disarm criticism of much tempted severity. But neither in his "Conflict" or "Concord" do we recognize any power to impress the public mind, or give any permanent turn to the religious or metaphysical speculations of the age.

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(10.) "*Sermons* on Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, delivered at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. By the late T. W. ROBERTSON, M.A., the Incumbent. 12mo., pp. 423. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

We do not accept Mr. Robertson's works as containing an accurate statement of theological truths. But there are in it many singular flashes of fresh truth, many a noble view, many a thrilling paragraph, and few pages that are not alive with thoughts that breathe and words that burn.

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II. *Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(11.) "*The Origin of Species by Natural Selection;* or, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life. By CHARLES DARWIN." 12mo., New York: Appleton & Co.

A bright thought, suggested to Mr. Darwin more than twenty years ago, by some phenomena observed by him in South America, formed the awakening

hint for the train of experiments and speculations detailed in this volume. On his return to England, he placed himself in proper conditions for an extensive course of experimentation, observation, and intercourse with naturalists, "fanciers," and breeders, to ascertain the true origin and nature of species. The whole process seems to have been conducted in a philosophic spirit, with such prepossessions, indeed, as an allowable antecedent hypothesis would induce, and resulting in what can be only considered as a debateable theory; yet a theory sustained by a basis of innumerable facts and plausible reasonings; and a theory that challenges discussion and even adoption in absence of refutation or a preferable competitor.

The theory may be stated as follows: All earthly living beings, the whole of animated nature, including man, animals, and vegetable existences, are one great genus, generatively sprung from one primordial origin. What are commonly called genera and species of this universal genus, are but remnant groups, whose intermediates have perished from the unsuitableness of their natures to meet the surrounding conditions of existence. These surviving groups, whose wide dividing spaces have thus been overswept with the besom of destruction, are not divided by any law intended to keep them separate. Different species are prevented from blending, not by any ordinance, but by contingent obstacles which in given cases can be overcome, and thus the fibers of one life, as yet but imperfectly explored, run in a perfectly complex entanglement through the whole universal mass. Man may, therefore, with genetical truth, not say only to the worm "Thou art my brother," but he can claim birth from the same parent as the oak of the floor he treads, or the mahogany of his writing desk.

The book has had of course the hearty indorsement of the Westminster Review; and, not *of course*, but *in fact*, of the transcendental and able Unitarian organ, the National Review. Mr. Darwin has had the aid of Dr. Hooker, and he seems to have received the indorsement of Sir Charles Lyell. His book possesses much scientific interest apart from the theory; it is likely to awaken new discussions, and to exert a marked influence upon the course of scientific thought. It is but an outline of a larger work, the preparation of which requires some three years farther labor.

Mr. Darwin's first point is the assertion of the great variability of species. He can accept all the ordinary and orthodox arguments for the variability of the human species, and urge them for his own purpose. He affirms from ample experiments that, under the hand of the skillful breeder, species may be indefinitely varied. The pigeon, for instance, has been made to diverge so widely, that no observer for the first time would hesitate to classify the different varieties under different genera. Individual peculiarities in one animal are generatively transmissable, and by confining propagation between individuals possessing almost any peculiarity, that peculiarity may be made permanent, and thus new species with new qualities are brought into existence. By rejecting or destroying all inferior individuals, and permitting propagation by the superior alone, the breed attains a higher excellence. In the breed of sheep, for instance, it has been remarked, that the breeder can chalk the perfect figure on a surface and bring his breed to its standard. There is then no limit, if time and chance be allowed, to the possible variation of species.

The next point is, that species is transmutable. Conditional obstacles lie in the way of the fertility of hybrids. Natural repugnance, organic injury to the reproductive functions and other contingent difficulties lie in the way. But no law of infertility is imposed upon hybrids for the purpose of preventing the blending of species into an undistinguished whole. Some hybrid plants he has proved by abundant experiment to be perfectly fertile, and some hybrid birds he has reason to believe so. In the long course of ages, then—and he claims the right to assume any assignable amount of time even to a practical eternity for the work—what is possible to happen will happen. Let but a single atom or organism of vitalized matter exist, and it may diverge into an infinite variety of animated beings, forming the present living system of the universe.

But the productive power of nature is found far too great for her sustaining power. For production at its regular geometric rate there is not room. The great battle for existence then commences and the inferiors die. The relentless elements, like the scythe of Siva the Destroyer, send countless millions to destruction. Beings born with peculiarities unsuited to the conditions of existence perish. The slightest disadvantage turns the scale against them, and consigns them to their fate. Thus does destruction create the broad spaces lying between the surviving groups that pass under the name of species. Meanwhile it is the nobler, the more powerful, the best suited in their peculiarities of existence that live and propagate; and thus, it is from these very conditions of destruction that there arises the advance of living nature toward perfection.

To the testimony of geology, that species have been created in great numbers at distant intervals, Mr. Darwin replies by impeaching the completeness of the geologic record. The fossil remains that have been found are a minute fractional part of the infinite multitudes of the dead and buried, never to be found. Those great periodic intervals of geology are simply blanks, produced by our own ignorance and inability to trace the annihilated complements. The spaces between the successive races of geology, like the spaces between specific groups, are simply erasures produced by the powers of destruction.

To meet the force of the argument is a task we leave to the savans; but a few points we shall venture to make.

1. We pencil upon page 223 this distinct admission after more than twenty years' study and experimentation upon the subject. "I doubt whether any case of a perfectly fertile hybrid animal can be considered as thoroughly well authenticated." Now it seems to us here is a fatal want of "a perfectly fertile hybrid animal." Until Mr. Darwin will furnish it, his theory we think lacks the conditions of existence. We can accept no equivocal or impotent quadruped; no *believed* or *guessed* specimens will serve. Until Mr. Darwin has caught us "a perfectly fertile hybrid animal," sound of wind and organ, his theory has nothing safe to ride on. Until then we must accept the following well settled statement of Gabineau. "It has been further observed, that even among closely allied species, where fecundation is possible, copulation is repugnant, and obtained either by force or ruse; which would lead us to suppose that in a state of nature the number of hybrids is even more limited than that obtained by the intervention of man. It has therefore been concluded

that among the *specific* characteristics we must place the faculty of producing prolific offspring."

2. As to Mr. Darwin's fertile hybrid plants, let it be observed that he is able to ascertain no law regulating hybrid fertility. Every imaginable rule is overwhelmed with numerous exceptions, and he is flung upon isolated facts in confessed ignorance of all clew to the principles. But he has found that supposed species have an unknown range of variation; transcending the space hitherto supposed to be covered by genera. That is, classes of animals which a first inspector would suppose to be unrelated or only generically connected, are really within the same genetic species. How knows he, then, that the isolated cases of imagined fertile hybrids may not be by immemorial descent within the limits of species falsely supposed to be genera or unrelated? How knows he that the supposed hybrids are not the legitimate children of cognate parents? Perhaps, after all, the case is under the law that circumscribes fertility within the bounds of species.

3. From the geological quarter it would seem that Mr. Darwin's theory must be forever indemonstrable. It is by the geological record alone that the successive advances of existence in past ages can be shown. That record, so far as it testifies, gives a negative testimony; asserting that new forms of life have been brought into existence suddenly, at great intervals, and accordantly with a great transcendental plan. Mr. Darwin invalidates the negative testimony; but that seems insufficient. He *wants the positive testimony* before he can bring his theory from hypothesis to science. But, if we mistake not, it will be found that Professor Owen will have something to say why the testimony of paleontology should not be so unceremoniously ruled out of court. Perhaps, also, Professor Agassiz may yet have something to show for the independent existence of species. We apprehend there will be found abundant truth in Mr. Darwin's despondent remark, p. 403: "That the geological record is imperfect all will admit; but that it is imperfect to the degree which I require, few will be inclined to admit."

4. Mr. Darwin supposes that, "probably, all organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed." "Form into which life was first breathed"? But that is a miracle; a most stupendous miracle; a direct interposition of a creative power. The Edinburgh Review, we believe it was, that first brought into the English language, some thirty years ago, the great thought that the greatest miracle ever performed on earth, was upon the day that man first walked upon it in the full possession of his created nature. Now Mr. Darwin's miracle, though at first sight less objectively stupendous, is really a greater stroke of power, a more momentous interposition, than the organization of a new living fabric, (which Mr. Darwin promptly scouts,) with a vitality already manifested on earth. Minuter as it may be, nay, invisible to the eye corporeal, it is immeasurably more a miracle to the eye of reason. Let our readers note in this connection the remarks of Professor Dana upon spontaneous generation in our notice of the Scientific Annual, and judge whether Mr. Darwin makes a safe bargain in putting off an immediate creation of an organic man in exchange for a supply, at one instant, of a life sufficient for the start of a universal system.

The difference between Mr. Darwin and the author of "The Vestiges of Creation," as stated by the Westminster, is, that the latter found the solution of the diversity of the forms of organic life "in the idea of consecutive development;" while Lamarck made transmutation depend mainly on the efforts of the animal.

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(12.) "*Evenings at the Microscope;* or, Researches among the minuter Forms of Animal Life. By Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S." 12mo., pp. 480. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

Mr. Gosse is not only a profound naturalist, but a most vivid describer and writer. He unites great skill in practical analysis with rare pictorial power of pen. Let books like this be put into the hands of our youth, and the right-minded portion of young America will learn that there are wonders in nature infinitely surpassing in splendor and witchery the visions of fairy romance. The staple of the work consists of original observation, and it is invested with a characteristic freshness and life. We give as a fair specimen the opening paragraphs:

> "Not many years ago an eminent microscopist received a communication inquiring whether, if a minute portion of dried skin were submitted to him, he could determine it to be *human* skin or not. He replied that he thought he could. Accordingly a very minute fragment was forwarded to him, somewhat resembling what might be torn from the surface of an old trunk, with all the hair rubbed off.
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> "The professor brought his microscope to bear upon it, and presently found some fine hairs scattered over the surface; after carefully examining which, he pronounced with confidence that they were *human* hairs, and such as grow on the naked parts of the body; and still further, that the person who owned them was of a fair complexion.
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> "This was a very interesting decision, because the fragment of skin was taken from the door of an old church in Yorkshire; in the vicinity of which a tradition is preserved, that about a thousand years ago a Danish robber had violated this church, and having been taken, was condemned to be flayed, and his skin nailed to the church-door, as a terror to evil-doers. The action of the weather and other causes had long ago removed all traces of the stretched and dried skin, except that, from under the edges of the broad-headed nails with which the door was studded, fragments still peeped out. It was one of these atoms, obtained by drawing one of the nails, that was subjected to microscopical scrutiny; and it was interesting to find that the wonder-showing tube could confirm the tradition with the utmost certainty; not only in the general fact, that it was really the skin of man, but in the special one of the race to which that man belonged, namely, one with fair complexion and light hair, such as the Danes are well known to possess."

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(13.) "*Archaia;* or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures. By J. W. Dawson, LL. D., Principal of M'Gill College, author of 'Acadian Geology, etc.'" 12mo., pp. 400. Montreal: B. Dawson & Son. 1860.

Dr. Dawson takes a high rank among the savans of our day, and whatever he gives to the public challenges attention and respect. The present work is the product of profound scholarship in both the natural and the sacred records. We are inclined to think that it presents, not only the most ingenious, but the most satisfactory harmony between the two records, if, indeed, in the perpetually recurring changes of the statements of science at the present day, any

scheme of harmony whatever can be considered satisfactory. He adopts the æonic day theory; but varies his adjustment of the two records, which we present below, somewhat from that of Hugh Miller.

PARALLELISM OF THE SCRIPTURAL COSMOGONY WITH THE ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH.

BIBLICAL ÆONS.	PERIODS DEDUCED FROM SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS.
The Beginning.	Creation of Matter.
First Day.—Earth mantled by the Vaporous Deep—Production of Light.	Condensation of Planetary Bodies from a nebulous mass—Hypothesis of original incandescence.
Second Day.—Earth covered by the Waters.—Formation of the Atmosphere.	Primitive Universal Ocean, and establishment of Atmospheric equilibrium.
Third Day—Emergence of Dry Land—Introduction of Vegetation.	Elevation of the land which furnished the materials of the Azoic rocks—Azoic Period of Geology.
Fourth Day.—Completion of the arrangements of the Solar System.	Metamorphism of Azoic rocks and disturbances preceeding the Cambrian epoch—Dominion of "Existing Causes" begins.
Fifth Day.—Invertebrates and Fishes, and afterward great Reptiles and Birds created.	Palaeozoic Peroid—Reign of Invertebrates and Fishes. Mesozoic Period—Reign of Reptiles
Sixth Day.—Introduction of Mammals—Creation of Man and Edenic Group of Animals.	Tertiary Period—Reign of Mammals. Post Tertiary—Existing Mammals and Man.
Seventh Day.—Cessation of Work of Creation—Fall and Redemption of Man.	Period of Human History.
Eighth Day.—New Heavens and Earth to succeed the Human Epoch—"The Rest (Sabbath) that remains to the People of God."[c]	

The Appendix contains a number of valuable scientific extracts and fragments, inserted for their bearing upon the Scripture records. We select the following passage in which Dr. Dawson applies his American researches to check the rapid conclusions of the European savans in regard to the Abbeville exhumations:

"The objects found are here admitted to differ from the implements of the primitive Celts, and they differ in like manner from those of the American Indians, which are almost if not quite undistinguishable from those of ancient Europe and Asia. One at least of the kinds mentioned has scarcely a semblance of artificial form, and the others are all merely fractured, not ground or polished.

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[c] Heb. iv, 9; 2 Peter iii, 13.

In so far as one can judge, without actually inspecting the specimens, these appear to be fatal defects in their claim to be weapons. The observers have evidently not taken into consideration the effects of intense frost in splitting flinty and jaspery stones. It is easy to find, among the debris of the jasper veins of Nova Scotia, for instance, abundance of ready-made arrow-heads and other weapons; and there is every reason to believe that the Indians, and perhaps the aboriginal Celts also, sought for and found those naturally split stones which gave them the least trouble in the manufacture, just as they selected beach pebbles of suitable forms for anchors, pestles, and hammers, and hard slates with oblique joints for knives. To these natural forms, however, the savage usually adds a little polishing, notching, or other adaptation; and this seems to be wanting in the greater part of the specimens from Abbeville.

"2. Nothing is more difficult, especially in an uneven country, than to ascertain the extent to which old gravels have been rearranged by earthquake waves or land floods. Nor does the occurrence in them of bones of extinct animals prove anything, since these are shifted with the gravel. Very careful and detailed observations of the locality would be required to attain any certainty on this point.

"3. The places in which gravel pits are dug, are often just those to which the aborigines are likely to have resorted for their supply of flint weapons. They may have burrowed in the gravel for that purpose, and their pits may have been subsequently filled up. Farther, savages generally make their implements as near as possible to the places where they procure the raw material; and in making flint weapons, where the material abounds, they reject without scruple all except those that are most easily worked into form. If of human origin at all, the so-called weapons of Abbeville are more like such rejectamenta than perfected implements. This would also account for the quantity found, which would otherwise seem to be inconsistent with the supposition of human workmanship.

"4. The circumstance that no bones or other remains referable to man have been found with the flint articles, is more in accordance with the suppositions stated above, than with that of their human origin, in any other way than as the rejectamenta of an ancient manufacture.

"5. From a summary of the facts given by Sir Charles Lyell at the late meeting of the British Association, (1859,) as the result of personal investigations, it appears that the gravels in question are *fluviatile* and dependent on the present valley of the Somme, though still apparently of very great antiquity. This places the subject in an entirely different position from that in which it was left by Perthes and Prestwick. River gravels are often composed of older debris, reassorted in a comparatively short time, and containing tertiary remains intermixed with those that are modern; and it is usually quite impossible to determine their age with certainty. Farther, if we may judge from American rivers, those of France must, when the country was covered with forests, have been much larger than at present; and at the same time their annual freshets must have been smaller, so that nothing is more natural than that remains of the savage aborigines should be found in beds now far removed from the action of the rivers. When to this we add the occurrence at intervals of great river inundations, we cannot, without a series of investigations bearing on the effects of all these changes, allow any great antiquity to be claimed for such deposits. The subject is, in short, in such a condition at present that nothing can with safety be affirmed with respect to it."

We append also the following passage:

"Should the objects found in this case prove to be really products of art, and their position be certainly in the pleistocene drift, cotemporary with the extinct Elephant, Rhinoceros, Hyena, etc., of the west of Europe, then we might with certainty conclude—First, that the race by which these implements were made existed at a period immeasurably more ancient than any assigned even by Bunsen's new chronology, or the myths of Egypt or China, to the human species; and secondly, that this race is not at all connected with biblical or historical man, but must be an extinct species of anthropoid animal, belonging to a prior geological period. That there cannot have been any such species before man,

and sufficiently intelligent to make flint weapons, I am not prepared to maintain; but I do not regard the evidence adduced as at all sufficient to establish its existence, still less to carry back the human species to a period rendered even geologically improbable by the lapse of time, and the extinction of nearly all the land-animals in the mean time."

We can name no more valuable work on its subject than the present volume.

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(14.) "*Annual of Scientific Discovery:* or, Year-book of Facts in Science and Art for 1860. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1859; a List of recent Scientific Publications; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M., author of Principles of Natural Philosophy, Principles of Chemistry, Science of Common Things, etc." 12mo., pp. 430. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard; London: Trubner & Co. 1860.

We have repeatedly adverted to the high value of the Scientific Annual, both as a matter of reference to the man of science, and as a means of *posting up* for those who stand without the scientific circle, but desire to keep step with the advances of scientific progress.

Two points of special interest have been under discussion during the past year, namely: The Preadamite antiquity of Man, and Spontaneous Generation.

The doubts in regard to the modern origin of the human race are founded upon late geographical developments and especially the discovery of certain rude weapons, as they are considered, in the neighbourhood of Abbeville and Amiens, France. What an American savan thinks upon the subject will be found in our notice of Dr. Dawson's Archaia.

The doctrine of Spontaneous Generation is discussed with ingenuity by a philosopher somewhat prone to materialistic tendencies, Mr. George Henry Lewes; but his results are decidedly adverse to all conclusions deduced from experiments hitherto made. So liable to error are experiments made upon things so minute as the subjects of these experiments are, so uniformly have all imagined successes in these experiments proved failures, that a negative demonstration is well nigh attained. Besides this fact, the following acute remarks of Professor Dana, of Yale College, afford some positive views that may be considered as setting this question very much at rest:

"There is a well-known principle in the system of nature that deserves to be considered in this connection. The principle is so fully sustained by all research, both in chemistry and zoology, including the important experiments above mentioned, that it may well carry with it great weight, and quiet both apprehension and expectation on this subject. It is this: The forces in life and inorganic nature act in opposite directions—the former *upward*, the latter *downward*.

"The vital force, in the organic substances it forms, *ascends* through vegetable and animal life to an exalted height in the scale of compounds at an extreme remove from saturation with oxygen; inorganic force *descends* toward the saturated oxide. The former reaches a point which from its very elevation is one of great *instability;* the latter tends toward one of perfect *stability*. There is hence a counterpart or cyclical relation between the two great lines of action in nature.

"As some readers of these remarks may not be familiar with chemistry, a further word of explanation is added.

"When an element unites with its full allowance of oxygen, as determined by its affinities, it is in a sense saturated with it. Since the attraction of the elements for oxygen is the most universal, and, in general, the strongest in nature, the oxides as a class are the most stable of compounds; the rocks, the earth's foundations, are made of them. But evanescence and unceasing change are in the fundamental idea of the living structure; and, consequently, the material of the plant or animal contains only oxygen enough to give increased stability to the combination. Moreover, the compounds augment in instability, through this and other ways, with the rise in the grade of organic life, and reach probably their farthest extreme in this respect in the brain. Here, then, is the summit of the series of compounds which arise under the agency of life. The stable oxide is at the lower end of the series in nature, the material of the brain at the upper. Passing from the latter condition toward the former, is therefore a real descent; and it is the natural downward course of inorganic forces; while passing toward the latter is as truly an ascent; it is the counter-movement of life.

"The plant through its vital functions may take carbonic acid, and from it continue to elaborate the organic products constituting vegetable fiber, until a whole tree of such material is made, and then produce the higher material of the flower and seed. The animal may then go to the plants and use them in making a still higher class of products, muscular fiber and nerve. After all this is done, now turn over the material to the action of chemical and physical forces, and the work of years of life is soon pulled down from its height, and one part after another descends toward that state of comparative inactivity, the condition of an oxide. Chemistry makes organic products by commencing with those of a higher grade than the kind to be made, but not otherwise. Albumen is a prominent material of the egg; and chemistry has not succeeded in making dead albumen, much less living.

"The very relation of life to chemistry is therefore evidence that chemistry cannot make life; it works in just the reverse direction. And in this reciprocal relation one of the profoundest laws of nature is exhibited. It leads the mind to recognize one author for both, and not to imagine that one side in the cycle has generated the other.

"2. There is another consideration, which, if it has not the force of demonstration, may help the mind to understand the extent of the transition from dead matter to living.

"(*a*.) In ordinary *inorganic* composition, there is the simple formation of inorganic particles, and, on consolidation, their aggregation into crystals, the perfect individuals of inorganic nature. With the enlargement of the crystal there is no gain of new powers or qualities: it simply exists. In fact, in entering this state of perfection, there is *a loss of latent force;* for the gas is the highest condition of stored or magazined force in inorganic nature, the liquid the next, and the solid the lowest,—this condition of power being related directly to the amount of heat.

"(*b*.) The *plant* grows from its germ, enlarges, accumulates force, storing it away in vegetable fiber, and accomplishes its highest functions in its blossoms and fruit. But there is here only *latent or stored force* generated, besides that which is used up in growth, and *no mechanical* force. The minute spore or reproductive cellule of some seaweeds has locomotive power, but it is lost at the commencement of germination; and the plant is ever after as incapable of self-locomotion as a rock.

"(*c*.) In the *animal*, there is not only a storing of force in animal products, (the fifth and highest grade of stored force in nature,) but there is also increasing *mechanical* force from the first beginning of development. It is almost or quite zero in the germ; but from this it goes on increasing, until, in the horse, it gets to be a one-horse power; or in the ant, a one-ant power; and so for each species. And in addition to mechanical force, there is, in the higher group, the more exalted *mental force;* for the mind, while not itself material, is yet so dependent on the material, that its action draws deeply upon the energies

of the body. To make an animal germ is, then, to make a particle of albuminoid substance that will grow and spontaneously develop a powerful piece of enginery, and continue a system of such generations through ages of reproduction. The creation of any such animal germ out of dead carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen, or any of their dead compounds, is therefore opposed to all known action or law of chemical forces; and as much so, the creation of a vegetable germ from inorganic elements. Moreover, it is seen that the two kingdoms, the vegetable and animal, have their specific limits and comprehensive reciprocal relations, and are obviously embraced as parts of one idea in a single primal plan: not a plan involving the generation of one out of the other, or of either out of inorganic nature, but of the three, through some Creating Power higher than all."—Pp. 399–401.

(15.) "*The Intuitions of the Mind*, inductively investigated. By the Rev. James M'Cosh, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast, 'Author of Method of Divine Government,' etc." 8vo., pp. 504. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The rapid perusal allowed us by the late arrival of this work induces us to pronounce it one of the most valuable productions in metaphysics which has for years issued from the press. It mounts with a bold and free wing into the highest department of metaphysical thought. No department is so important to a true philosophy, so difficult of clear and sober explanation, so rife with the illusions and errors of past explorers, as the Intuitions. To analyze their distinctive characteristics, demonstrate their reality, and verify the objectve validity of their affirmations, is a great work hitherto imperfectly or unsafely done. Unless this be accomplished, satisfactorily and conclusively, the danger is, we believe, imminent, that the philosophic mind will within the next quarter of a century, relapse into the sensationalism of Alexander Bain, with the positivism of Comte; results for which the theories of Sir William Hamilton and Professor Mansel are a fitting preparation. Our present impression is, that no contribution to the ascertainment of a true Intuitional philosophy (not a *transcendental)* has yet appeared at once so bold, so modest, so sober, and so successful as this volume.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(16.) "*The Puritans;* or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. By Samuel Hopkins." 8vo., pp. 539. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

This, the SECOND of the THREE volumes of this great work, extends from the Parliament of 1575-6 to the Parliament of 1584–5.

(17.) "*A Trip to Cuba.* By Juria Waid Howe." 12mo., pp. 251. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

Whoso travels with Mrs. Howe, herein, to Cuba, may like his company better than his destination. A quick-sighted observer, a good-natured satirist of the many tempting vulnerabilities she meets, a graceful, flowing writer, she unfolds so much free-spoken truth that one leaves Cuba gladly, but closes her book regretfully.

(18.) "*Memorials of Methodism in New Jersey*, from the Foundation of the First Society in the State, in 1770, to the Completion of the first Twenty Years of its History; containing Sketches of the Ministerial Labors, Distinguished Laymen, and prominent Societies of that period. By Rev. JOHN ATKINSON, of the Newark Annual Conference." 12mo., pp. 435. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1860.

New Jersey has a distinguished revolutionary history in State, and the pages of these memorials may show a fitting counterpart in Church. The thanks of our religious community are due to Mr. Atkinson, both for the enterprise he has shown in rescuing the evanescent reminiscences of earlier days, and the interesting manner in which he has discharged his task. The work will be highly acceptable, both as a memorial for its own special section, and as an added chapter to our general Church history.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(19.) "*The Constitutional Powers of the General Conference.* With a Special Application to the Subject of Slaveholding. By WILLIAM L. HARRIS." 16mo., pp. 156. Cincinnati: Printed by the Methodist Book Concern. 1860.

The large share of this argument by Dr. Harris appeared originally in our Advocates, and its signal ability and apparent conclusiveness attracted general attention. In its present form it is one of the ablest constitutional documents that has ever uppeared in our ecclesiastical history; reading very much like one of John Marshall's decisions, leaving nothing further to be said on either side. We trust that every member of the next General Conference will give it a thorough consideration. In its present unanswered condition it is in great danger of settling the opinion of the Church on the topic it discusses.

(20.) "*The Guilt of Slavery and the Crime of Slaveholding* demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. By Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans." 12mo., pp. 472. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

The "Bible Argument" again. It is here instituted by Dr. Cheever afresh and fundamentally. He has apparently laid out the best of his powerful intellect in showing that no justification of the slaveholder is to be found in the record. Those who wish an exhaustive analysis of the subject will do well to consult this volume.

(21.) *Christian Duty in regard to American Slavery.* A Sermon preached in the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church on Sabbath morning, December 11, 1859, by Rev. J. T. CRANE, D. D., Pastor." 12mo., pp. 22. Jersey City: R. B. Kashow. 1860.

To Dr. Crane will historically belong, we believe, the honor of breaking the silence, so far as publication shows, of his ecclesiastical section upon a subject occupying an important place in the Methodist Discipline, though excluded from many a Methodist pulpit. The tone of the sermon is temperate, careful to disarm censure, yet firm in assuming slavery to be sin, and inferring the consequent

duty of American Christians upon the subject. It will have a happy effect in showing that the subject may be dealt with in a calm yet decided manner, even on ground supposed to be forbidden; as well as in calming the fears of many nervous anticipators of damage if the truth on the subject be touched.

V.—*Educational.*

(22.) "*Great Facts.* A Popular History and Description of the most Remarkable Inventions during the Present Century. By FREDERIC C. BAKEWELL. Illustrated." 12mo., pp. 307. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

The Great Facts of the present volume include the mechanical inventions of the age. We have a good account of steam engineries, photography, dissolving views, the kaleidoscope, the magic disc, the diorama, the stereoscope, the electric telegraph, the electro-magnetic clock, electro-metallurgy, gas lighting, the electric light, lithography, aerated waters, revolvers, centrifugal pumps, tubular bridges, self-acting engines, and some others. We know not where a more excellent popular statement of the "great facts" of modern invention is to be found.

(23.) "*Self-Help.* With Illustrations of Character and Conduct. By SAMUEL SMILES." 12mo., pp. 363. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The object of this work is forcibly to impress upon the young mind the importance of forming energetic character. If popularity is a test of success in its aim, it is a valuable work; as some twelve thousand copies have been sold in a brief time.

(24.) "*Self-Education;* or, the Means and Art of Moral Progress. Translated from the French of M. LE BARON DEGERANDO. By ELIZABETH P. PEABODY." 12mo., pp. 468. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860.

We have here a standard work by an eminent French author upon an all-important subject. It has long been before the American public, and has received the approval of the best minds of the age. The call for repeated editions is a favorable omen of our times.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres and Classics.*

(25.) "*The Fool of Quality;* or, the History of Henry, Earl of Moreland. By HENRY BROOKE, Esq. A new and revised Edition, with an introduction by the Rev. W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D., and a Biographical Preface by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, A.M. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.

THE charm of the story of this book lies in its simplicity and humanity. It seeks to portray from early childhood to early manhood one who should oppose all conventionalities that involve any obliquity of morals, and neglect those that are merely useless fashions, while he should carefully cultivate all the natural virtues of body and soul. Hence when a boy of five years he excels all his

playmates in leaping and fighting, as well as in honesty, affection, and indifference to rank and applause. Through all his youth his physical prowess is similarly shown; and even on his wedding day, just before he goes to church, he runs out on the lawn and before his admiring tenants and associates, and to the exceeding risk of his bridegroom apparel, he leaps over a cord stretched upon ten feet poles, as if to show that the usual agitations of that unusual event had not affected his superb muscular energy and elasticity. He is innocent of all fear of ghosts and graves, and the practical jokes with which the nerves of children are tried, and often ruined, are spoiled by his unconscious courage.

While yet a lad, he is stolen from his father by a rich uncle, who wishes to train him in a model manner, and who is set before us as endowed with fabulous graces. With him he stays till his eighteenth year, spending great sums in systematic charities, and gaining, with much good sense and benevolence, a very inferior education in books, a very finished one in gymnastics. By the usual course of novels since the world began, he is led to his earldom and marriage, which latter is made with a princess of Morocco, whose mother, the empress, happens to be the daughter of this famous uncle, and whose father, the emperor, abdicates his throne that he may live near his new-found and new-made relatives. This preposterous marvel, with which the book closes, is almost equaled by several similar Aladinisms in previous pages. So far as much of its incident is concerned, therefore, it is totally unworthy of a place beside the great masters of modern fiction, who have wisely abandoned all the clap-trap of the supernatural and the unnatural, the old fashioned stage scenery of the romance, to the spiritualist fanatics.

Its style has no higher claims than its narrative. It is simple, straightforward, easy, having the common-place qualities of common-place minds. Here and there a neatly framed expression, or an earnest climax, show the effort at art, but even these have no glow of immortality upon them. None of the simple elegance of the Vicar of Wakefield, none of the rare felicities of expression that shine through Fielding, as stars through heavy clouds, none of the exquisite sweetness of rhythm and fancy which makes the page of Gray glow with the rich and solemn hues of an autumn sunset, give life to its pages. With such artists in words as these for his cotemporaries, and with Pope and Swift, Addison and Sterne, for his immediate predecessors, it is somewhat surprising that so little of their skill appears here, especially when both his admirers say he was their pupil and companion. It may have been a part of his plan; for his Gustavus Vasa, a tragedy published in 1739, is pronounced by Horace Walpole to be "a most dainty performance." (Letters, vol. i, p. 134.) He may have thought his defense of the simple traits and duties of man ought not to be made in coined phrase, but should be as unadorned as the virtues it advocates. He should have remembered, however, that whatever outlives the occasion that called it forth, must have the crystallization of a symmetrical and living style. The book that is for all ages and natures, surpasses all its human types in this as well as in every other infinite excellence. We consider the lack of these graces to arise from a want of power to create them, and hence, cannot give the book any such place as the Fairy Queen occupies

in respect to art of construction or of expression. They can no more be compared than a potato and a lily. One feeds the body with cheap, though nutritious diet; the other feeds soul and body with its rare perfections.

As much of the story is preposterous and much of the style is slovenly, it remains that what won the regard of Mr. Wesley, and has won the more vehement and indiscriminate affection of Mr. Kingsley, is the object, the tone, or the religion of the book. Its object is reformatory. Probably it is in this department the pioneer novel of an innumerable progeny. It discourses, in its essays as well as its narratives, of prison discipline, true and false modes of education, treatment of the poor, internal commerce, by making the rivers of England navigable, and various other matters then unthought of by the public mind, but which have long since absorbed the attention of England and the civilized world. No great public man of that age would drink into these theories and projects so eagerly as John Wesley, the greatest reformer as well as religionist of his time. And Mr. Kingsley's ardor in that yet unaccomplished warfare would make this first call of the trumpet to this contest ring joyfully in his ears.

Its tone too is such as would attract these men. It is eminently manly. It has that bold, dashing ring that would be especially pleasing to the pluck of a man like Mr. Wesley, by far the most vigorous and courageous man of his day, and would be equally so, perhaps, to Mr. K., whose habit of connecting wrestling, (not of the Jacob sort,) boxing, and the other exercises of the sporting school with the service of Christ, has given him and his associate religionists in England the pleasant nickname of "Muscular Christians." Henry, Earl of Moreland was truly a muscular Christian, in so far as a love of athletic amusements was concerned. This, with his hatred of pretense and pomposity, of falsehood and fashion, made him dear to the great, simple heart of Wesley, and has made his new admirer call him from his quiet grave of a century.

In respect to his doctrines, we find a view advocated by Mr. Kingsley which is far from an honest expression of the theology of the book. And we are sorry to see this broad church heresy recopied into the note of the American editor, not only without comment, but with apparent commendation. It is the fling at Evangelical theology on the forty-fifth page of the English preface, and quoted on the fifth page of the American. With an appearance of piety and liberality such as that school always assumes when about to make a deadly thrust, he sneers at the great and solemn truths of the word of God, "the Spurgeonism" as he calls it, without his Calvinism, but with his tremendous realization of the great duty and danger of man, which puts to shame all the poetic vivacity of such gospellers as this school. These dreamers substitute their strengthless fire-mists for the solid earth of Bible truth, with its quenchless volcanoes no less than its Damascus gardens, its pits of darkness as well as heights of glory.

Mr. Brooke is guilty of no such softness. He paints the true process of conversion in the experience of Mr. Meekly. He discourses on the nature and necessity of the new birth through the lips of Mr. Clinton. He is everywhere boldly evangelical. His evangelism, it is true, is of the Methodistic stamp—universal atonement, the infinite and eternal love of God not only

over the freely eternally holy, but over those freely and eternally sinning, over whose hopeless, because voluntary, state, he bends, ever loving, though ever punishing,

> "Love watching madness with unalterable mien."

It was this Arminian statement of the universality of the love of God and the mode in which it awoke to life in the soul of man, that drew Wesley to its pages. It was, probably, the first offspring of his preaching, born into belles lettres—a literary child of Methodism, bringing its doctrines and practices into new regions, and being the forerunner of a great multitude of poets, philosophers, and novelists that have from this urn drawn light. H.

(26.) "*Poems* by SIDNEY DOBELL." 24mo., pp. 544. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Sidney Dobell, whose power as a poet can scarcely be questioned, but the quality of whose productions has been a subject of great critical debate in England, was born in 1824, and descends from one of the most ancient families in England. His principal poem, "The Roman," a drama in which his varied peculiarities and powers are most copiously displayed, was received by the reading and critical public with an unbounded and unanimous applause. Since that publication his reputation has undergone a variety of very rapid transitions. Still in the meridian of his manly powers, it may be trusted that he will yet place his name beyond the reach of question. We say this in spite of the intimation that Mr. Dobell is now meditating the project of inaugurating "a new and nobler organization of Christianity." The identity of bard and prophet has long since ceased. Whatever may be Mr. Dobell's capabilities as a poet, or the brilliancy of his literary genius, it is not of such material as his that God makes, or man accepts, a religious founder.

Mr. Dobell belongs to the class of *reposeless* poets. His feeling is all excitement; his colors are all glare. From end to end of his pieces every inert syllable is excluded, and every line is strained to its utmost tension. There is what we may call a great predominance of *will*, imposing its energetic pressure upon every thought and emotion, propelling them to their utmost intensity. That same *will* exerts itself in eluding every ordinary form or track of thought and expression, and aiming at a ceaseless unexpectedness, an incessant surprise. It plies its utmost wing to soar wholly within the domain of the hitherto unsaid and unthought. It is the sad destiny of the aspiring poet of our day, that the entire range of natural emotions, imageries, and intellections in their natural expression has been already gone over by a series of unsurpassable masters; so that he is tempted to abandon the area of the simple natural, and by determinate resolution go out in quest of a new natural. In this quest he is borne down with twin difficulties. The first is, that there is no distant sphere of nature, and that his tireless wing can only buoy us through the regions of the *unnatural*, where we may be briefly excited with the strangeness of our surroundings, and struck with the power of wings that transports us; but the home-sick heart soon tires, and pants for its native airs and sceneries. The second difficulty is, that WILL *is essentially unpoetical*. *Emotion*, pure and

spontaneous, is the inmost circle of the poetic; this is concentrically encircled by the outer rim of *imagination;* around this, *intellection* circumscribes a court of the Gentiles. But *will* is prosaic; and the moment it appears, there is a wiry edge in the melody. Now in Mr. Dobell's poetry this wiry edge, this sharp metallic ring, too seldom leaves us. We acknowledge the richness of his imagination, the depth of his emotion, the nerve of his language, the fertility of his invention; but—but, Mr. Dobell, let us loose! we sigh for the free, fresh air of our own home nature. Give us the emotions, not that are propelled, but that gently yet grandly swell up by their own spontaneous tide.

A number of Mr. Dobell's smaller pieces are pure vocal rhapsody. They are merely a rhythmical succession of exciting words, expressive of no thought and only communicating emotion to our minds as the vocality of one animal communicates impression to the mind of another. A very little, but the less the better, we can endure of tantarra like the following, which is but a slight specimen from a great abundance:

"High over the breakers,
Low under the lea,
Sing ho
The billow
And the lash of the rolling sea!"

One piece consists mainly from end to end of the repeated line, "O the wold, the wold!" A large number of passages are apparently intended to be the vociferous expression of animal glee, possessing about as much of the element of meaning and poetry (though less of popular immortality) as

"Ding, dong, bell,
The pussy's in the well," etc.

And now that our criticisms have been rather sharp upon our poet, let us allow him to vindicate himself with a sample or two of what he can perform in his better strain. The following stanzas, in "The Roman," are the strain in which the insurgent Milanese celebrate the man who shall first die in their cause:

"Chanted in song, and remember'd in story,
Sunk but to rise—like the sun in the wave—
Grandly the fallen shall sleep in his glory,
Proudly his country shall weep at his grave,
And hallow, like relics, each clod where there ran
The blood of that hero who died for Milan!

"Holy his name shall be, blest by the brave and free,
Kept like a saint's-day, the hour when he died!
The mother that bore him, the maid that bends o'er him
Shall weep, but the tears shall be rich tears of pride.
Shout, brothers, shout for the first falling man,
Shout for the gallant that dies for Milan!

"Long, long years hence by the home of his truth,
His fate, beaming eyes yet unborn shall bedew,
Beloved of the lovely, while beauty and youth
Shall give their best sighs to the brave and the true!
On spears,! spur cavaliers! Victory our van,
Fame sounds the trumpet that sounds for Milan!"

Nor must we omit the following noble sonnet to our land:

"AMERICA.

"Nor force nor fraud shall sunder us! O ye
Who north or south, on east or western land,
Native to noble sounds, say truth for truth,
Freedom for freedom, love for love, and God
For God; O ye who in eternal youth
Speak with a living and creative flood
This universal English, and do stand
Its breathing book; live worthy of that grand
Heroic utterance—parted, yet a whole;
Far, yet unsevered—children brave and free
Of the great Mother-tongue, and ye shall be
Lords of an empire wide as Shakspeare's soul,
Sublime as Milton's immemorial theme,
And rich as Chaucer's speech, and fair as Spencer's dream."

From the "Sonnets on the War" in the Crimea, full as they are of a gentle and humane piety, we select the following:

"HOME, IN WAR-TIME.

"She turned the fair page with her fairer hand—
More fair and frail than it was wont to be—
O'er each remembered thing he loved to see
She lingered, and as with a fairy's wand
Enchanted it to order. Oft she fanned
New motes into the sun; and as a bee
Sings through a brake of bells, so murmured she,
And so her patient love did understand
The reliquary room. Upon the sill
She fed his favorite bird. "Ah, Robin, sing!
He loves thee." Then she touches a sweet string
Of soft recall, and toward the Eastern hill
Smiles all her soul—for him who cannot hear
The raven croaking at his carrion ear."

(27.) "*Sunny Hours*: consisting of Poems on Various Subjects. By J. W. Carhart." 12mo., pp. 231. New York: Pudney & Russell, Printers. 1859.

This little volume, from the hand of a youthful aspirant, is the product of hours of interval amid the duties of a sacred calling. The time was not unworthily spent. The poems are not without poetry. The versification is easy and sustained; the command of language free and copious; the imagery natural, sometimes fresh and bold. The subjects and the thoughts are never unsuitable to the purest religious character. Of faults, merely mechanical and susceptible of avoidance, we may specify colloquial contractions like "I'm," "he's," and "that's." The two following specimen stanzas, not much above the average, may not be unworthy to succeed the extracts we have made from poets of more distant regions and more proud pretensions:

FLOWERS.

"Have flowers a spirit? They seem to possess
A power my bosom to move;
They seem to be pleased with a gentle caress,
Oft seem as if really in love.

They never can hate—they are often abused—
Or many their hatred would know ;
But over the hand that would crush them they weep,
And the fragrance of heart-pardon throw.

"I look at their leaflets, so downy and bright,
With deeper or delicate hue—
Their sweet little dresses all gilded with light,
Or honey'd-lips moistened with dew ;
They fondly return the fond look that I give,
They cannot be strangers to bliss !
Then each little beauty I press to my lips,
And will you believe it? *they kiss!*

◆

(28.) "*Lectures on the English Language*, by GEORGE P. MARSH. 8vo., pp. 697. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

The corporation of Columbia College, in the year 1858, established Post-graduate Lectures in various branches of education, to the delivery of which gentlemen of high standing in those departments were selected. Very brief reports of the Lectures appeared in the daily papers, which attracted the attention of intellectual readers. The sketches of Mr. Marsh's performances were in particular indicative that rare treats were furnished to the audiences who had the privilege of attendance. Given to the public as embodied in this magnificent volume, they furnish one of the noblest contributions to the analysis of our language that our literature possesses. Mr. Marsh's reputation in this department has long been eminent; his researches have been known to be profound, but his modes of analysis are felicitous, his thoughts piquant, and his style animated and often eloquent.

◆

(29.) "*Whims and Waifs.* By THOMAS HOOD. Now first collected." 12mo., pp., 479. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.

Of course Hood is a favorite with his audience. While his great masterpiece, "The Song of the Shirt," is on the stage, we are in the crowd. When that is finished we step out, but leave a large and admiring residue behind.

◆

(30.) "*Poems.* By the Author of John Halifax." 16mo., pp. 270. Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

The poems of Miss Muloch have been favorites with a large circle of readers. This collection of them in one of Ticknor & Fields' *russets* will be very acceptable both to them and a wider public.

◆

(31.) "*Essays Critical and Miscellaneous.* By T. BABINGTON MACAULAY. New and Revised Edition." 8vo., pp. 745. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

The greatest master over the power of our English language to express practical human thought, that ever wrought its syllables, has gone to Westminster Abbey In clearness, brilliancy, and perfectness of expression no writer ever surpassed Macaulay. No writer was ever more purely secular. Ignoring the depths below, and the heights above, his mind had a rare, clear sight in the horizontal direction. These great essays stand alone in English literature, and will maintain their position during a human "*forever.*"

(32.) "*Plato's Apology and Crito;* with Notes. By W. S. TAYLER GRAVES, Professor of Greek in Amherst College." 12mo., pp. 180. Appleton & Co. 1860.

We know nothing more suitable, in all the remains of classical antiquity, for Collegiate use than these beautiful pieces. The work of the editor is performed with the fine taste of a genuine classical scholar, and the practical skill of a master in his profession as an instructor.

(33.) "*Æschylus* ex novissima recensione FREDERICI A. PALEY. Accessit verborum quæ præcipue notanda sunt et nominum index." 24mo., pp. 272. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

(34.) "*Quinti Horatii Flacci,* Opera omina, ex recensione A. J. MACLEANE." 24mo., pp. 211. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

These neat classics, the first, we presume, of a series, will be very welcome to our American scholars. They are somewhat after the manner of the Leipsic editions. We trust that the demand will amply sustain the publishers in furnishing to the public the entire body of the best classical literature in the present style.

VII.—*Periodicals.*

(35.) "*The Household Magazine.* January 1, 1860. Monthly. Rev. S. H. PLATT, Editor." 12mo., pp. 32. E. Goodenough, 122 Nassau-street.

A new magazine, containing matter selected and original. It purposes to sustain a high intellectual and religious character. Its external execution is neat and attractive. Among its topics much attention is to be paid to sacred geography, a matter sadly and unwisely neglected by the great body of Scripture readers as well as Sunday-school instructors. The accuracy of the sacred writers in geographical details is a striking proof of their truthfulness in narration. A thorough knowledge of sacred geography gives to the mind a new interest in sacred history.

VIII.—*Juvenile.*

"*Glen Morris Stories.* Dick Duncan, the Story of a Boy who loved Mischief, and how he was cured of his Evil Habit. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., Author of 'My Uncle Toby's Library.'" 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Howe & Ferry. 1860.

Francis Forrester has a high reputation with boy America. Our youthful home population has been specially eager for his "next book."

"*The Florence Stories.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Florence and John." 24mo., pp. 252. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

"*Little Songs for Little People.* With numerous Illustrations." 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Christmas Party,* and other Stories. For Boys and Girls. By RENA RAY. Four Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 272. New York: Carlton & Porter.

"*Facts about Girls,* for Girls. Being a Selection of Interesting and Instructive Anecdotes for Girls. By Rev. RICHARD DONKERSLEY. Six Illustions." 18mo., pp. 220. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*John Wheeler's Two Uncles;* or, Launching into Life A Story for Boys. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 134. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Margaret Maxham.* A Book for Young Ladies. By MARIANNA H. BLISS, Author of 'Little Tiger Lily,' etc. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 144. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Young Gold Seeker*, and other Authentic Sketches. A Book for Youth. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS, Author of 'Pearls for the Little Ones,' etc. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 132. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Bible Pictures for Children.* Six Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 108. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Sweet Corabelle*, and other Authentic Sketches. A Book for Youth. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS, Author of 'Pearls for the Little Ones,' etc. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 164. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Little Things for Little Folks.* By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS, Author of 'Pearls for the Little Ones,' 'Home Scenes,' 'Casket of Gems,' etc. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 132. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Gold Dollar*, and *The Dark Shadow.* By Mrs. H. B. STEELE." 18mo., pp. 57. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Myra;* or, A Grandmother's Story of her Early Days. By Mrs. C. M. EDWARDS. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 147. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Little May;* or, Of what Use am I? By the Author of 'Rosa's Childhood,' etc." 18mo., pp. 191. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

IX.—*Miscellaneous.*

"*The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicius, and Lucullus.* Literally Translated into English Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, etc. By the Rev. LEWIS EVANS, M. A., late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius. By the late WILLIAM GIFFORD, Esq." 12mo., pp. 512. New York: Harper & Brothers

"*Notes on Nursing:* What it is and what it is not. By FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE." 12mo., pp. 140. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

Miss Nightingale truly remarks, that "at one time or another of her life every woman is a nurse." It is still more strictly true, that at one time or other every man, whether he condescends to remember it or not, has been nursed. We doubt not that for either party Florence Nightingale will prove an unrivalled authority.

"*Friends in Council.* A Series of Readings and Discourses thereon. A New Series, reprinted from the English Edition." 12mo., pp. 242. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1859.

The "friends" discuss a variety of topics in a very easy and leisurely way. The language is pure, graceful, idiomatic English; the thoughts are refined, often subtle, and always, we believe, favorable to the cause of humanity. The characters and dialogues are well wrought, a pleasant narrative being therewith intertwined.

"*The Life of Daniel Wilson, D.D.*, Bishop of Culcutta and Metropolitan of India. By JOSIAH BATEMAN, M.A., Rector of North Gray, Kent, his son-in-law, and Chaplain. With Portrait, Map, and Illustrations." 8vo., pp. 760. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

This memoir, of a most pious and accomplished prelate, is a rare contribution to the religious biography of the English Church and of the Church universal.

"*Lectures on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians.* By JOHN LILLIE. D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Kingston, N. Y." 8vo., pp. 585, Carter & Brothers. 1860.

A work attempting the difficult task of uniting fundamental exegesis with popular lecture, by an author amply able to do either alone.

"*Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan*, in the years 1857, 1858, 1859. By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Esq., Private Secretary to Lord Elgin." 8vo., pp. 645. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

A magnificent volume; done in the Harpers' best style.

"*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the official reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the 'Thirty Years' View.' Vol. XIII." 8vo., pp. 806. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Hits at American Whims and Hints for Home Use.* By FREDERIC W. SAWYER, Author of 'A Plea for Amusements." 12mo., pp. 276. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

"*The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D.*, late Head Master of Rugby School. By ARTHUR P. STANLEY. In Two Volumes. Vol. II., third American from last edition." 12mo., pp. 400. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

"*The Word of the Spirit to the Church.*" 12mo., pp. 86. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

"*The Still Hour;* or, Communion with God. By AUSTIN PHELPS, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary." 24mo., pp. 136. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

"*A Guide to the Knowledge of Life*, Vegetable and Animal. Being a comprehensive Manual of Physiology, viewed in relation to the maintenancy of Health. By ROBERT JAMES MANN, M.D.. Revised and corrected." 12mo., pp. 417. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1860.

"*The Words of a Risen Saviour*, and Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. By ROBERT STIER, Doctor of Theology. Translated by the Rev. WILLIAM B. POPE, Manchester." 8vo., pp. 501. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852.

"*Prenticeana;* or, Wit and Humor in Paragraphs. By the Editor of the Louisville Journal." 12mo., pp. 316. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

"*The Bible by itself.* An Address delivered in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church at the Thirtieth Anniversary of the New York Bible Society, November 27, 1859. By WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER." 16mo., pp. 22. New York: Robert Carter & Brother. 1860.

"*Commerce and Christianity.* A Premium Essay. By Rev. HOLLIS READ, Authos of 'God in History.' With an Introduction by Rev. HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D.D., Philadelphia." 16mo., pp. 150. Pensylvania Seamen's Friend Society.

"*Wolfe of the Knoll*, and other Poems. By Mrs. GEORGE P. MARSH." 12mo., pp. 327. New York: Charles Scribner: London: Sampson Low & Co. 1860.

"*Life among the Choctaw Indians*, and Sketches of the Southwest. By HENRY C. BENSON, A.M. With an Introduction by Rev. T. A. MORRIS, D.D., Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church." 12mo., pp. 314. Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & Poe. 1860.

"*The Marble Faun;* or, The Romance of Monte Beni. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE." 2 vols. 16mo., pp. 283, 284. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

"*Holmly House.* A Tale of Old Northamptonshire. By C. J. WHYTE MELVILLE, Author of 'Kate Coventry,' etc." 8vo., pp. 324. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

"*Loss and Gain;* or, Margaret's Home. By ALICE B. HAVEN." 12mo., pp. 319. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

"*Lucy Clifton.* By the Author of 'The Days of My Life,' etc., etc." 12mo., pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*The Diary of a Samaritan.* By a Member of the Howard Association of New Orleans." 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*Highways of Travel;* or, A Summer in Europe. By MARGARET J. M. LEVERET, Author of 'Ethel's Love-life.'" 12mo., pp. 364. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

"*The Life and Times of Gen. Sam. Dale*, the Mississippi Partisan. Illustrated by JOHN M'LENAN. Edited by J. F. H. CLAIBORNE." New York: Harper & Brothers.

"*Life in Spain.* Past and Present. By WALTER THORNBURY, Author of 'Every Man his own Trumpeter.' With Illustrations." 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*The Power of Jesus Christ to save unto the uttermost.* By the Rev. A. J. CAMPBELL." 12mo., pp. 329. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*Isaac T. Hopper.* A true Life. By L. MARIA CHILD. Twelfth Thousand." 12mo., pp. 493. Boston: Jewett & Co. 1860.

"*The Story of a Pocket Bible.* A Book for all Classes of Readers. Ten Illustrations." 16mo., pp. 412. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

X.—*Announcements.*

PROFESSOR SCHEM, of Dickinson College, proposes to publish *The American Ecclesiastical Year Book*, containing: 1. The Religious Statistics of the World during the past year, with many other specialities; 2. A brief Religious History of the World during the past year; 3. A list of works bearing on Religious Statistics, or current Ecclesiastical History. The continuous work is intended to be an Annual, presenting every successive year the Religious Statistics of the World. Professor Schem has for some years furnished the readers of our Quarterly with a proof of his ability and mastery of this department. No man of the age is probably better accomplished for the work.

Dr. NAST'S *Commentary* will, we trust, prove a great aid to our German ministry and laity, not only as an exegetical and practical exposition, but as a valuable production in apologetic literature. His work is constructed upon an original plan and a noble scale, and will stand, we believe, a permanent monument of the industry and ability of the author.

Dr. GEORGE PECK has in press a *History of the Origin and Early Progress of Methodism in New York*, between the Hudson and the Erie, including also the Northern range of Pennsylvania. It will derive interest, both from original documents and from the personal reminiscences of the author. This, together with the History of New Jersey Methodism, by Mr. Atkinson, will constitute a large and valuable accession to our denominational annals.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1860.

ART I.—MANSEL'S LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

The Limits of Religious Thought examined; in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in the year 1858, on the Bampton Foundation. By HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B.D. 1 vol., 12mo. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

PERHAPS few volumes have issued from the teeming press of America or Europe, during the past two years, that have combined in themselves so many elements calculated to awaken thought and stimulate investigation as the one now before us. Apart from the fact that it deals with a subject of vital interest to humanity, it has sprung, like a Minerva full-armed, into the very midst of "the battle of the evidences," at an era when an amount of thought and research unparalleled in any past age is being applied to the problems that connect themselves either directly or indirectly with the Bible as a divine revelation. Superadded to this, however, it possesses an interest peculiar to itself, growing out of the fact that it may justly be considered the first authoritative application of the celebrated "Philosophy of the Conditioned to the problems of theology;" and we can but regard it as singularly appropriate that this work should have been undertaken by Mr. Mansel, who (as is well known) was a favorite disciple of Sir William Hamilton, and who has since been selected as one of the associated editors of his posthumous works. It was therefore with no ordinary degree of interest that we entered upon an examination of it, feeling assured that the known character and antecedents of its author are a sufficient guarantee that no injustice has been done to the system in subjecting it to the test of a practical application, either through misconception of its principles or incapacity to apply them properly. And while we must dissent, for

reasons which will appear in the sequel, from the conclusions to which its distinguished author comes, we cheerfully bear testimony to the manly honesty, the profound learning, and the earnest devotion to the cause of truth everywhere apparent in its pages, to a brief survey of which we now invite the thoughtful reader.

It starts out, in opposition to Rationalism on the one hand and to Dogmatism on the other, with the fundamental postulate: "That the primary and proper object of criticism is not *religion*, natural or revealed, but the human mind in its relation to religion." (P. 61.) For a direct criticism of religion as a representation of God can only be accomplished by the construction of a philosophy of the infinite; but such a philosophy is essentially impossible to man, because the infinite and absolute, as such, are essentially incognizable and inconceivable. Incognizable, because they can be known neither immediately as unconditioned, nor yet mediately through the finite. Inconceivable, because consciousness is possible only under the conditions of relation, limitation, and personality; but to predicate any one or all of them, of the infinite and absolute, were to destroy them in the attempt to conceive them. Nevertheless, as necessary negative notions, they do and must exist as part of the furniture of the mind; possessing, it is true, no positive value, since they do not represent reality; but invaluable "as regulative ideas of the Deity, which are sufficient to guide our practice, even if they do not satisfy our intellects." (P. 131.) Every attempt therefore to reason concerning them must needs terminate in a maze of self-contradictions and absurdities, and this result is equally inevitable whether we confine our researches to the domain of abstract science and metaphysics, or whether we seek, by the aid of revelation, to know and conceive God as the self-existent, immutable, and infinite Creator and moral Governor of the universe. It is to no purpose then that the Rationalist or skeptic pleads the incomprehensible or seemingly self-contradictory nature of certain doctrines of revelation as an objection to their truth, since the objection would lie with equal force against science or metaphysics; these self-contradictions inhering in the limitations of the finite reason and not in the essential nature of things. The possibility or impossibility of conception cannot therefore be assumed to be identical with the possibility or impossibility of existence; and revelation must not be judged in virtue of the presence or absence of the incomprehensible and self-contradictory, but of the strength or weakness of the external evidence by which its claims are supported.

Such, in brief, is the plausible and skillfully developed theory which Mr. Mansel has presented, by which he claims to have utterly

invalidated the attacks alike of the Rationalist and the skeptic, by removing the whole controversy from the plane of reason to that of a transcendental faith, thus resting the issue upon the strength of the positive evidences for and against the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures as a divine revelation. The only pertinent question is, therefore, are his premises valid, and his conclusions legitimate?

His initial postulate, "That the true object of criticism is not religion, but the limits of religious thought," suggests two important queries, namely: 1. How shall the limits of thought be determined? and, 2. What is the legitimate corollary that must be drawn from the nature of those limits as thus determined? How our author has solved these problems the sequel will more fully show; meanwhile he shall speak for himself:

> "We can adequately criticise that only which we know as a whole. The objects of natural religion are known to us in and by those ideas which we can form of them; and these ideas do not of themselves constitute a whole apart from the remaining phenomena of consciousness. We must not examine them by themselves alone; we must look to their origin, their import, and their relation to the mind of which they are a part. Revealed religion, again, is not by itself a direct object of criticism: first, because it is but part of a larger scheme, and that scheme one imperfectly comprehended; and, secondly, because revelation implies an accommodation to the mental constitution of its human receivers, and we must know what that constitution is before we can pronounce how far the accommodation extends."—P. 60.

Now all this, at a cursory glance, appears very reasonable; yet it obviously involves two difficulties, namely: First, That on these conditions any criticism whatever of religion or science as such is a simple impossibility. If we may only criticise that which we *know adequately*, not merely in itself, but *in all its relations*, we cannot criticise anything—the schoolboy's essay, the Principia of Newton, and the revealed word of God equally escape us.

Secondly, Conjoining to it a subsequent statement of Mr. Mansel's, we find ourselves involved in the meshes of the absurd corollary, that no degree of self-contradiction, however great, nor any absurdity, however apparent, can justify us in rejecting any pretended revelation whatever. Logically, therefore, the Vedas, the Koran, the Bible, and the Book of Mormon, so far as internal evidence is concerned, must be recognized as having equal claims upon our faith, and must therefore be accepted or rejected solely on the ground of the inherent strength or weakness of the external evidence by which they are severally supported. To such a conclusion we must demur. As a rule of action it would be insufferably tedious and unsatisfactory, shutting the door at once and forever upon

all *a priori* reasoning, and condemning us to the endless labor of examining into the external or material evidences, not merely of every pretended revelation, but also of every fancied discovery in the arts or sciences, no matter how puerile or absurd. Yet from such a conclusion Mr. Mansel cannot escape after having propounded the twin dicta: first, That no criticism is legitimate in the absence of a complete knowledge of the *subject, per se, of its origin, its import, and its relations.* And, secondly, that neither *relative* nor *self*-contradictions can authorize us, *a priori,* to reject any doctrine whatever. Nor are these incidental expressions; they are dogmas which he not only iterates and reiterates, but which he himself applies practically: first, by proving that all conceptions of God as absolute and infinite (forms, be it remembered, under which he testifies that we must necessarily conceive Deity if we conceive him at all) are *mutually* as well as *self*-contradictory; and secondly, by attempting to fasten upon us this bundle of contradictions as the only proper object of faith. But if we may, nay, must believe one pair of contradictions, by what warrant shall we reject any other?

Such a definition of criticism not only effectually destroys it as an agent of human progress, but supersedes the necessity for its use where it is possible. The very act of criticism involves the idea of an attempt to reach truth by progressive approach, and it may therefore be successfully applied by the unskilled to the works or theories of the adept. But on Mr. Mansel's hypothesis it were not merely presumptuous, it were absurd for one possessing anything less comprehensive than omniscient wisdom to attempt to criticise any book whatever, however crude its statements or absurd its conclusions; and to one possessing such wisdom criticism were puerile, and direct revelation alone appropriate.

But if our author's definition of criticism is self-destructive, is his dialectic application of it, in his attempt to determine the limits of religious thought, more fortunate? Here, contrary to what might rationally have been anticipated, he seeks to solve the problem by applying the powers of reason directly to the solution of the very questions of theology in reference to which he desires to ascertain their scope. This, of course, necessitated the adoption of some *a priori* standard of criticism, in conformity to which the results of each successive application might be determined. This touchstone Mr. Mansel finds in the principle of contradiction. Every conception or notion, therefore, which in its logical development ultimates in contradictions, is declared to be incogitable and inconceivable, to transcend the limits of thought, and to have place only in the shadowy realms of faith. Thus our notions of the absolute and

infinite, when rationally developed, are found to be mutually as well as self-contradictory, and hence must be classed, not with the positive conceptions of the real, but with mere negative notions that have no other significancy or guaranty than our mental impotence can give them. But if this dogma is valid at all, it must ultimate logically in the general axiom, *That every idea which, either in itself, its origin, its relations, or its results, involves the incomprehensible or the contradictory is incognizable, and must therefore be excluded from the domain of legitimate thought.* But on such an hypothesis it is obvious that the finite as well as the infinite must be transferred to the category of the unthinkable; that mathematics is as incogitable and self-contradictory as theology can possibly be. If such a conclusion is deemed inadmissible, no alternative remains but to retrace our steps, discard this initial hypothesis, and thus absolve ourselves from the fatal conclusions to which it inevitably leads. Any attempt, therefore, by its aid to draw a line of demarcation between the realms of thought and of faith, or to identify cognition or knowledge with conception, and to predicate faith exclusively of the incognizable and the inconceivable, is as futile as it is absurd. One of two conclusions were inevitable. Either faith itself must become a delusion, as the infidel asserts it to be, or its rationality must be assumed to be in direct proportion to the number and degree of the self-contradictions inhering in its object.

Lest we be suspected of caricaturing Mr. Mansel, we waive farther discussion of this topic and hasten to a formal examination of his second fundamental postulate, namely: "That all notions of the absolute, the infinite, of a first cause, etc., lie beyond the limits of legitimate thought." Space will not permit us to enter at length into the metaphysical discussion involved necessarily in any issue taken upon this point; in fact, such an issue were far more pertinent to a review of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned than to the volume before us. Necessity, however, compels us to notice some of its more salient features, and to indicate what seems to us to be the source of its inherent fallacies. The theory itself is based essentially upon the formulas of logic, and possesses therefore a dialectical rather than a psychologic character. It begins by reducing all our notions to two categories, namely, the conditioned and the unconditioned, (or, popularly, the finite and the infinite;) the latter, in turn, it subdivides into the unconditionally unlimited or infinite, and the unconditionally limited or absolute—notions radically contradictory of each other. Of the three notions the first alone, that is, the conditionally limited, or finite, is a subject of consciousness; that is, is cognizable and conceivable, because

it alone can be known under the conditions of limitation, difference, and relation which are affirmed, *a priori*, to be the conditions of all consciousness whatever. To limit the infinite or absolute as such were to destroy them in the attempt to conceive them; hence they are not real positive conceptions, conformed to reality, but mere negations of the finite. But in virtue of the dialectical law, "that of two contradictories both cannot be true nor both false at the same time," we are logically necessitated to believe in the existence of the one or the other extreme. But we must not mistake this formal faith for a demonstration, real though negative, of the actual existence of either. They are nothing more than necessary correlates of human thought, the imaginary poles between which it oscillates without ever attaining to either. It is true that both Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Mansel have assumed that these mutually contradictory notions represent a real though, to us, an incognizable and inconceivable existence, the unknown god of Athenian polytheism, the Jehovah of Christian monotheism; but this assumption is not only wholly unwarranted, but it is inconsistent with their own positive enunciations elsewhere made. Both agree that the absolute and infinite, when viewed apart, are found to be severally self-contradictory, just as they are mutually destructive when considered in relation to each other or to the finite. But here again our author shall speak for himself:

> "The conceptions of the absolute and infinite, from whatever side we view it, appears encompassed with contradictions. There is a contradiction in supposing such an object to exist, whether alone or in conjunction with others; and there is a contradiction in supposing it not to exist. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as one, and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as many. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as personal, and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as impersonal. It cannot without contradiction be represented as active, nor without equal contradiction be represented as inactive. It cannot be conceived as the sum of all existence, nor yet can it be conceived as part only of that sum."—P. 84.

Surely, amid such a mass of incurable contradictions, the thought must sometimes have occurred to the distinguished author of this system of philosophy, that there must be some concealed fallacy in the logical premises upon which his theories are based. It were useless for him to retort "that similar contradictions environ all rival systems;" for were the allegation admitted it would not relieve his difficulties, much less could it justify his utterly inconsequent attempt to postulate a necessary faith in these self-contradictory negations as a normal law of our intellectual being. It were far more rational to reject his definitions of the absolute and infinite as being purely imaginary, and thus, by abolishing the poles of his

paradoxical antithesis, absolve ourselves from the logical necessity of believing such a mass of absurdities.

Followed out to its legitimate conclusions, the system must ultimate in complete atheism, notwithstanding the fact that it claims and is reputed to be, pre-eminently, the Christian philosophy. For:

1. It limits the domain of valid thought strictly to the finite, affirming that we can neither cognize nor conceive anything that transcends the sphere of the relative, the limited, the determined.

2. It declares all notions of the infinite, the absolute, and of a first cause to be, not positive conceptions *based upon the necessity of things per se*, but mere negations of the finite, self-contradictory and mutually destructive, *based on mental impotence.*

3. Therefore it necessarily excludes all that is cogitable (or thinkable) from our representations of God, affirming him to be at once incognizable and inconceivable; or in other words, it declares him to be essentially an *unknown God*, to worship whom were not less idolatrous than absurd.

Permit us to illustrate. Either wisdom, justice, goodness, and truth, which both reason and revelation predicate of Deity as his essential attributes, are conceivable or they are inconceivable. If conceivable, they pertain to the finite, and cannot rationally be predicated of the infinite; if they are themselves inconceivable, they cannot be to us a revelation of anything, for the unknown cannot reveal the unknown. In a word, on the basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy, God, as absolute, infinite, or first cause, is essentially incognizable and inconceivable, and can be represented to us neither by the finite nor the infinite. The former cannot represent the latter by similarity, for it has and can have nothing in common with it; nor yet by contrariety, for the infinite, as absolute, excludes all contrariety. Hence God is to man as if he were not; rationally we can neither affirm his existence nor predicate of him any attribute whatever; nay, more, revelation itself becomes an impossibility and a dream.

The same conclusion may be reached as directly by another route equally convincing, namely, either our negative conception of the absolute and infinite (or of God, if the reader prefer) are conformed to reality or they are not. If they are conformed to reality, then, *pro tanto*, we do cognize and conceive the absolute and infinite; if they are not conformed to reality, God escapes us wholly, and blank atheism is the hopeless result. It is utterly in vain, at this juncture, that Mr. Mansel tells us that atheism involves contradictions equally hopeless. Grant it, and what then? Either *mutual* and *self*-contradictions are or they are not a sufficient ground for the rejection of any notion or hypothesis whatever; if they are, all

such must go by the board together; if they are not, the law of contradiction and the excluded middle, upon which Sir William Hamilton bases his excision of such notions as incogitable, is valueless in psychology. Either alternative is fatal. For ourselves we choose an easier path, and demur outright against a theory which would force us upon the horns of such a dilemma. Will it be objected that we must accept some one of the systems offered, or propound a better? We reply that we acknowledge no such necessity, but prefer, if we must, to follow the example of the South Sea Islanders—*burn our idols* and wait patiently for a God.

But our readers may be curious to know how our author avoids these logical but self-destructive results of the premises which he has so confidently propounded. Here again he shall speak for himself:

> "On the one hand it must be allowed that it is not through reasoning that men obtain the first intimation of their relation to Deity, and that, had they been left to the guidance of their intellectual faculties alone, it is possible that no such intimation might have taken place; or, at best, it would have been but as one guess out of many equally plausible and equally natural.* Those who lay exclusive stress on the proof of the existence of God from the marks of design in the world, or from the necessity of supposing a first cause of all phenomena, overlook the fact that man learns to pray before he learns to reason; that he feels within him the consciousness of a Supreme Being and the instinct of worship before he can argue from effects to causes, or estimate the traces of wisdom and benevolence scattered through the creation. . . . We may therefore, without hesitation, accede to the argument of the great critic of metaphysics when he tells us that the speculative reason is unable to prove the existence of a Supreme Being, but can only correct our conception of such a Being, supposing it already obtained."—Pp. 115, 116.

Again he says:

> "Religious thought, if it is to exist at all, can only exist as representative of some fact of religious intuition, of some individual state of mind, in which is presented, as an immediate fact, that relation of man to God of which man by reflection may become distinctly and definitely conscious. Two such states may be specified as dividing between them the rude material out of which reflection builds up the edifice of religious consciousness. These are the *feelings of dependence* and the *conviction of moral obligation*."—P. 119.

The one gives us as a fundamental principle, the *fear of God;* the other carries with it the *conviction of sin.* But these, either separately or conjoined, as Mr. Mansel admits, can only give us the conception of a God *finite* like ourselves; logically, therefore, it can serve only as the basis for the conception of an anthropomorphic deity, adequate indeed to the wants of a refined Grecian polytheism, but not to those of a Christian monotheism; it may suffice to people a

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* He should have said, equally contradictory and absurd.—Rev.

Greek Olympus, but not to reveal Him who dwelleth in immensity. This difficulty Mr. Mansel attempts to meet thus, namely:

> "Though our positive religious consciousness is of the *finite only*, there yet runs through the whole of that consciousness the accompanying conviction that the infinite does exist and must exist. . . . We cannot be conscious of the infinite, but we can be and are conscious of the limits of our own powers of thought; and therefore we know that the possibility or impossibility of conception is no test of the possibility or impossibility of existence. We know that unless we admit the existence of the infinite, the existence of the finite is inexplicable and self-contradictory; and yet we know that the conception of the infinite itself appears to involve contradictions *no less inexplicable*. In this impotence of reason we are compelled to take refuge in faith, and to believe that an infinite Being exists, though we know not how, and that he is the same Being who is made known in our consciousness as our sustainer and lawgiver."—P. 127.

But wherefore? Why take refuge in faith rather than in atheism? Why superadd to the necessary contradictions involved in the conception of the finite two new classes of contradictions, namely, "the *no less inexplicable* contradiction" inhering in the idea of the infinite, and the conjoined impossibility of conceiving the co-existence of the finite and the infinite? True, our author says, "that unless we admit the existence of the infinite, the existence of the finite is inexplicable;" but it is *not less so* after such an admission, which is therefore at once *irrational* and *futile*.

Again, he says in the same paragraph, as already quoted: "We know that the possibility or impossibility of conception is no test of the possibility or impossibility of existence;" but may not the atheist retort with crushing power: "True, we cannot conceive the finite as self-existent, 'but we know that the possibility or impossibility of conception is no test of the possibility of existence;' therefore the finite may in reality be self-existent." Such a reply would, on the basis of the "Philosophy of the Conditioned," be entirely unanswerable. Nor should such a result be a matter of surprise when we reflect that for that philosophy there is no escape from the fatal circle of the hopelessly subjective. Practically, therefore, it ultimates in the same conclusions with the Positivism of M. Comte, although it starts seemingly from different premises and travels a diverse road. Both begin and end with the phenomenal, with this simple variation: that the one (Positivism) is based upon the fundamental postulate that to man the phenomenal alone is real, enunciated in M. Comte's celebrated "Law of Evolution," namely: "That the human mind by its nature employs in its progress three methods of philosophizing, the character of which is essentially different and even radically opposed, namely, the theological, or fictitious; the metaphysical, or abstract; and the scientific, or positive; each of

which excludes the other. The first is the necessary point of departure of the human understanding, and the third is its fixed and definite state; the second is merely a state of transition." The other, that is, the Philosophy of the Conditioned, begins with the correlate axiom, that the phenomenal alone is cognizable and conceivable. Both postulate the immediacy and reality of perception as a necessary truth, and both exclude the infinite and the absolute from the sphere of the cogitable or thinkable, and on almost identical grounds. But here, somewhat strangely, their paths diverge. M. Comte, consistently, we must think, exscinds and outlaws these *negative notions* as at once self-contradictory and mutually destructive; while Sir William Hamilton, ascribing to them identically the same character, challenges for them (so far as we can see) without reason a necessary faith. Paradoxical, therefore, as it may be deemed, we hazard the assertion that the French infidel could have based his rejection of theology more securely upon the foundation laid by his Scotch compeer than upon that which he has himself laid.

It is almost superfluous for us to add, that, if our preceding criticisms are just, Mr. Mansel's so called *Regulative Truths* are utterly worthless; that any consistent theory which denies to them a speculative value must go farther and discard them altogether, or, at best, retain them and ascribe to them no other office or potency than the astronomer ascribes to the imaginary lines by whose aid he maps out the starry heavens. Legitimately, Mr. Mansel may use them as the formal poles of thought; but the moment he attempts to postulate them as objects of faith, he is guilty of the grossest inconsistency.

There is yet one other aspect of this singular theory that deserves a more extended notice than it has yet received, inasmuch as it exhibits with peculiar force its inherent weakness. If we recur to its fundamental postulate, namely, "That the absolute and infinite as such are incognizable and inconceivable," and conjoin to it a declaration elsewhere made, namely, "That to conceive Deity *as he is*, we must conceive him as first cause, as absolute, and as infinite," we find ourselves planted on the horns of this singular dilemma: Given a being absolute and infinite, *per se*, it is required to reveal him, his existence and attributes, to a race of beings who are incapable of cognizing or conceiving anything but the finite, the relative, the determined. If God be revealed at all, he must be revealed as he *is* and *not* as *he is not*. But our author has iterated and reiterated that the finite *cannot in whole* or *in part* represent the infinite; while the latter as such cannot be cognized. It follows, therefore,

that a revelation of God to man is an utter impossibility, since he can neither be revealed by the finite nor the infinite, neither by unity nor diversity. It is but just to say, however, that he has endeavored to break the force of this objection; but how?

> "It has been objected, (says he,) by reviewers of very opposite schools, that to deny to man a knowledge of the infinite is to make revelation itself impossible. The objection would be pertinent if I had ever maintained that revelation is or can be a direct manifestation of the infinite nature of God. But I have constantly asserted the very reverse. In revelation, as in natural religion, God is represented under *finite* conceptions adapted to finite minds." —P. 22.

The obvious failure of this reply is conclusive proof that the objection is fatal. It is no sort of answer that he (Mr. M.) "never maintained that revelation is or can be a direct manifestation of the infinite nature of God;" for a revelation must be a manifestation (direct or indirect) of God *as he is*, that is, as *infinite;* but that which represents him under finite conceptions represents him *as he is not*, and demonstrably, therefore, is a *false* revelation. He, therefore, who worships a God thus represented worships that which has no existence, and is therefore an idolater, a conclusion from which there is no escape. Mr. Mansel then being witness, God has given us a revelation of himself which is demonstrably false; but which he nevertheless requires us at the peril of our soul's salvation to believe not only to be true, but to be, par excellence, *the truth.* Instead, therefore, of having harmonized reason and faith by determining their several limits, our author has reduced them to a condition of irremediable hostility—a conclusion more self-contradictory and absurd than any to which a philosophy of the infinite could possibly lead us. We frankly confess that for ourselves personally, in preference to such a theory, we would embrace pantheism and sink the personality of Jehovah in the unconscious ocean of being, or join the atheist in the declaration that "there is no God."

We cannot, perhaps, better express the disappointment we have felt in tracing the development of our author's ingenious but erratic theory than by comparing it to that which I have sometimes imagined must have filled the breast of an old monotheistic Arabian patriarch if, attracted by rumors of the wondrous manifestations of the divine presence and power in Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the desert, he had chanced to approach the foot of Sinai on the fatal morning when Aaron reared his golden idol, and hearing the herald's proclamation: "These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," had hurried forward with eagerness, expecting to behold the Divine shekinah, and found only a

golden calf. There at least was a tangible image, upon which, if deftly wrought in polished gold, the eye might rest with pleasure as upon a beautiful work of art; albeit faith might, nay, must sink in utter death. But in the adytum of the sanctuary into which Mr. Mansel has invited us, we beheld not, as we had hoped, the symbols of a purer, higher, and more intelligent faith in the God of nature and revelation, but, on the contrary, were met with the chilling dogma, "That the revelations we do possess are *not* representations, true but inadequate, of the infinite Jehovah, but, on the contrary, mere illusions, representing nothing real, and serving no higher purpose than the nurse's fairy tale, with which she is wont to charm or terrify the wayward child.

It is with sincere regret that we thus characterize our impressions of a work that displays so much earnestness, ability, and devotion to the cause of Christ. But believing, as we do, that there is no source of danger to that cause more real than the ill-judged efforts of its enthusiastic friends, we could not reconcile it with a sense of duty to permit errors so dangerous to be disseminated as the teachings of a pre-eminently Christian philosophy without at least entering a protest against them. Christianity needs no such defense, and we have an abiding faith that she can live and triumph *with* or *without* the aid of metaphysics; and therefore she has everything to lose and nothing to gain by allying herself with any system, however plausible or popular, which silently but effectually undermines the fundamental conceptions upon which theology rests.

ART. II.—LIFE OF PLATO.

THE desire to know something of the person and habits of great men is not only an innocent curiosity, deserving to be gratified for its own sake, but it may be appropriated and turned to good account by the *scientific spirit.* The public life of a hero or statesman is better understood from an acquaintance with his private life and personal peculiarities. How these several particulars coalesce into unity is strikingly evinced in Napoleon and in Cicero. The influence and doctrine of a philosopher, likewise, may be the more thoroughly comprehended if we have command of the facts relating to his education, his manners, and his associations. Every fact pertaining to thing or person is part of the whole which we desire to understand, and has relations of antecedence and consequence, of

likeness and unlikeness to the remaining parts. As every manifestation of *electric action*, for example, leads to an understanding of the laws of electricity, and every *new* phenomenon is either referred to pre-established laws or directs us toward the discovery of new laws; so, in a man's life, every word and every act may either add confirmation to what we already know of him, or develop a new phase of character, a new habit and tendency. Now, while a close and careful study of life and character is what most men do not deserve at our hands, it is an *imperative duty* devolved on us by the Providence acting through those whom we call *great* men. What makes a man *great* is the fact that he *generates*, or in an eminent degree *sustains* and *carries on* the leading tendencies of human life in the age in which he lives. Since, therefore, we regard history as *the manifestation* of Divine Providence *in our race*, every great man becomes in our eyes an important minister of that presiding power, collecting in himself the momenta of the past, and foreshadowing the aims of the future.

Upon the intellectual life of our race no man has exerted a wider and more lasting influence than Plato, the Athenian. To this day he divides the empire of philosophy with his profoundest pupil, Aristotle, and there is no probability that future ages will dispute the place of either. The universe which man contemplates divides itself into an inner and an outer world—a material and a spiritual—a domain of thought and a realm of experience. Accordingly, all philosophizing, as it gives prominence to the inner or the outer, will take the type of *idealism* or *sensualism*, using these terms in a broad sense. Of these types the latter is represented by Aristotle, the former by Plato.

Had Plato been an ordinary mind he could not in his era have conceived the great problem of a philosophy of reason, much less have grasped it with such comprehension of its method and aim as to have propounded the questions, and marked out the way to their solution, which must occupy the speculative faculty of man to the remotest ages. Doubtless he was much indebted for the direction of his thoughts to his predecessors, and particularly to Socrates. But his superiority is discoverable in the fact that he was the only one of the followers of that divine man who had the speculative ability to seize the problems he proposed and develop his suggestions into a system.

The time has long since passed when inquiring minds could receive the dicta of either Plato or Aristotle as beyond appeal. The worship once paid them has forever ceased. To the many-sided thought of our age, both their results and their method are open to

much criticism. Ours is an age when reason, drilled to methods forced upon it by the uncompromising processes of nature, and absolved from bondage to imagination and prejudice, is prepared to consider attentively all phenomena, and to seek in all varieties of facts the prevalence of *law*. Furnished as we are with wondrous discoveries and with well-digested sciences which enable us to discover many errors in the efforts of ancient inquirers after truth, we are at the same time so much the better qualified to appreciate what our predecessors have done, and to value the legacy of their speculations, without which, as forerunners, our science could not have arisen. To us, therefore, in the glory of our acquisitions, Plato is part of a vast system of intellectual development which is still in progress, and his influence is still as vital, though not as dominant, as ever.

We have said thus much, not to give promise of a critique on the philosophy of Plato, but to justify the interest we feel in the study of his life and character. And if any, however few, should be led by this essay to an earnest study of the writings of the great philosopher, we should think it a great gain, and rejoice in the work of our hands, though we might not anticipate that any such student would acquire the *matter* of truth so much as that *discipline of mind* which, as a *vis medicatrix*, will make him sound for the reception, digestion, and handling of truth.

In collecting material for this paper we have not only consulted Olympiodorus, Diogenes Laërtius, and the scattered notices in Plato's collective works, but have made free use of the Platonic epistles, with the exception of the thirteenth. We have not lost sight of the fact that the greater number of modern scholars either doubt or deny the genuineness of these epistles; but we have also borne in mind that the ablest scholars, while doubting their genuineness, admit them to be trustworthy as to the facts. They were regarded as genuine, however, by the ancient critics without exception; and their uniform recognition by the Alexandrian school must be received as a testimony almost decisive. Among modern critics, Bentley, and among living scholars, Mr. Grote, affirm their genuineness. German critics are on the other side. The decision, if made at all, must be made between the authority of the Alexandrian critics on the one hand and the historical criticism of modern German scholars on the other. When we consider the subjective character of German historical criticism, and the rigor with which it pushes *a priori* assumptions to extreme results, we may wisely hesitate to follow their lead. It is said the matter is often trivial, and the style is unworthy of Plato. It may well be admitted that some trivial matter is found,

and that the style is not to be compared with that inimitable style which characterizes the dialogues. But it behooves us to inquire whether this admission compels us to conclude that the author of the epistles could not have been the same with that of the dialogues. Does experience authorize us to expect the same power and skill of any writer in two diverse kinds of composition? If, moreover, it appears that he has employed himself laboriously and ambitiously in the one, but casually and indifferently in the other, should we not expect striking diversities of execution? Again, does not experience teach that *age* has something to do with the vivacity and power of a man's written productions? that he who in his prime could distance all competitors is only to be tolerated, not admired, when senility has enfeebled his thoughts? These suggestions are applicable to the case in hand; for we know, according to a statement of Themistius, that when Plato delivered a lecture on "The Good," in the Peiræus, his audience left him; a fact which indicates, as we think, that, from want of practice, Plato was not master of the style of direct address. We know, again, from Epistle VII, that he was much advanced in age at the time of writing the most important of the epistles. There can, therefore, be no incongruity in ascribing the epistles to him, however displeased we may be at the thought of associating inferior compositions with so illustrious a name. Finally, whatever the merits of the argument, we are safe as to the facts.

Plato was son of Ariston and Perictione, and named from his paternal grandfather, Aristocles. His lineage was noble by both the father's and the mother's side. His mother, according to Diogenes, was daughter of Glaucon, son of Calæschrus, son of Critias, son of Dropides, who was brother of Solon. Plato was therefore sixth from Solon's brother. Critias, one of the thirty, was Perictione's uncle. Ariston's family were traced to the royal Codrus. Plato shares with some other worthies of antiquity the mythological glory of a divine original. Apollo is said to have appeared to his mother and become the author of his existence, meanwhile warning Ariston not to cohabit until after the birth of the child. One could suspect such a fiction to have originated in later times, when Christianity was contending with Platonism for supremacy in the intellectual world, and when adherents of the philosopher would be induced to draw on their imagination for such conceptions of their master as would serve to place him on a seeming level with the divine founder of the Christian system. But the story is found in writers earlier than the Christian era, and is therefore only an instance of the love of the marvelous inherent in our nature, of

which there are so many instances, particularly in antiquity, and which, in this case, found a point of departure in the fact that Plato's birthday, 7th of first month Thargelion, was the same as that assigned to the glorious son of Leto. A more pleasing fancy, illustrating the same tendency to account for the marvelous qualities of a great man by reference to some divine agency or indication, is found in the legend that his parents went in his infancy to Hymettus, a locality famed for bees and honey, to offer sacrifice in behalf of their child; and that while the child lay sleeping the bees filled his mouth with honeycomb, as Olympiodorus says: "*Ἵνα ἀληθὲς περὶ αὐτõυ γένηται, τõυ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.*"

Whether he was born at Athens, that is, at Colonus, a suburb of Athens, where his father lived at one time, or at Ægina, whither, according to one account, his father removed just before his birth, cannot be determined. Neither can the year of his birth be made out with perfect certainty, though there is but little reason to differ from those who fix it in the last year of the 87th, or the first of the 88th Olympiad, that is, in 429 or 428 B.C. His father gave him all the facilities for education that were accessible to the youth of Athens. Athenian education consisted of three parts: Letters, *γράμματα*; Music, *μουσική*; and Gymnastics, *γυμναστική*. The first comprised the elementary knowledge requisite to an accurate use of the Attic tongue. The second included all other knowledge of a higher order, supposed to be under the patronage of the Muses, such as poetry, geometry, astronomy. Gymnastics was a purely physical training, and thought to be equally necessary with the other parts of education, the Greeks being adherents of the doctrine, *Mens sana in sano corpore.* No other people known to history have had so nice an appreciation of a perfect bodily development, and none have so mercilessly laughed at or despised physical deformity. Plato's teachers in the several departments are named, and Alcibiades is said to have been a fellow-pupil. He gave proof of his success in gymnastic culture in public contests, once at the Isthmian and once at the Pythian games.

His youth was spent in the diligent acquisition of knowledge, and his rare imagination bloomed with a glowing promise. He sought intercourse with the painters, and learned how to mix colors. He received instruction from the writers of tragedy, and was familiar at an early age with the aims and precepts of their art. His youth was cotemporary with the old age of Sophocles, and with the mature vigor of Euripides and Aristophanes. A soul so ardent and imaginative as his, at such a period in the history of such a people, could not but flame out in poetic aspirations and attune itself to

poetic harmonies. Accordingly, it is said that Plato, while yet in his teens, composed heroic and dithyrambic verse, and had even prepared himself, at the age of twenty, for a public contest in tragedy at the great festival of Dionysus. None of his poems remain, for he destroyed them. But that he had the fire and the loftiness of a true poet none can doubt who follow him in the sublime flights of the Phædrus. He had great relish of Aristophanes and Sophron, and is said to have been the first to bring the books of the latter to Athens. This fondness continued through life, and the books of these poets were found in his death-bed. He is said to have composed an epigram on Aristophanes thus: "The Graces, seeking an imperishable shrine, found it in the soul of Aristophanes."

We have said that Plato destroyed his poems. There is no evidence and no antecedent probability that this was for want of encouragement or prospect of success. On the other hand, his after development, together with his extensive acquaintance with the existing culture of Athens, justifies the supposition that his verse, of whatever kind, must have been far superior to that of most poetic natures at the same period of life. But the fact of destroying his youthful poetic effusions, when he saw before him an opening into a loftier march of intellectual pursuit, is, on the other hand, proof of an exalted nature, of a high moral purpose, as well as keen foresight. The reason why many versifiers of our day do not follow the example is probably the want of so good a mind or so strict a conscience as fell to the lot of the Athenian.

But what particular occasion had Plato for burning his writings? This question is briefly answered. Athens then knew and owned a man who, next to our Lord Jesus Christ, awakens the admiration and love, the veneration and homage of an ingenuous intellect, even now, after centuries have passed and a light so much more glorious than that of philosophy shines upon the soul of man. Socrates, the bald-headed, bare-footed, pug-nosed, Silenus-eyed man, walking and talking, in the shops and in the Agora, from morn to night; Socrates, the wisest if not best in more than five thousand years of the world's history, was then stirring up that intellectual city with his divine thoughts. The youthful Plato, having now reached the age of twenty, heard the wonderful man, and the charms of poetry vanished before the superior attractions of philosophy. It is not an idle pleasure to recall the oft-repeated story how Socrates dreamed that a wingless swan settled on his knee, and presently assuming wings, flew heavenward, and uttered in its flight such notes as entranced the listeners below. Next day, when Πλάτων, the "broad-browed," came to his presence, said Socrates, "This is the swan."

Now, inasmuch as a truly noble nature will be noble even in its smallest deeds, even so we find the largeness of Plato's soul and the activity of his imagination converting the destruction of his parchments into a piece of true poetry, (for true poetry is life idealized.) Going to the temple of Dionysus, he applies the flame, saying:

> *Ἡφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὧδε*
> *Πλάτων νύτι σε͂ιο χατίζει.*
>
> Haste thee hither, kindly Vulcan,
> Needs thee now the suppliant Platon.

Under the influence of Socrates he began a rapid development, in which the glow of youthful fancy imparted to the stern features of philosophic thought a peculiar charm of mildness and winsomeness. It is not quite certain, but sufficiently probable, that the Lysis and the Phædrus were composed during the lifetime of Socrates, and therefore between the years 408 and 399 B.C., which latter is the year of the death of Socrates. Tradition is quite uniform as to the composition of these dialogues at this period. The only reason of doubt concerns the Phædrus, and is found in the maturity and elaborateness of the thought in the latter part of that treatise, which is supposed to have been beyond the powers of even Plato at that early period of his life. Admitting this, it is competent to conjecture that the latter part of the Phædrus is of later date than the former, a conjecture confirmed by several phenomena discoverable in the structure of the dialogue. During the eight or nine years of his intercourse with Socrates, we may assure ourselves he was sufficiently busy in thinking and composing. The activity of his mind is attested by the statement that his multitudinous questions stretched to the utmost even the powers of Socrates in the attempt to answer them. His compositions were submitted to his venerated teacher, and are said to have elicited comments capable of an interpretation not entirely favorable to Plato's fidelity. At this early period, as always afterward, Socrates was a chief interlocutor in the dialogue. Now it is reported by Diogenes that when the Lysis was read to him, Socrates remarked to his then present friends: "Mehercle, how many things does the young man falsely report of me." This the enemies of Plato were very willing to construe as a condemnation of his pretension to represent the opinions of Socrates. But what appears to be another version of the same matter is found in an anonymous biography of Plato, as follows: "This young man leads me whither he will, and as far as he pleases, and to whatever he wills." It is probably an instance of mere pleasantry, the wise and good-natured Socrates intending by it indirectly to commend

rather than reprove his promising pupil. Athenæus, again, relates that Socrates said in the presence of other pupils: "I dreamed that thou hast become a crow, and hast picked my bald head. I predict that thou wilt prate many falsehoods about me among the people." Now Athenæus was a lover of scandal and a person of uncritical habits. We may therefore allow little weight to such gossip, and attribute it to the hatred and envy of those who did not appreciate Plato.

Another piece of scandal coming from Athenæus is, that after the death of Socrates, when his dejected followers were at table together, Plato, taking a cup in his hand, said: "We should not suffer our courage to fail; I feel myself sufficiently strong to continue the school of Socrates;" and then reached a cup to Apollodorus, who replied: "I should prefer drinking the poisoned cup of Socrates to accepting a cup of wine from thee."

There is no question that there were dislikes and bickerings among the disciples of Socrates. They were a mixed company, as dissimilar in tastes and tendencies as is the heterogeneous mixture of the common world; yet all found a point of contact with the many-sided Socrates. The attempt to move together, outside the magic circle of his presence, was always attended with friction. Cebes, of Thebes, and Eucleides, of Megara, are, perhaps, the only two Socratics with whom Plato is known to have cherished much friendship. His relations to Antisthenes and Aristippus are known to have been those of intellectual hostility. It were not surprising, therefore, if there existed such enmity as appears in the reply attributed to Apollodorus. But the assumption laid to Plato's charge is not characteristic of the man, and besides is far from congenial to the occasion when the remark is said to have been uttered. However, it is easy to settle with Athenæus on the basis of his general credit.

We have now brought Plato through the period of his intercourse with Socrates, in which time the poet and dreamer is gradually merging into the hard-thinking, stern-minded philosopher. But we have not yet taken account of one very important series of influences by which the youthful thinker was surrounded, and with which he had to contend during most of the eight or nine years of his acquaintance with the great teacher. A descendant of Solon and Codrus, a youth of elegant culture and fair physique, a mind of towering proportions and immense grasp, these were qualities that could but distinguish him in Athens and render accessible to him all the avenues to public honor and political power. Here, again, we shall find in his refusal of what the world calls "golden oppor-

tunities," in his steady inquiry after "the good and the just," new reason to admire the man, and fresh material for a safe verdict upon the sum total of his character.

That Plato had, by nature's gift, all the qualities desirable to make a good statesman and a wise lawgiver, might, without much hazard, be inferred from his writings, though we could not have inferred it from the buddings of his youthful genius. The fact that he turned away from politics for *moral reasons* is in itself a strong argument that, if he had so determined, he might have rendered efficient service in the public councils of his country. Cicero expresses the opinion that, if so inclined, he might have become an excellent orator: *Equidem et Platonem existimo, si genus forense dicendi tractare voluisset, gravissime et copiosissime potuisse dicere.*[*]

The traditions of the family, coming down from ancestors wise and great in the public eye, must have been a more than ordinary incentive to pursue the attractions of public life. Add to these things the character of the times—a period when Athens was struggling with somewhat diminished glory, yet with undaunted courage and sublime energy, to maintain existence and empire against the combinations of a huge Spartan alliance, backed with Persian gold; a time when a youthful mind of noble aspirations might have proposed to himself to rescue the fair inheritance of Athenian institutions from corrupting designs at home and destructive coalitions abroad, and so to have left his name to posterity alongside those of Solon and Pericles; add these considerations, and we may possibly appreciate the strength of the forces urging young Plato to a political career. It is not for any one to say that the waning power and glory of Athens could but discourage a sagacious mind from the attempt to restore her. It was then evident, as it is now to the impartial historian, that the internal powers and moral energies of Athens were not corroded to any such degree as to forbid the hope of a noble future,[†] if, by any means, she could outride the storm then bursting on her back. With all her disadvantages she did outride it so far as, in the period immediately succeeding, to recover much of her power, and to produce nearly all her greatest orators and philosophers.

Let us now give audience to the philosopher himself, as we suppose, writing in advanced age, and setting forth, in a summary way, the views of life on which he had acted. He writes, (Epistle VII.:)

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[*] De Off. I, 1.

[†] In mature years Plato convinced himself that the Athenian *polity* was wrong, and to that he ascribed the existing corruption. (Vid. Ep. VII.)

> "When a young man I anticipated, as soon as I should be master of myself, an immediate entrance into public life. About that time a change of fortunes befell the state, and the existing polity incurring the censure of many, a revolution was organized and effected.* In the change of administration, the power was committed to one and fifty men. Of *eleven* of that number in the city, and ten in the Peiræus, it was required that one should regulate each of the agoræ.† The remaining *thirty* were autocratic rulers over all. Of these some happened to be my kinsmen and acquaintance;‡ and I, in my youthfulness, felt as one might be expected to feel under such circumstances. For I thought, in my simplicity, they were so guiding the state as shortly to restore the people from their practices of injustice to the following of honor and probity. Therefore I gave earnest heed to their doings. Now—seeing them in a little while proving by their deeds that the polity preceding them was a golden one in comparison; (for, not to mention other things that are notorious, they sent the aged Socrates, a man dear to me, and, I should not hesitate to say, the most *just* of his age, him they sent with others to drag an innocent citizen § to certain death, for no other purpose than that the virtue of Socrates might become a cover to their injustice: he, however, did not obey, but incurred every hazard rather than become partaker in their unholy deeds)—seeing all these things, and others of the same kind by no means trivial, I was indignant, and withdrew myself from the existing evils."

He goes on to say that, after the expulsion of the thirty and the revival of the Athenian polity, his tendencies to public life were reawakened, and that, but for the clear conviction that the existing polities generally were *bad*, he should have taken the high road of statesmanship and oratory. Then follow these words, in striking consonance with the doctrine of the "Republic:"

> "The state of the laws was quite beyond remedy, unless by some wonderful provision of fortune. And I was compelled to say, in praise of the right philosophy, that it belongs to *this* to secure justice in politics and to establish all the interests of private men; that therefore men will not cease to suffer evil before the class of right and true philosophers come into the supreme power of the state, or the class of the dynasts, by some happy providence, actually become philosophers."

The tone of moral earnestness here manifest characterized the philosopher through life, whether in correspondence with kings and tyrants or in the familiarities of the intellectual circle by which he was surrounded at Athens. If it were allowed to be misguided and

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* The account shows that the writer is speaking of the revolution of 404 B.C., which resulted in the appointment of the *thirty tyrants*, as they are called, under Lacedæmonian dictation. Plato was then twenty-four years of age.

† That is, should perform police duties, with subordinates at his command.

‡ *Kritias*, the president of the thirty, was Plato's uncle. *Charmides*, another uncle, though not of the thirty, was of their party, and became one of the *ten* who for a short time succeeded the thirty at the end of their eight months of terrific domination.

§ The citizen referred to was Leon, a native of Salamis. The Miletus who did obey this summons of the thirty was probably the same who afterward brought accusation against Socrates.

too little tempered by a sound *expediency*, which forms the core of every code of political morals, it must still command the deference and respect of rightly thinking persons. Yet, that our philosopher was misguided by his moral sense, is not to be hastily assumed. If it were true that he had withdrawn from the political affairs of his country out of sheer disgust for violations of friendship and the immoralities of individual men, he would be chargeable with dereliction of duty to his country. For men of moral principle were precisely such as her exigencies imperatively demanded. But, as we have seen, his course was the result of the conviction that the polity itself was wrong, and the reversal of that or the substitution of another was more than one man could hope to accomplish. He speaks of this point expressly, and grounds the relinquishment of hope on the want of partisans to advocate what we would call a right polity. Now whatever exceptions we might choose to take to the premises from which Plato deduced his conclusion, and whatever sentence we might pass upon the argument as unsound, it still remains that, his conclusion being such, honesty and integrity required him to act as he did, to withdraw from political circles, and endeavor, by teaching right doctrines of intelligence and practice to the superior minds among his countrymen, to strike, at length and by a circuitous process, at the ills which vitiated society. This was his avowed aim—not a mere whim of fancy or a dream of ecstasy, uttered in occasional rhapsodies, and forgotten amid sensual pleasures and intellectual diversions, but a deeply settled purpose, pursued with unceasing toil in conversation and writing, in travel and in diplomacy. Moral reform was the great aim of his life, an aim too often lost sight of by those who pore over his writings merely to find speculative theories. No man ever thought more profoundly on metaphysical questions; but his thinking, however abstruse and far-reaching, however various and ornate, was always subordinate to the practical aim. He ever stood at the antipodes of such carnal thinking and such partial generalization as characterized Aristippus and sanctioned his life of pleasure, while he was far removed from the unpractical misanthropy of the Cynics. We are able to criticise his moral system and point out its radical defect; but this we owe to a revelation which he did not enjoy. We can but think it a spectacle of great moral sublimity when, centuries before the "Light of the World" drew on him the robes of our mortality and spake to us "as never man spake," an Athenian thinker endeavored to sweeten the bitter waters of political and private corruption by teaching that "the good" and "the holy" are ideals in every human soul, the expression of the highest aims of life, and the end toward which we

aspire in proportion as we are intelligent. Accordingly, with him, as with Socrates, the absorbing aim was to make men intelligent, that they might clearly discern these ineffable beauties, these *οὐσίαι θεῖαι, ἀδιάφθοραι*, accompanied with the assurance, mistaken as we know, but as he could scarcely know, that the soul thus enlightened would forget every inferior joy in comparison, would scarcely remember the necessities of the body in the intensity of its devotion to these supernal perfections. How strongly does the very assumption of this propensity toward the divine in man, this appetency for the good and the holy, attest the moral purity and energy of the man who could affirm it, plead for it, and suffer for it even to the indignity of temporary enslavement. And if any of us have so far abused the knowledge of man conferred by the Gospel as to picture the God-given soul exclusively in colors drawn from the pit, then we need to go back to this almost inspired philosopher, and prepare ourselves to approach the Gospel of Christ with a better mind.

According to the reckoning we have adopted Plato was past twenty-eight years of age in 399 B.C., when his friend and teacher, Socrates, was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock. We get glimpses of the devoted pupil amid the perils of his master. He is mentioned in the Apology of Socrates as present in the dikastery at the time of the trial; and in the Phædon, one of the interlocutors represents Plato as absent from the prison on that memorable last day on account of ill health. These are the only instances in all the unquestioned writings of Plato wherein he has named himself. From this event begin his travels, his stay in Athens being rendered painful, if not dangerous, by the manifestations regarding Socrates. It is stated, to be sure, by Valerius Maximus, that he opened a school in Athens before the beginning of his travels. But this seems quite improbable, and at least needs confirmation. Uniform tradition traces the traveler first to Megara, where he spent at least several months in close intercourse with his friend Eucleides, still studying and endeavoring to obtain for himself a systematic view of philosophy. He was attracted from Megara by the school of the Pythagoreans in Italy, for he made it part of his plan to examine all systems, in order not only that he might draw what was good therefrom, but that he might adequately apprehend his own system by understanding its relations to other developments in the intellectual world. In Tarentum he associated with Archytas, and possibly with Philolaus, though this latter is doubtful, inasmuch as Plato mentions Philolaus as teacher of Simmias and Cebes in Thebes, where, it would seem, he spent the latter part of his life. Plato was already too well known, perhaps, and too much esteemed

to become a mere pupil in his intercourse with the Italian philosophers, his relations with Eucleides being probably already known. That he was on a suitable equality with them is shown by an incident related in Plutarch's Life of Marcellus; an incident, too, which shows both the philosopher's diligent pursuit of knowledge and his consistent adherence to scientific method. Speaking of Eudoxus and Archytas as having taken the lead in teaching mechanics to the Syracusans, Plutarch adds: "That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet is so necessary to the solution of other questions, they solved mechanically by the assistance of certain instruments called *mesolabes*, taken from conic sections. But when Plato inveighed against them, with great indignation, as corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry by making her descend from incorporeal and intellectual to corporeal and sensible things, and obliging her to make use of matter which requires much manual labor and is the object of servile trades; then mechanics was separated from geometry, and, being a long time despised by the philosopher, was considered as a branch of the military art." The relations established between Plato and the Pythagorean philosophers were those of warm and abiding friendship, such as was not interrupted save by death.

From Italy our philosopher-student went to Cyrene to profit by the converse of Theodorus of that city, who was the most celebrated mathematician of the time; the same Theodorus who had lectured in Athens, and who is introduced in the Theætetus. He is represented as traveling thence into Egypt, and as ascending the Nile to Heliopolis, the great center of the Egyptian priesthood. Eudoxus is named as his traveling companion, and Strabo (Lib. xvii, c. 1) says he himself saw the rooms where Plato and Eudoxus sojourned. The length of time assigned to their stay in Egypt—thirteen years—which is mentioned by Strabo, (u. s.,) must be considered as the entire period of travel. Supposing Plato to have left Athens very shortly after the death of Socrates, at which time he was twenty-eight years of age, and knowing him to have been *forty* years of age at the time of his first visit to Syracuse;[*] assuming, as is most fitting, that this first visit was in the last year of his travels, and but little anterior to the opening of the Academy in Athens, after which, evidently, he could not have traveled extensively and for a great length of time, we thus determine with sufficient accuracy the entire period of travel to have been about *thirteen* years. This would bring the close of his travels to the year 386 or the year 385 B.C. But we have followed our travelers only to Egypt. Apuleius

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[*] Eχέδον ἔτη τετταράκοντα γεγὸνως.—Ep. vii.

represents him as returning thence to Italy, doubtless out of friendship to the Pythagoreans, and partly, perhaps, to finish certain speculations regarding which his studies in Egypt furnished some new suggestions. Tradition makes him desirous of visiting the Magi of Persia, but that, hindered by a war in that country, he went no further eastward than Phœnicia, where he met some magi and made himself acquainted with their art. *Διὸ καί ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ,* says Olympiodorus, *φαίνεται τῆς θυτικῆς ἔμπειρος ὢν, σημεῖα τε λέγων ἥπατος καὶ σπλάγχνων καὶ τοιᾶυτα τινά.* This looks quite like an invented accounting for Plato's knowledge of the soothsaying art, and is therefore to be doubted. Yet it is thought by some we find a confirmation of his eastern travels in what is related by Plutarch, (De Dæm. Soc., c. viii,) where Simmias is made to represent Plato and himself as tarrying in Caria after leaving Egypt, and there meeting some Delians who besought Plato to show them how to double the altar in Delos, a task enjoined on them by the Delphic oracle as a means of averting certain calamities, and an undertaking which they who had attempted had as yet failed to accomplish, since by doubling every side of the cube they had increased its solid contents eightfold. Plato, however, solved the problem by means of the knowledge acquired in Egypt.

Whether this account is trustworthy or not, whatever were the travels of Plato in the East, they were antecedent to the second visit in Italy. During this second Italian visit, as is most probable, he met with Dion, of Syracuse, then quite a young man, possessed of great wealth, and connected with the family of the tyrant Dionysius the elder. This young man was inspired with a marvelous enthusiasm by the conversations of Plato, and yielded his heart to the love of philosophy and the pursuit of an excellent life. Plato now visited Sicily, probably in some degree through Dion's influence. He came to Syracuse, and Dion, in the transports of his enthusiasm, imagined the tyrant could not but be interested in the man who had so electrified himself. But the neophyte was destined to disappointment. The tyrant was not particularly enamored of virtue. The man of power had no great admiration of abstract truth; and, in the world of concrete realities, that which he valued was how to bring poverty and subjection to the people, power and wealth to Dionysius. The philosopher, so gentle and considerate of an ingenuous young man, was stern and uncompromising toward a mind hardened by tyranny and conceited with power. "Whom do you regard as the happiest of men?" asked Dionysius. "Socrates," was the answer. "What do you think to be the business of a statesman?" "To make the citizens better."

"What, then, do you think the administration of justice a small thing?" "Little, indeed, and the least part of a statesman's duty; for those even who administer rightly are but like tailors who mend torn garments." Somewhat disconcerted, the tyrant then asked: "What, then, do you think a tyrant to be? Is he not manly?" (*ἀνδρειος.*) "The most cowardly of all, since he fears the barber's razor, lest he perish by it." Now Dionysius is the man who, through fear of the barbers, never shaved, but singed his beard with a live coal. Consistently, he ordered Plato to leave Syracuse before sunset, and putting him in charge of Pollis, the Æginetan, then trading to Syracuse, instructed the latter to sell Plato as a slave. We have substantially followed Olympiodorus in the narrative of this intercourse with Dionysius, the visit and its result being also narrated by several others, as Diodorus and Plutarch, with slight variations. The story, though sometimes doubted, seems too well corroborated to be rejected, and is, by Mr. Grote, incorporated into his History of Greece. This able historian observes: "It seems to be a certain fact that Plato was really sold and became, for a moment, a slave."* Being sold in Ægina, the purchaser was Anniceris, who declined the money when offered for his ransom by Plato's friends. This money was therefore employed in the purchase of the Academy, where henceforth the philosopher, surrounded by eager and admiring friends and pupils, discoursed of the sublimest topics accessible to the human mind. His mode of life here was simple. The only person abiding permanently with him was Timon, called the Misanthrope. His pupils and friends enjoyed one meal a day with him, probably at their own expense. His discourses, doubtless, were chiefly in the form of dialogue, as best carrying out the Socratic tendency, and most conducive to that dialectic culture which was the first need of the philosophic intellect of that age. Whether he had an esoteric as well as exoteric doctrine has not been determined, though the hypothesis seems to be favored by the seventh epistle.

As to the order of time in which his writings appeared, but little definite information is attainable. The Lysis and the Phædrus have already been assigned to his earlier life. The Timæus, the Republic, and the Laws are commonly regarded as the last; but the order of these three is not quite certain, except that the other two were prior to the Laws. This last is mentioned in the third epistle as having been in the hands of his Syracusan friends not long before the overthrow of the younger Dionysius by Dion, which event took place in 354 B.C.

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* Hist. Greece, vol. xi, p. 39.

Attempts have been made by distinguished German scholars to determine the internal relations of the several dialogues, so as to make of them a consistent, logical whole, and implying that the chronological order must have corresponded with the logical order. But the case is far from being made out. And when we regard, as we must, each dialogue as a distinct treatise, whatever its relations to the others, we can but call it a preposterous assumption that Plato's mind—any more than another man's—could have developed from beginning to end according to a preconceived plan. That a general outline of progress, in which logical and chronological order would occasionally coincide, just as a line describing the moon's orbit occasionally crosses a line describing the orbit of the earth, could have been drawn by Plato himself, adequately symbolizing the correspondencies and divergencies between the advance of his years and the development of his system, may not be disputed. But that any one can now make even a respectable approximation to the truth on grounds internal to Plato's writings, is too much to assume.

The number of Plato's regular pupils is said to have been twenty-eight. Among them we have the names of Speusippus, his nephew; Xenocrates, of Chalcedon; Aristotle, of Stagira; Heracleides Ponticus; Histiæus, of Perinthus; Philippus, the Opuntian. Many distinguished men heard him occasionally, among whom are named Chabrias, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Isocrates. It is said also that women, attired in men's clothes, attended his lectures. He is said to have had a *thin* voice.

The retirement of the Academy was twice invaded by the demand for a mission of philosophy in Syracuse. The philosopher, true to his practical aim, seeing, as he thought, a providential opportunity for the application of the grand principles of philosophy to the life of the people, and influenced much, no doubt, by the glowing representations of Dion, incurred every hazard for so great an end. We shall not stop to detail what has already been so ably set forth by the historic pen; how pompously the great teacher was received, and how the Syracusan court was turned to the study of geometry with all the ardor of school-boys; how the cares of government seemed for a time to have lost their charms for the tyrant, and the people were looking forward to a reformed polity and a reformed ruler; how the change of manners and the absence of dissipation at court irritated the minions of luxury and vice, and the manners of Dion, always unfortunate for a man who needed popular support, were now interpreted into a positive pretension to the supreme power; how an exiled demagogue was brought back by a faction to

lead the partisans of licentious power against the adherents of a a rigid virtue; how the tyrant's ear was gained by flatterers, and the magic spell of passion converted the unyielding advocate of truth into a revolutionist and an enemy in the eyes of the court; how once and again the man of virtue was compelled to flee a threatened death, and how, at length, the abused and exiled Dion, after overthrowing the inimical power, became himself, by stern adherence to his principles, the victim of treason and assassination. The hope of the philosopher, that a man in power should "actually become a philosopher" was dashed to the ground, and the direct effort at the reformation of a worldly court was signally abortive.

But may we not, from the history of the philosopher's failure, furnish ourselves with a valuable lesson for practical life?

On the one hand we see a tyrannical power founded in injustice and maintained by despotic means. The incumbent of the tyrant's throne, under genial instruction, seems arriving at a conviction of the injustice of his power, and inquiring after a practicable way of mitigating its severity, if not of changing its organization. We see the sovereign inviting a wise man—one known to be hostile to tyranny and likewise averse to democracy—to furnish counsel for the amelioration of his kingdom. On the other hand, we see the courtiers and the partisans of power full of intrigue, and identifying all their interests with the polity as it is. The people, submissive to the existing regime, are ready to welcome a popular government at all times, and glad of any approach to it. Now a wise man should be always aware that a government cannot be materially changed by a deliberate aim and an avowed policy without *conflict of parties*, and that often *deadly*. Plato ought to have observed that his proposition to transform the Syracusan government into a moderate and wise aristocracy must *immediately* awaken the hostility of the court party, and *eventually*, if that hostility were disarmed or evaded, would come into inevitable collision with popular prejudices. In either event, prudence required to prepare the way for sustaining the conflict before arousing the elements of war. To avow his aim, however modestly, and to go deliberately to work at making a philosopher of Dionysius, was the most impolitic of all things. Here was the philosopher's mistake. Had he, in concert with Dion, while avowing no ulterior aim, secured the authority of the tyrant for certain measures of reform to which the very interests of the courtiers themselves might have been linked by a masterly hand, he might have succeeded, by degrees, in a certain, sure advance toward the realization of his political ideal. But Plato was

not a man of policy. He had no knowledge of artifice in the attainment of even a good end. To work behind a screen, with an ostensible aim very different from the real one, was something utterly repugnant to this great and good man's principles. The distinction between prudence and hypocrisy was, in his mind, scarcely perceptible. He must always act openly and avowedly, directly toward the goal of his efforts. For this we can but *love* him more. Yet this supreme virtue of his character made him unfit to be a statesman and a reformer. His place was to teach, and let others apply. A statesman must always consult policy as well as abstract duty. A reformer must be sufficiently *conservative* to attach his schemes to the existing order so far as to prevent the appearance of aiming at violence. This policy in the statesman, this conservatism in the reformer should not be identified with corrupt artifice, with kingcraft and priestcraft. It is but the *practical side of virtue.* It is holiness striving to adapt intractable materials to its end; and, finding them not yet prepared, seeking to prepare them by postponing something of its desired fruits to a later date, and perhaps adopting them, at last, in an altered outward embodiment. It is St. Paul becoming all things to all men, that he may win some. It is the human representation of Providence:

> "Deep in unfathomable mines
> Of never-failing skill,
> He treasures up his vast designs,
> And works his sov'reign will."

In this the great philosopher was utterly deficient. Hence, the hopes of Syracusan citizens failed. Hence, the hopes of philosophy to find an embodiment in polity perished. Hence, the throne of Dionysius was doomed in 354 B.C. to feel the shock of a thunderbolt wielded by the arm of the virtuous Dion, now returned from exile. Hence, the noble liberator, at the end of two years, falls a victim to treason by the hand of his friend. Hence, the necessity of Plato's long and prosy letters to justify himself to Dion's friends and the public. Hence, the qualification imposed upon our almost unlimited praise of the great philosopher.

But that a man should become unpractical by continued abstract thinking is no wonder, but, on the other hand, is to be expected; and the services done by Plato to the human intellect are doubtless far greater than he had rendered as a statesman and reformer.

This excellent man had *twelve* years of peaceful, thoughtful retirement to enjoy after his third return from Syracuse, excepting only the anxiety occasioned by Dion's affairs. His letters show,

too, that his intellectuality had not absorbed his affection. With true humanity he provided, through the assistance of friends, wedding-portions for his nieces. Himself never entered into conjugal bonds, and his only household was his assembly at the Academy. At length, in 348 B.C., on his eighty-first or eighty-second birthday, while present at a marriage-supper, death gently stole upon him, and he was no more. He was buried in the Cerameicus, not far from the Academy. The grateful Athenians erected a monument to his memory with the following beautiful epitaph:

Τõυς δὺ Απόλλων φῦσ’
Ασκληπιὸν ἤδε Πλάτωνα·
Τὸν μὲν ἴνα ψυχὴν, τὸν δ’
Ἰνα σῶμα, σοõι.—Olymp.

ART. III.—THE "EDWARDEAN" THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT.

The Atonement: Discourses and Treatises by Edwards, Smalley, Maxey, Emmons, Griffin, Burge, and Weeks. With an Introductory Essay by EDWARDS A. PARK, Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, Andover, Massachusetts, Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1859.

THE book whose title we have here transcribed contains New England's contribution to the literature of the Atonement. It gives us the results of a long period of intensely earnest speculation upon this central truth of Christianity. We propose, firstly, to briefly characterize the book itself; secondly, to state the theory advocated; and thirdly, to investigate the relation of the theory to Arminianism.

1. THE BOOK, then, may be summarily described as a substantial octavo of six hundred and sixty-three pages, of which eighty are introductory. It is gotten up in the plain but neat style by which most of the publications of the Congregational Board are characterized. Respecting the origin of the collection, neither editor nor publishers give us any information. Those persons, however, who were familiar with the clerical libraries of New England a generation or two ago, will perhaps remember a little old sheep-bound duodecimo, which used frequently to be found in those libraries, and which bore upon its back the same title as the book we are now describing. Should they take the pains to look up a copy of it, they will find that it contained more than half the treatises which Professor Park has here reprinted, together with other articles

written in the same general spirit. We suppose a reprint of this old collection was considered desirable, and the Andover professor invited to improve the favorable opportunity for re-editing it.

The contents of the book are as follows: 1. "Three sermons on the Necessity of Atonement, and the consistency between that and Free Grace in forgiveness." By Jonathan Edwards, D. D., pp. 1–42. 2. "Two sermons—Justification through Christ an act of Free Grace," and "None but Believers saved through the all-sufficient satisfaction of Christ." By John Smalley, D. D., pp. 43–85. 3. "A Discourse designed to explain the Doctrine of the Atonement." By Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., pp. 87–110. This discourse was delivered in the chapel of "Rhode Island College" on the 11th and 25th of November, 1796, Dr. Maxcy being at that time President of said college. 4. "Two sermons on the Atonement." By Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., pp. 111–136. 5. "An humble attempt to reconcile the differences of Christians respecting the Extent of the Atonement." By Edward D. Griffin, D.D., pp. 137–427. This is the most elaborate performance in the whole book. It is a carefully written treatise of nearly three hundred octavo pages, well known to many of our clerical readers in another form, and generally regarded as the masterpiece of its acute and once distinguished author.* An excellent *resumé* of Dr. Griffin's views, as set forth in

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* For the benefit of such as may not be acquainted with this important essay we subjoin the Table of Contents:

Preface. Introduction.

PART I. *Nature of the Atonement.* Chapter I. Atonement merely the ground of release from the Curse. II. Influence of Atonement upon Divine Government. III. Matter of Atonement. IV. Christ's Obedience and Reward. V. Atonement not Reconciliation. VI. Meaning of Righteousness as connected with the Justification of Believers. VII. Mistakes arising from drawing literal Conclusions from figurative Premises.

PART II. *Extent of the Atonement.* Chapter I. Curse of Abandonment removed from all. II. Grand point of division between the parties. III. View of the subject taken by the Synod of Dort. IV. Atonement for Moral Agents only. V. The two characters of Man distinct and independent of each other. VI. Nothing belonged to the Atonement but what was public. VII. Attributes of Moral Agents. VIII. A Moral Government. IX. Moral Agents treated as if there were no Foreknowledge. X. Moral Agents treated conditionally. XI. Believer and Unbeliever confounded with Elect and Non-elect, and with Man as a Capable Agent. XII. Treatment of Agents by itself expresses Divine Benevolence. XIII. Purposes of the Moral Governor not to be confounded with those of the Sovereign Efficient Cause. XIV. Treatment of Individual Agents intended to influence Agents generally. XV. Reasons for an Atonement for those who perish. XVI. Extent of the provision not incidental, but purposely intended. XVII. Reprobation and the order of the Divine Decrees. XVIII. Covenant of Redemption. XIX. One whole meaning at one view. XX. Bottom of the mistake lies in

this treatise, will be found in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1858. It was drawn up by Professor Park, and the "understood but unexpressed" design of the essay spoken of by Dr. Whedon in noticing it (*Methodist Quarterly*, vol. xl, p. 311,) no longer needs explanation. 6. "An Essay on the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement: its Nature, its Necessity, and its Extent." By Caleb Burge, A. M., pp. 429–546. This essay was first published three years after the issue of Dr. Griffin's, that is, in the year 1822. 7. "A Dialogue on the Atonement." By William R. Weeks, D. D., pp. 547–583. First published in 1823, and now printed for the fourth time. According to Professor Park, it "received a lengthened reply in the fourth volume of the *Christian Advocate*." The paper referred to, however, is not our metropolitan Methodist organ, but a Calvinistic publication, issued at that time in Philadelphia under the editorship of Dr. Ashbel Green.

The Introductory Essay by Professor Park on the *Rise of the Edwardean Theory of the Atonement* is a very elaborate and valuable article. It is an important contribution to the yet unwritten history of New England Puritanism. Its erudite and painstaking author takes us back to the writings of the four distinguished divines under the influence of whose teachings Edwards the younger, his associates and disciples, seem to have matured their views; and in those writings points out, with an industry more easily commended than rivaled, the first faint unconscious deviations from traditional Calvinism, both in the intellectual apprehension of the doctrine and in its systematic statement, which suggested and almost logically necessitated the peculiar theory and terminology of New School Calvinism. Those four divines were Edwards the senior, Bellamy, Hopkins, and West.

> "The first of these four men was the father of Dr. Edwards, the second was his theological teacher, the third was his most valued counselor, and was intimately associated with him in the examination of his father's manuscripts, and the fourth was his constant friend. Through Dr. Edwards, the hints and tendencies of these four divines were transferred in a modified and stimulating form to his pupils, Dwight and Griffin; to his friends Backus and Smalley. Through Dr. Smalley, the formative influences of his instructor Bellamy were applied, in a modified and animating way, to Emmons, the pupil of Smalley

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overlooking Human Agency. XXI. Importance of correct language on the subject.

Part III. *Scriptural View.* Chapter I. Plan of the Argument. II. Benefit of the Atonement made over to all. III. All Men bound to make the benefit their own. IV. Actual influence of the Atonement upon all. V. Synod of Dort agreed with us as to the actual influence of the Atonement upon the Non-elect, and the purpose of the Sacred Persons. VI. Testimony of Calvin, Watts, and others. VII. Atonement offered and accepted expressly for all. Appendix.

and the friend of Hopkins and West. Through Samuel Spring, a pupil of Bellamy, of Hopkins, and of West, and, in a double sense, the brother of Emmons, the personal influences of these divines was transfused into the constitution of the Andover Theological Seminary. In similar methods have a multitude of theologians been interlocked, more or less intimately, with the four men whose express instructions or tacit intimations have either introduced, or paved the way for introducing, the Edwardean Theory of the Atonement."—P. lxxviii.

In the writings of each of these four theologians, Professor Park finds principles and statements which, intentionally or unintentionally, favored the view afterward developed. These principles and statements he allows were often totally inconsistent with others inculcated with equal emphasis by these writers; but "it is the prerogative of clear thinkers, when they proclaim an error, to proclaim it in such a way as will suggest the truth to other thinkers equally clear." He traces out the rude inception and earliest developments of the theory so elaborately as to leave no room for the suspicion that that grand Arminianizing of New England Puritanism with reference to the doctrine of the Atonement, of which the book before us is the monument, was effected by foreign influences. He makes it evident that Edwards and Griffin arrived at Arminian results, not by the perusal of Remonstrant literature, but by the same process which conducted Arminius, Camero, and Baxter to a common repudiation of Calvin's narrow and indefensible view. New England thus furnishes a new and independent proof of the oft illustrated truth, that unmitigated genuine Calvinism is incapable of maintaining itself for any considerable length of time in any Church which has the religious necessities of an entire community to which to minister. The Puritan Church has, in this respect, but repeated the history of French, English, Swiss, and Netherlandic Calvinism, only in a more striking and decisive manner.

So much for the book and its contents.

II. THE THEORY ADVOCATED. The view of the Atonement developed and supported by the various writers before us is summed up by Professor Park in the following propositions:

1. "Our Lord suffered pains which were substituted for the penalty of the law, and may be called punishment in the more general sense of that word, but were not, strictly and literally, the penalty which the law had threatened.

2. "The sufferings of our Lord satisfied the general justice of God, but did not satisfy his distributive justice.

3. "The humiliation, pains, and death of our Redeemer were equivalent in meaning to the punishment threatened in the moral law, and thus they satisfied Him who is determined to maintain the honor of this law, but they did not satisfy the demands of the law itself for our punishment.

4. "The active obedience, viewed as the holiness, of Christ was honorable to the law, but was not a work of supererogation, performed by our substitute,

and then transferred and imputed to us so as to satisfy the requisitions of the law for our own active obedience.

"The last three statements are sometimes comprehended in the more general proposition, that the atonement was equal, in the meaning and spirit of it, to the payment of our debts; but it was not literally the payment of either our debt of obedience or our debt of punishment, or any other debt which we owed to law or distributive justice. Therefore,

5. "The law and the distributive justice of God, although honored by the life and death of Christ, will yet eternally demand the punishment of every one who has sinned.

6. "The atonement rendered it consistent and desirable for God to save all who exercise evangelical faith, yet it did not render it obligatory in him, in distributive justice, to save them.

7. "The atonement was designed for the welfare of all men: to make the eternal salvation of all men possible; to remove all the obstacles which the honor of the law and of distributive justice presented against the salvation of the non-elect as well as the elect.

8. "The atonement does not constitute the reason why some men are regenerated and others not, but this reason is found only in the sovereign, electing will of God: 'Even so, father! for so it seemed good in thy sight.'

9. "The atonement is useful on men's account, and in order to furnish new motives to holiness; but it is necessary on God's account, and in order to enable him as a consistent ruler to pardon any, even the smallest sin, and therefore to bestow on sinners any, even the smallest favor."

Such is the theory. It has been denominated the New Theory, the New England Theory, the New School Theory, the Hopkinsian Theory, the Governmental Theory, the Consistent Theory, etc., etc. Professor Park prefers to call it the "Edwardean Theory."

III. AUTHORSHIP OF THIS THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT. Most of these names which have been applied to the theory before us seem to intimate that the theory itself is something "new." One of them expressly attributes it to Dr. Hopkins, and another to Dr. Edwards. The editor always speaks of it as original with the so-called "New England Divines." Indeed, he definitely claims for them the honor of having "reduced old truths to a *new system*—a system more consistent than had previously been drawn out." It will be proper, in the present section, to inquire into the legitimacy of this claim. Reducing these "new" or "Edwardean" teachings to their appropriate heads, according as they may bear upon the nature, necessity, or extent of the Atonement, we shall compare them with the "old" teachings of Arminianism on the same points, and see whether the discrepancy be so great as to render it necessary to discriminate the two systems by distinctive names:

I. *The* NATURE *of the Atonement.* In what consists the Atonement, then, according to the teachings of this "new divinity?" In what does it consist according to the old Arminian divines? And first, what say Edwards and his successors?

1. It did not consist, as genuine Calvinism affirms, in Christ's suffering the literal penalty of the law in the transgressors' stead.

Professor Park expresses the sense of the writers before us on this point as follows: "Our Lord suffered pains which were substituted for the penalty of the law, and may be called punishment in the more general sense of that word, but were not, strictly and literally, the penalty which the law had threatened."—P. x. Burge says, p. 500: "The sufferings of Christ are to be viewed as a *substitute* for the execution of the penalty of the law;" and Griffin, p. 235, goes so far as to say: "Christ *could* not sustain our legal punishment, or the literal penalty of the law." Similar expressions are found in nearly every one of the "Discourses and Treatises" before us. Let us see if this teaching originated with Edwards.

Turning to Episcopius's works, *Lectiones Sacræ, in I Epist. Joannis*, cap. ii, 2, we find four different views of the nature of the sufferings of Christ presented and discussed. The first of these is that which affirms that Christ suffered the literal penalty of the law, and after a due consideration it is decidedly, almost indignantly, rejected. Take up Curcellæus, and in his *Religionis Christianæ Institutio*, lib. v, cap. xix, 15–20, we find an elaborate proof of this thesis: "*Non ergo, ut vulgo putant, satisfecit* [*Christus*] *patiendo omnes pœnas quas peccatis nostris merueramus.*" Open again at the thirtieth section of his "*Dissertatio de Vocibus Trinitatis,*" and you will find a masterly summary of his former argument. Limborch roundly asserts of the contra-Remonstrant view, "*Nullum habet in Scriptura fundamentum.*"—*Theol. Christ.*, lib. iii, cap. xxi, 6. Further on he shows that it has no foundation in reason either. In this respect, then, New England Calvinists but reiterate the clear and well-known teachings of primitive Arminianism.

2. "The atonement of Christ does not consist essentially in his active or positive obedience."—*Edwards*, p. 31.

At the close of a long investigation on this point, Burge announces his conclusion as follows: "Hence it appears that the scheme which places the Atonement in the obedience of Christ is totally without foundation, either in reason or the word of God."—P. 486. Professor Park formulates the New School doctrine on this head in the following terms: "The active obedience, viewed as the holiness, of Christ was honorable to the law, but was not a work of supererogation, performed by our substitute, and then transferred and imputed to us, so as to satisfy the requisitions of the law for our own active obedience."—P. x. What is this but the very doctrine which it cost the Remonstrant divines so much personal maltreatment to establish. We find quite a full exhibit of Arminius's views upon this subject

in a letter to Uytenbogardt, written in the year 1604, on the occasion of Piscator's controversy with the Gallic synod on the subject of Justification. *Epistolæ Eccles. et Theol.*, Ep. lxx. He regarded the righteousness of Christ as requisite only *as a qualification for his office ;* (*ut posset Mediatoris fungi munere, justus esse debuit, non modo justitia nativa et inhaerente, sed etiam activa, quæ constat obedientia legis perfecta ;*") just as Emmons, in the work before us, says, (p. 134, note,) "his obedience only *prepared* him to make Atonement, his *blood made* it." See also Arminius's Declaration of Sentiments, cap. ix; Defense against XXXIX Articles, second series, iv; Fourteenth Public Disputation, x–xvi; Thirty-fifth Private Disputation, v.

His followers uniformly maintained the same view. Episcopius (*Opera*, t. ii, p. 166, b.) gives the reason why the Remonstrants were unwilling in their declaration to use the phrase, "the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us." Curcellæus (*Opera*, p. 825, b.) has no patience with the use of the word " merit" in connection with Christ in any way. Limborch, (lib. iii, cap. xxi, 2,) in like manner, finds in the holiness of Christ nothing more than an official qualification: " *Ut esset victima immaculata et sacerdos sanctus.*" His active obedience was not substitutional and transferable, and hence formed no part of his vicarious work.

3. The Atonement of Christ did not consist in the vicarious payment of a debt.

Griffin says, (p. 223,) "it had none of the attributes of a commercial transaction." . . . "This notion of paying our debt stands diametrically opposed to every idea of pardon, and to all those representations of a free and gracious justification with which the Scriptures abound. What remission or grace can there be in discharging a bankrupt when his debts are paid ?" etc., etc. For other rejections of this view by the other divines before us, see pp. x, xiv, lxi, lxxii, 18, 104, 489, 490, 513, 564. In all this, however, the New England divines were anticipated by their illustrious Netherlandic prototypes. Hear Limborch as he states the same objection to the commercial view which Griffin, a century later, repeats : " *Si Christus pro nobis omnia, ad minimum usque quadrantem, persolvit, nihil restat quod Pater ex gratia nobis condonare possit.*"—*Theol. Christ.*, p. 261, a. " If Christ has paid our debts for us even to the last and least farthing, there remains nothing which the Father *can* gratuitously remit to us." But even Limborch is here only borrowing from his predecessor Curcellæus.* "Nam si Christus morte

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* Even as early as Anselm's time this view of the Atonement was seen to involve the difficulty mentioned. In his "*Cur Deus homo,*" lib. i, cap. xix, 15–17,

sua persolvit usque ad ultimum quadrantem omne id quod Deo pro peccatis nostris debebamus, nihil supererit quod Deus nobis gratuito remittere potuerit; veluti si creditor totum quod ipsi debetur a sponsore accepit, nihil remittit debitori cum debitum ab eo non reposcit; sed id facere ex stricto jure tenetur, nisi velit iniquus haberi, qui idem debitum bis sibi persolvi petat."—*Institutio*, lib. v, xix, 17.

4. The Atonement of Christ consisted in a satisfaction of the *general* justice of God, effected by the sufferings and death of Christ.

General justice is here distinguished from *commutative* and from *retributive*. The theory which makes the Atonement consist in a satisfaction of *retributive* justice is that which teaches that Christ vicariously suffered the literal penalty of the law. The theory which makes it consist in the payment of our debts by Christ as a sponsor, regards it as a satisfaction to *commutative* justice. Both these views the Edwardean divines, following the example of the "New School" divines of Holland, decidedly reject, as we have above seen. In making the Atonement consist in a satisfaction of God's *general* justice, a mere "ground of release from the curse," they adopt the view almost universally prevalent among Arminians, and which found in Arminian GROTIUS its author and earliest advocate.

Whatever imperfections or possible inconsistencies the work of Grotius "On the Satisfaction of Christ" may present, it has the great and original merit of discriminating betwixt the *essential* and the *rectoral* characters of God. From the time of Anselm up to the time of the publication of this treatise, representations of the Atonement were current which, if they did not justify the criticisms of Socinus, at least furnished abundant occasion for misconception. Grotius may have objectified the law too much to suit many,* but to have announced clearly, and for the first time, the principle that the satisfaction rendered by Christ was not a satisfaction rendered to a supposed wrath of God, but to God's *administrative* justice—"*justitiæ Dei rectoriæ*"—that was enough to immortalize any theologian, however destitute of other claims to distinction. This

Boso, the author's imaginary interlocutor, is represented as presenting the objection, "If our debts are completely paid how can we pray *forgive* us our debts?" to which the archbishop responds for the time, "Qui non solvit, frustra dicit: *Dimitte;* qui autem solvit, supplicat, *quoniam hoc ipsum pertinet ad solutionem ut supplicet;* nam Deus nulli quidquam debet, sed omnis creatura illi debet; et ideo non expedit homini ut agat cum Deo, quemadmodum par cum pari." A very unsatisfactory reply.

* See THOLUCK'S "*Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhnung,*" s. 99; also, HAGENBACH'S *Dogmengeschichte*, s. 658.

annunciation was Grotius's contribution to the dogmatic *ausbildung* of the doctrine of the Atonement. The prerogative of punishing, taught Grotius, belongs to God, not as *an injured party*, but as *moral governor.* Hence the prerogative of substituting something in the place of punishment competes to God, not as an injured party but as moral governor. If able by other means than punishing to secure the ends of moral government—"*ordinis nimirum conservationem et exemplum*"—he is at liberty to employ them, and remit the penalty to transgressors. The Atonement of Christ does so effectually secure these ends of moral government, that God is able to forgive sin under evangelical conditions without impairing the authority of his law. Wherein does the "Edwardian" theory differ from this? As to the *nature* of the Atonement, then, we do not see that the New England divines have brought forward anything new. They have simply renounced the Calvinistic view and adopted the Arminian. We do not say that all the Dutch Arminian divines came to as clear a conception of the subject as Grotius; they did not. Limborch, for instance, seems to have inclined more toward the elder sacrificial theory; but they all unanimously rejected the old contra-Remonstrant theories which New School Calvinism now claims the honor of having exploded. Episcopius, the greatest of them all, may properly be counted among the positive indorsers of Grotius, for we are told in a letter from Gerardus Vossius to Hugo Grotius (A. D. 1617) that he (Episcopius) spoke of having read the "Defensio Fidei Catholicæ de Satisfactione Christi" with pleasure, and that in his opinion "nihil ingeniosius, eruditius, solidius, ea in controversia, a quoquam scriptum esse." We think, then, that no one will question the propriety of styling the teaching of New England theology respecting the *nature* of the Atonement *Arminian.* And if correctly described by this term, why embarrass and perplex theological science with a newly coined and superfluous one?

II. *The ground of the* NECESSITY *of Christ's Atonement.* Was the Atonement made by Christ absolutely necessary in order to enable God to be just, and yet the justifier of him who should believe? Could not God have forgiven sin without that satisfaction being rendered to justice? If he could not, what was it which prevented? These questions are older than any scientific theory of the nature of the Atonement, and their discussion has not yet ceased. As long ago as the time of Augustine men seem to have been found who denied that God *could* have redeemed us in any other mode than that actually adopted. The zealous old father called them dolts, *stulti;*) declared that other ways were possible, but that had they

been adopted they would have been to such minds equally distasteful with the present. (*De Agone Christi*, c. 11.) Anselm's scheme rendered an infinite merit necessary, and as none but a divine being could furnish such a merit, of course a *divine* Redeemer was indispensable. Abelard, on the contrary, denied the necessity of any satisfaction whatever; and such doctors disagreeing, the other scholastics were free to discuss the whole subject from their respective points of view without incurring ecclesiastical censure. The result was a general adoption by the Church of the view of Anselm, according to which the precise mode adopted by God in human redemption was not arbitrary, but the only possible one. Soon after the Reformation the theologians of both the Lutheran and of the Reformed Churches returned to their scholastic speculations, and exhibited a strong tendency to conceive of Christ's incarnation and mediatorial work, not as free expedients of the divine administration, but as things necessitated by the divine nature apart from all governmental considerations. To counteract this tendency was one of the providential missions of Arminianism. The service rendered to the cause of scientific theology in this department by the Arminians is now gratefully acknowledged by the Calvinists themselves. EBRARD, one of the most distinguished divines of whom the Reformed Church can now boast, in a recent work upon the Atonement, attributes to the Remonstrant theologians the new and more salutary tendency which theological speculation took in their age. When Genevan speculatists had spread the network of fatalism over God himself, the Arminians were raised up to assert and maintain the freedom of the Moral Governor.[*]

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[*] The passage is worthy of transcription: "Die kirchliche Dogmatik beider Confessionen hatte den Trieb, die Heilsthat Christi als eine schlechthin *nothwendige*, und zwar durch eine in Gottes *Wesen*, nicht in Gottes *Willen* liegende Nothwendigkeit bedingte, aufzufassen. Die *necessitas* satisfactionis vicariae wurde behauptet. Da waren es nun die Arminianer, welche dieser Tendenz entgegentraten, der speculativer Begründung die schlichte biblische Aussage, der *necessitas* das *arbitrium Dei* entgegenstellten. Gott hat *diesen* Weg der Versühnung gewählt, nicht weil er zu ihm als dem einzig möglichen genöthigt gewesen wäre, sondern weil er diesen Weg—für gut gehalten hat. Die Schrift sagt: Gott *hat* ihn eingeschlagen, das muss uns genug sein; wir sollen nicht nachweisen wollen, dass er ihn habe einschlagen *müssen*. Wie in diesem, so wehren sich die Arminianer in allen Dogmen gegen den Zwang, den die damalige Scholastik ihnen mit ihrer *necessitas* anthun wollte. Dieselben Arminianer, welche die Freiheit des menschlichen Wollens gegen das *decretum absolutum* verfochten, kämpften ebenso für die Freiheit der Heilsbeschlüsse Gottes gegenüber der Behauptung einer den Ewigen selber *bindenden* Nothwendigkeit. Eine Combination politischer und kirchlicher Parteistellungen was es, welche die Arminianer aus "der Kirche" hinausdrängte, ihnen die Stellung "einer Secte" anwies; aber nicht zum Heil

The necessity of *an* atonement in order to a safe and proper remittance of penalty is not the same thing as the necessity of precisely *that* atonement made by Christ. The scholastic discussions were upon the latter, those of our time rather upon the former. The divines of New England have asserted that *an* atonement was necessary:

1. Not to render God propitious toward the transgressor. Burge in chapter ii of his essay very fairly represents the views the Edwardean divines hold on this point. Divine benevolence is the cause, not the effect, of the Atonement. Rom. v, 8; 1 John iv, 10; John iii, 16. This was Arminius's view. In Public Disputation XIV. xvi, he says: "It was not the effect of those stripes that God might love his creature, but that while love of justice presented no obstacle, through his love for the creature he could remit sins and bestow eternal life." Curcellæus maintained the same thing: "Sacræ literæ ubique gratuitum Dei amorem erga homines peccatores prædicant, tanquam salutis ipsorum fontem, a quo cætera omnia beneficia salutaria promanant; qualia sunt, Jesu Christi missio in mundum, et peccatorum nostrorum per sanguinem et oblationem ipsius expiatio. . . . Ergo non fuit necessarium, ut Christus justitiæ divinæ satisfeceret, antequam Deus nos amare posset, et peccata nobis condonare. *Inst.*, lib. v, cap. xix, 17.

2. An atonement was not necessary to satisfy retributive justice. Such a ground of necessity for the work of Christ could of course be maintained only by such as make that work to consist in a satisfaction of the demands of retributive justice. How foreign such a view of the Atonement was to the "Edwardean" divines we have already seen. We find furthermore, pp. 107, 566–568, explicit repudiations of such an explanation of the necessity of an atonement. It evidently involves the principle that God, by a constitutional necessity, MUST visit transgression with condign punishment. With such a principle no theory of the Atonement can harmonize save the "commercial" one.

Among the Reformers, Peter Martyr and Musculus expressly rejected the doctrine that God was restrained from the exercise of the pardoning prerogative until an atonement for sin had been provided. Following in their wake, and resting upon their authority, Vorstius defended against the Heidelberg theologians the thesis of Aquinas: "*Eam Dei justitiam, quæ punitionem ob peccata exigit, à voluntate Dei pendere, sive esse effectum voluntatis ipsius, non autem essentialem Dei proprietatem.*" It was not for this that the

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der "Kirche."—*Die Lehre der Stellvertretenden Genugthuung, Königsberg*, 1857, p. 25.

Arminians disowned him, for Limborch, discoursing "*De Justitia Dei particulari*," declares: "*Non tenetur Deus ex vi justitiæ suæ pœnam inferre.*" He confesses it would not be *æquum*, not agreeable to divine holiness, to forgive the stubborn and contemptuous; but "*peccatores qui nondum ad istud malitiæ ac impietatis fastigium ascenderunt, non præcisè ex justitia punire tenetur; imo æquitas divina ac sanctitatis amor requirere videntur, ut resipiscentibus condonet.*" In fact, we think no Arminian can be instanced who ever grounded the necessity of an atonement upon the demands of God's retributive justice. Such a conception is incompatible with the fundamentals of the Arminian scheme.

3. "An atonement was necessary in order to the pardon of sinners on the same ground, and for the same reasons, as punishment would have been necessary if there had been no atonement made." —*Pres. Edwards*, p. 6.

Professor Park puts it thus: "The Atonement . . . was *necessary* on God's account, and in order to *enable* him, as a consistent ruler, to pardon any even the smallest sin, and therefore to bestow on sinners any even the smallest favor." The first of Dr. Emmons's sermons is to show that the Atonement of Christ was necessary "*entirely* on God's account," and why? Indeed, almost every writer before us has some statement affirming the necessity of an atonement, and basing that necessity on the exigencies of a moral government in which pardon was to find place.

The genius of Arminianism is, and ever has been, quite averse to the dogmatic discussion of such abstrusities as the question before us. The great men who first gave the system scientific form and articulation, possessed the modesty of true sages. They endeavored to bring back theology from the realm of scholastic metaphysics to the explicit declaration of divine revelation. They were unwilling to determine what inspiration had left undetermined. They adventured into metaphysical domains only when some practical religious interest demanded it.* If the daring speculations of others seemed to them to endanger some evangelical truth; they hesitated not to combat it on speculative ground; but as soon as they believed the truth rescued they retreated again to plain teachings of Scripture. Hence we find far more negative determinations in the religious philosophy of the Arminians than positive. This fact is partly attributable also to the peculiar circumstances under which the system was developed.

Accordingly we do not find in the writings of the elder Arminian divines any elaborate philosophizing respecting the ground of the

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* See an admirable dissertation, "*De Philippo à Limborch Theologo*," by Abr. Des Amorie Van der Hoeven, Amsterdam, 1843. *Pars Altera.*

necessity of an atonement. We find negative determinations on the subject, as we have above shown; but positive ones seem to be lacking. Here then we note an advance. The Remonstrants of New England have taken one step not taken by the Remonstrants of the Netherlands. So much we cheerfully concede. This step, however, is exactly in the line of Arminian thinking. Properly speaking, it is simply a farther development of Arminian principles. It is true that the old Arminian divines sometimes seem to deny the necessity of any atonement whatever, in order to the extension of pardon to the transgressor; but they speak not of the *moral* necessity under which God is placed by his character as a wise and consistent moral governor, but of that inherent, constitutional, physical necessity predicated by those who taught that "God's decrees are God's essence." The "Edwardean divines" would have agreed with them in repudiating such a necessity for Christ's atoning work. The moral governmental necessity, however, they fully recognized whenever they spoke of it, only they called it "propriety," "expediency," etc. While they did not undertake to decide whether God could have safely and consistently forgiven sinners in any other way than by means of the Atonement actually made by his own Incarnate Son, they did clearly recognize the moral necessity of *some measure* by which the divine government should be secured from the effects of indiscriminate pardoning. That is, while they called in question the over-confident assertion of precedent scholastics, that no other expedient was within divine reach than that adopted, they manifestly agreed with the authors before us in declaring that *some* atonement, *some* expedient by which the divine law should be magnified and made honorable, was requisite in order to the pardon of sinners. Take Grotius, and the whole drift of his principles will be seen to be precisely in this direction.* Punishment is for the conservation of public order, and to evince the majesty of the law. The sufferings and death of Christ served the same purpose as effectually as the eternal punishment of all transgressors would have done, hence the great Administrator was enabled to forgive a penitent transgressor without damage to his authority. The theory itself involves all that we quoted at the head of this subdivision from President Edwards and Professor Park. New

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* "Justitiae rectoris pars est, *servare leges, etiam positivas et a se latas*, quod verum esse tam in universitate libera quam in rege summo profant jurisconsulti; cui illud consequens est, ut *rectori relaxare legem talem non liceat nisi causa aliqua accedat, si non necessaria, certe sufficiens :* quae itidem recepta est a Jurisconsultis sententia. Ratio utrinsque est, quod actus ferendi aut relaxandi legem non sit actus absoluti dominii, sed actus imperii, qui tendere debeat ad boni ordinis conservationem."—*De Satisfactione Christi, cap.* v, § 11.

England theologians have simply developed in a formal statement what the old Arminians took for granted.

III. *The* EXTENT *of the Atonement.* Did Christ die for all men or only for the elect? This was the great issue, and the only one between the Remonstrants and the contra-Remonstrants on the subject of the Atonement. They differed indeed in their respective conceptions of the nature of the Atonement, and respecting the reasons for requiring one anterior to the exercise of mercy; but these differences were not brought out, or dwelt upon, in any of the controversies which led to the final expulsion of the Arminians from their country. At the Synod of Dort there was no discussion of the character of Christ's sufferings and death, no canvassing of the different schemes of "satisfaction," not even a disagreement as to the "sufficiency" of the merit of Christ to atone for the sins of the whole world. The whole dispute turned upon this point: Did God by an immutable antecedent decree limit the benefits of Christ's Atonement to certain definitely determined individuals called the elect? The Calvinists affirmed, the Arminians denied. Have the "Edwardeans" something "new" to present on this subject? What say they?

"God designed the Atonement for all."—*Griffin*, p. 330. "The Atonement of Christ is, in a strict and proper sense, for all mankind; Christ tasted death for every man; for the non-elect as much as for the elect."—*Burge*, p. 525. "The Atonement of Christ has the same favorable aspect upon the non-elect as upon the elect."—*Emmons*, p. 119. The entire dialogue of Dr. Weeks is to prove the universality of the benefits of the Atonement. Professor Park's summation has already been given.

Here, then, we find a hearty and complete indorsement of the final characteristic feature of the Arminian theory of the Atonement. No clearer or stronger assertions of the universality of the Atonement can be culled from all the voluminous writings of Dutch Arminianism than are to be found in the volume which we are now reviewing. In many places it seems as if these "Edwardean" writers were merely translating from the dingy pages of the "*Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium.*" The same proof-texts are arrayed against the doctrine of a limited atonement, the same principles of exegesis adopted, the identical objections brought up, and often in the same order; in fact, nowhere are these sturdy men so sturdily Arminian as on this point.

Dr. Griffin, it is true, endeavors to distinguish between his doctrine and that of the Remonstrants, and even to prove that the divines of the Synod of Dort were believers in a universal atone-

ment in his sense. Taking the clue from Dr. Watts, he makes an ingenious distinction between "Atonement" and "the higher ransom." The former is simply the ground of release from punishment; the latter, including the gift of the effectually working Spirit, is a gratuity conferred only upon the elect in consideration of the merit of Christ's supererogatory active obedience. Hence, when New England declares that the "Atonement" was truly designed and made for all men, and Dort declares that Christ's "meritorious death" was for the elect only, Dr. G. finds no discrepancy. One party is speaking of the lower, the other of the higher ransom.

But ingenious as this device may be, it fails to serve its author's purpose. It may account in some degree for the endless confusions and contradictions which characterize the final deliverances of the synod on the second of the Five Points; but it cannot obliterate or qualify the evident Arminianism of the "Edwardean" teachings on the extent of the Atonement. The Remonstrants treated of the Atonement precisely as Dr. G. does. They did not ask permission to teach that "*effectual calling*" was common to all men. They desired to maintain that Christ died for all, not that irresistible grace had been purchased for all or any. They even made the distinction at the time as clearly as Dr. G. could ask. In their *Declaratio Sententiæ*, p. 283, they say: "The effect of Christ's propitiatory work we term the impetration of divine grace; that is, *not an actual restitution of all to a state of grace, in which, if we persevere, we shall infallibly be saved, much less a state from which it is impossible to fall*, but restitution to a state in which, justice no longer presenting any obstacle, God is both able and willing to communicate to us his benefits," etc., etc. Farther on they sum up the results of the "*reconciliatio impetrata*." They affirm that, in consequence thereof, the human family is so positioned that, 1. No man shall ever be eternally damned for Adam's sin. 2. No one of the called shall be rejected on account of sins committed before he was called, but all shall find mercy if they will only repent, believe, and lead a new life. 3. No believer shall ever perish on account of the infirmities incident to human nature; only those who contumaciously reject salvation shall be delivered up to everlasting torments. So in all the Arminian systems of divinity afterward drawn up, the occasional or external moving cause of Christ's coming into the world is invariably represented to be *peccatum* and *mors eterna;* to deliver man from these was the Redeemer's mission. The grand difference between these divines and Dr. G. is simply this: according to the former, all man needed in order to his salvation was to have the obstacles presented by justice removed; God's *essential*

benevolence would then prompt and effectuate all further measures which might be necessary; according to Dr. G., man needed to have his Redeemer do something more for him than simply to place him where the Moral Governor could forgive and bless him, and deal with him as if he had never sinned; he needed a Redeemer who should purchase and merit from the Father those positive saving influences which the Arminian divines supposed would be exerted by the Father freely, spontaneously, gratuitously. This difference, then, affects not in the slightest degree the question of a restricted or universal *atonement.* On this question we boldly reiterate our assertion, that Dr. G. and all his "Edwardean" associates are strictly, purely, simply Arminian. The *Atonement* was understood by both parties in the same sense, and both pronounce it universal.

Here then we pause. We have passed in review the teachings of the "Edwardean" divines respecting the nature of the Atonement, respecting the ground of its necessity, and respecting its extent. In every particular we have found those teachings anticipated by the great teachers of original Arminianism. The theory is purely Arminian in every part. Its advocates may complaisantly arrogate to themselves the distinguished honor of having exposed the untenableness of the old Calvinistic scheme, and of having originated a statement of the doctrine as truly "epoch-making" in its history as was the Nicene formula of the person of Christ in the history of that doctrine; but let them not turn back to the rich suggestive pages of Episcopius, Grotius, and Limborch, lest they discover the mortifying fact, that after two hundred years they have just come up to the enlightened views of the primitive Arminians. Perhaps two hundred years more may suffice to discover to them the semi-Pelagianism of some principles involved in the form of Arminianism they now hold to, and bring them to a genuine evangelical Arminianism with all its derided features. At any rate, we wish them the good fortune.

How admirable the divine Nemesis of history! The Calvinistic refugees of New England, pale, thoughtful exiles in the wilderness, have atoned vicariously for the violent expatriation of the innocent Remonstrants, adopted their once derided faith, and will not fail eventually to claim with pride those great, farsighted heroes of the Belgic Church as true pioneers and leaders of the "New School" host. How little dreamed John Robinson of this as he prepared for his grand disputation with Episcopius! What a theme for the pen of the future historian of Calvinism!

NOTE.—Since the above was written, the first numbers of a series of pamphlets, entitled "Views in New England Theology," have been issued from the press of

Messrs. Crocker & Brewster, Boston. In the first, "*The New England Theology contrasted with the New Arminianism,*" the writer, understood to be Dr. Parsons Cooke, endeavors to rescue the terms "Edwardean" and "New England" from their present perverted use, by proving that the *soi-disant* Edwardean or New England Theology is radically opposed to the real views of Edwards and of the New England of olden time. Taking up the doctrine of Sin, as set forth in the unpublished but oft-copied lectures of Professor Park, he instances twenty-five points of open disagreement between Edwards and his Andover disciple, while there is but *one* point upon which they agree "half-way!" "What is here proved," he affirms, "is not a variance from Edwards on a few immaterial points. It is a difference *toto cœlo*, one of the most direct contradictions of Edwards's system that can be found." He takes the liberty of calling it "*New Arminianism,* not in a way of reproach, but as most according to the reality of the thing." As the author of the "Introductory Essay" in the book we have reviewed has been accused in some quarters of a little "special pleading" in said essay, in order to find his theory in the writings of the elder Edwards, we trust we may, without disrespect to any, refer our readers to this new and interesting *brochure* as an effectual corrective, if the accusation have any truth. At the same time it will be found to furnish striking confirmation of the main position of the above article, showing, as it does, that, bating some few semi-pelagian particulars, the "New Divinity" is as truly Arminian on the doctrine of sin, as on that of the atonement.

ART. IV.—OBLIGATIONS OF SOCIETY TO THE COMMON LAW.*

WE have the authority of Cicero for saying that "nothing is truly useful which is not honest;" and it was an exhortation of the wisest of men to "buy the truth, and sell it not." Whatever is opposed to honesty and truth is an enemy to virtue and morality; and if there be any profession or calling, the practice of which tends to enervate the love of truth or the disposition to honesty, it is to be condemned and avoided. Rectitude of thought, of speech, and of conduct are the distinguishing characteristics of a virtuous and happy man; and he cannot be delighted or benefited in any employment where he may not readily cultivate those traits of character, for they are more desirable than all attainments in science.

Cato, of Utica, resolved to die when he anticipated the fallen liberties of Rome. So let even the professor of law bid his much loved science adieu, if truth and honesty, which are better sovereigns than Cesar, can triumph no more!

The persuasion is, perhaps, not uncommon, that the science and the practice of the law are both unfriendly to the great interests of

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* Substance of a lecture delivered before the Law Department of the New York University, Nov., 1859.

truth and morality; that a great lawyer is not apt to be a good man; and that difficulties to virtue thicken in the path of him who engages in the practice of the law. Let one speak of the legal profession in connection with the pursuit of morality and religion, and he would probably be entertained with a verse from the "Loyal Garland:"

"Lay by your pleading,
Law lies a-bleeding;
Burn all your studies down,
And throw away your reading!"

He would be fortunate if he escaped a facetious application of a text from St. Paul: "The strength of sin is the law." And should a father apply for a suggestion as to which of the two professions—law or medicine—it were supposed his son seemed to promise best adaptability, he need not be surprised at some such allegorical reply as this:

"One told a gentleman his son
Should be a man-killer, and be hanged for it;
Who after proved to be a great and rich
Physician, and with much fame was hanged
In picture in the university, for a grave example!
Another schemist
Found that a squint-eyed boy should prove
A notable pickpurse, and after a most strong thief;
When he grew up to be a cunning lawyer,
And at last died a judge!"

A single remark from *La Fontaine* will illustrate the idea: "A shipwrecked voyager cast upon an unknown and, he feared, barbarous shore, presently espying a gallows erected in the distance, knew that he was in a civilized and Christian country!"

But civilized society owes to the science of the law a better respect than is thus indicated; for it is easy to maintain that the very foundations of such society would sink, and regulated communities degenerate into elements that would overthrow civilization, were it not for the invisible but potent protection of the law over society and its multiplied interests. A society of order cannot subsist without law; and were we to dispense with it we should take the perilous road to barbarism.

"Of law," says the judicious Hooker, "no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of GOD; her voice is the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power." Both St. Paul and Cicero affirm that *the law is the minister of God to man for good.* It is undeniably

true, that in all countries where it reigns it is a protector to the obedient and an avenger to the rebellious. Although the government which it upholds be that of Nero, it is better than none; and, notwithstanding its principles have been filtered through many forms of grossness and ignorance, still, what now remains to the civilized world is the alembic of legal purity, and is made obligatory by the sanction of heaven itself.

It has been objected as to human laws, that after they have been improved to the utmost attainable degree of perfection, they must still be imperfect in three particulars: 1. They will be defective *in substance;* 2. Weak in *motives;* and 3. Only *partial* in their operation. It is said under the first of these objections, that although law forbids crimes that are apparent and atrocious, still it cannot reach many refined irregularities which are not the less capable of troubling society for not appearing enormous or palpable. Let it be granted that it cannot ordain patience, meekness, or love, and that society without those virtues must needs be unhappy. It is said, under the second objection, that no reward for obedience to human law, nor penalty for its violation, can be sufficient to make it universally observed. Let it be granted that every violation of the law derogates from its force and authority, and that the insufficiency of its apparent motives is an evil. It is said, under the third objection, that the laws avenge us on insignificant offenders, oftentimes punishing the petty thief whom the pain of hunger or the fear of death has tempted to rob us of a paltry sum, while magnificent plunderers, wearing the plumes of conquerors, ravage kingdoms with impunity, and overwhelm whole districts with injustice and oppression. Let it be granted that the history of the world abounds with instances that illustrate the force of the objection.

But what then? Because the law cannot prescribe all moral duties, nor redress all possible wrongs, nor pervade the domain of religious obligation, is it fit that a Christian community lay it aside?

> "Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
> Offendar maculis."

It cannot be denied that the law of nature, which has issued from the throne of infinite wisdom and goodness, is perfectly adapted to the true and lasting happiness of man; and that the precepts revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures compose a solid foundation of ethics. Now it is the boast, both of England and the United States of America, that their forms of government and systems of law are in consonance with those divine rules and precepts, and rest upon that sure foundation of the law of nature and revelation; and it is a

principle of the common law adopted by both countries that "no human laws should be suffered to contradict these."

Considering, then, the law as a rational and useful science, promotive of the interests and agreeable to the sentiments of mankind in a state of civilization and enlightenment, it may illustrate and defend our position if we find, on inquiry, that it is a science deeply imbued with the principles of true morality. Let us, therefore, attempt to trace *the moral element in legal science*, and to touch, if we can, the key-note of natural justice that harmonizes all its parts.

It is claimed for the law that it is a science of morality and justice. So much, at least, may be advanced in respect of THE COMMON LAW, as administered by the courts at Westminster, and by those in this country; for it is not only a noble edifice of antiquity, reared by the labor and adorned by the learning of centuries, but its doctrines are comprised in precepts of wisdom and justice. Its object rises as high as that of any human science, while its foundation is as strong as the immutable principles of the law of nature; and although its origin has been said to be "as undiscoverable as the head of the Nile," yet its principles, many of them of higher antiquity than memory can reach, have been recognized by successive generations as of undeniable wisdom, weight, and authority.

Borrowing its primary rules and fundamental principles from the precepts inculcated by the law of nature; from that inexhaustible reservoir of legal antiquities and lore, the Feudal system, called by Spelman the law of nations in Western Europe; from the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cesar and Tacitus; from the codes of the northern nations of the continent; from the practical maxims of England's Saxon princes; from the ancient customs of all the divisions of Britain; from the charters of her Norman kings and those of the Plantagenet line; and from the civil law and the canon law of the Romans, the common law of England acquired at length such intrinsic excellence and general authority as to be admitted and observed throughout the realm by king and subjects, Parliament and courts, as the best rule of civil conduct. And when our own republic reared the pillars of her government, not only her federal authorities, but state after state of the confederation recognized, as embracing the most perfect system for keeping the scales of justice even and steady, the great body of the common law.

Never did a race of men advance so far in enlightenment, civilization, morality, and virtue as the Anglo-Saxon race since they were brought under the protection and blessings afforded by that great exponent of natural law.

History informs us that the Romans began to emerge from barbarism when their emperors and nobles commenced the study of the "Twelve Tables of the Decemvirs," and introduced the practice of their precepts. That part of the imperial law was regarded as the expression of the wisdom of Roman ancestors, and the study of the Twelve Tables was recommended by Cicero as equally pleasant and instructive. Said he: "They amuse the mind by the remembrance of old words and the portrait of ancient manners; they inculcate the soundest principles of government and morals; and I am not afraid to affirm that the brief composition of the Decemvirs surpasses in genuine value the libraries of Grecian philosophy."*

But the Anglo-Saxon race did not perceptibly emerge from barbarism under the influence of Roman laws and manners. Although Britain was for centuries a province of Rome, she received but a faint tincture of Roman arts and customs. It was not until full two hundred years after the Romans retired, and indeed after the Saxons had been converted to Christianity, that the inhabitants of the island laid hold of a better polity and of higher principles of conduct, and began the foundations of that *legal system* that, more than any other science, has adorned and enriched her domains, furrowed with many keels her beautiful rivers, and spread cultivation along her fertile valleys and green hill-sides. The introduction and perpetuity of settled principles of law and justice soon cleared large tracts of country that otherwise had remained wild and unreclaimed; along the lines of forests and marshes that stretched from end to end of the kingdom, flourishing towns and other signs of civilization arose to view. Villages sent up their peaceful smoke into the evening sky, and from the church-towers pealed the softened sound of the solemn bells. A feeling of calm and security spread over the land where before disunited and unfriendly clans warred with each other like hostile tribes, or were pressed out of their native plains by marauders and invaders. A historian has said that "it is only when the curtain rises, and Alfred is discovered on the stage with his scepter and crown, that we are aware of the existence of settled principles of law, and recognize manners and customs which, without the sanction of written authority, exercised a paramount influence on the thoughts and conduct of the people. At this early period we find something like trial by jury established; the land divided into parishes and townships, and hundreds and tythings, all which are still retained, a kind of bail or mutual insurance of each other's honesty; and a rigorous administration of simple and easily comprehended laws by judges appointed by the king."

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* De Oratore, i, 43, 44.

If it be said that England's laws at that early day were but a crude and grotesque system of rules, frail as a bark upon turbulent billows, it may be answered, that bark nevertheless proved to be an ark of safety which securely bore up and preserved the nation through many storms, and even the mighty deluge of the Norman conquest, when all other systems were engulfed, until the feet of that people rested upon the broad and solid foundation of ethics and just laws, that have for centuries promoted and secured the true and substantial happiness of many generations of men. Differences may, indeed, be traced between Saxon and Norman jurisprudence; but there are features of the common law that we readily discover to be peculiar to Saxon times; though, doubtless, many essential parts of the system are of later growth. And it is a singular, perhaps a providential circumstance, that in an age when the gradual march of civilization and commerce was so little foreseen, those Saxon ancestors, deviating from the usages of neighboring nations, should impart such substance and efficacy to their legal principles as that many of them have survived the conquest of William, and infused themselves for all time into the common law.

Man is entitled to enjoy certain *absolute* rights with which he has been endowed by his Creator—life, liberty, and the possession of property. The design and end of all just laws should be to protect these rights. There are also other rights, denominated *relative*, which necessarily take up a larger space in all codes of law than do those of the former kind. But the wisest and most enlightened legislation of Christendom, while seeking to confirm and protect those absolute as well as those relative rights, has never superseded the vigorous and healthy principles of the common law. It has ever been recognized as a part of the jurisprudence of these United States, and has been the grand center around which the movements of codifiers and of law-makers have revolved. The Congress of the United Colonies in 1774 claimed it as a part of the "indubitable rights and liberties to which the respective colonies were entitled." Jurists have told us that "it fills up every interstice and occupies every space which the statute law cannot occupy;" that "its principles may be compared to the influence of the liberal arts and sciences;" that "we live in the midst of the common law; inhale it at every breath; imbibe it at every pore; meet with it when we wake and when we sleep, when we travel and when we stay at home; that it is interwoven with the very idiom that we speak, and that we cannot learn another system of laws without learning at the same time another language."

True it is that there have somehow been developed a benign influ-

ence and a sound philosophy in our system of laws. The effects of those laws prove them to be promotive of social order and happiness, as well as conducive to the growth of civil liberty; and they justify the assertion that what the wits and sages of ancient Greece and Rome did not know, and could not discover, has gleamed upon the minds of our English ancestry and those of their descendants, and tinged with unfading luster their forms of polity and their principles of jurisprudence.

In seeking to acquaint ourselves with those principles, we must go back to those ancient regulations and customs of England adopted long ago as a part of her common law, and which may be said to constitute the vigor of her lauded constitution and the security of the liberties of her people. There is *Magna Charta*, the great charter of English freedom, aptly denominated as "the keystone of English liberty," which was extorted from King John by the barons at Runnymede, and which has been confirmed in England by all succeeding generations as the bulwark of their personal and political liberty. Sir Edward Coke observed of it that "it was, for the most part, only declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental laws of England." An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the charter, and it has several times been directed by act of Parliament that it be allowed as a part of the common law. Then, in the reign of King Charles the First, the *Petition of Right* and other privileges of Parliament and of subjects were conceded. These were followed by the *Habeas Corpus Act*, under Charles the Second; by the *Bill of Rights* in 1688; by the *Act of Settlement* in the beginning of the next century, and by other subsequent statutes "for better securing," as they recite, "our religion, laws, and liberties—the birthright of the people of England—according to the ancient doctrine of the common law."

In these United States, by our adoption of the common law, we have secured the essence of all these rights; and, with apt words, have transplanted their principles to the more congenial soil of our free government and republican institutions. Very different is the tenor of these laws from that of the states of continental Europe, and from the genius of the much vaunted imperial laws of Rome. The latter were well adapted to perpetuate arbitrary and princely power, to the detriment of the liberties of the people; the former breathe the spirit of freedom and civil equality—of "peace on earth and good-will to man."

As the eventful drama of the history of continental Europe advances from act to act, each scene seems continually to reproduce

the wavering spectacle of oppressed and unhappy nations struggling for a better life and more perfect systems of government and laws; while over England from a long way off, we see the torch of liberty gleaming on the theater of her soil, and amid great complexity of events and frequent shifting of the scenes, that land is seen to brighten under the blended light of religion and the common law, until every spot at last grows radiant in the sublime splendor of Christian civilization.

Thus, also, as to our own country, while it is admitted that too much praise cannot be awarded to our republican forms of government and our free constitutions, which have been established and cemented by the combined wisdom and patriotism of the truest men and the most devoted assemblies the world ever saw, yet is it true that those very forms and constitutions are pervaded by the matured principles of the common law; and they infuse through all our institutions the very spirit of freedom, of justice, and morality. Under their influence civilization has here achieved her loftiest position, for where is there a land like our own on the face of the earth where Virtue so serenely walks with Law and Glory by her side?

It is said that society is formed for the protection of individuals, and states or governments are formed for the protection of society. But what shall protect a state or government when its rights are invaded by another power? There are rules and usages contained in the common law that answer the question, and that, on the important subject of international duties, have everywhere in civilized lands come to be settled as obligatory upon nations. They compose a system of laws applicable to the conduct of nations, known as the *Jus Gentium.*

In a late discussion between the Secretary of State for the United States (the late Mr. Marcy) and Lord Clarendon, the former placed his objection to some proceedings of the British government upon the recognized doctrine of the law of nations. A foreign writer thereupon observed, that "when a diplomatist quoted Vattel and the law of nations, he meant to plunge a disputed question into an unfathomable vortex of profound and conflicting authorities until the disputants lose sight of the idea which they began by discussing, and only hear the noise of the whirlpool by which it has been swallowed up." But this criticism upon national law is undeserved; for, while it must be admitted that the precepts of that law have not been comprised in any authorized code, nor its doctrines always traced with perfect precision, still its great foundation rests where that of other branches of the common law is found, upon the law of nature as discovered by man's reason, aided by divine revelation;

and the fundamental principles of international law are not only well discerned, but the due observance of them is believed to be essential to national character and to the happiness of mankind. They inculcate the practice of moderation and justice between different governments, and denounce what is contrary to humanity and morality. They accord with Aristotle in condemning those ancient practices in war of subjecting the vanquished as the property of the victor; with Sallust in declaring it *contra jus belli* for Marius, the victor in the Jugurthan war, to sell as slaves the inhabitants of a Numidian town; and with Cicero in insisting upon "the practice of the virtues of humanity, liberality, and justice" by one people toward another, because founded in the universal obligation of nature.

Those laws also protect the privileges of safe conduct and the rights of embassadors and other public agents; they prohibit such offenses against humanity as piracy and the slave-trade, and they require proper indemnity for injuries inflicted by the citizens of one country against those under the flag or the protection of another. There are also principles of international law that regulate commerce, the navigation of adjoining seas, and the right of passage over navigable rivers by citizens of different jurisdictions. The rights and duties of nations, belligerent and neutral, in a state of war, are prescribed; and rules are defined respecting treaties, cessions of territory, and other incidents of peaceful intercourse between nations; the whole comprising recognized principles of justice and humanity, openly professed and declared by the United States of America, by Great Britain, and by the European continental powers; and which no nation can violate without being subjected to reproach and disgrace, as well as incurring the hazard of punishment to be inflicted by the injured people or its allies.

Now to characterize the well-defined and salutary regulations of this great branch of the common law, involving such important subjects, as "a vortex of unfathomable and conflicting authorities," is to lose sight of their great utility, of their moral influence, and of the probability that, but for the general recognition of those principles, unsheathed swords would be brandished by every separate nation, one against another, where now is displayed the olive-branch of peace.

With regard to those rules which every political commonwealth in England and this country has found it necessary to enforce, for the protection and well-being of society and of individuals—the *jus civile* of states—the common law presents its masterpiece. It is the chief municipal law of those countries. It holds immediate relation to the good order of society, the morality of the community,

and the happiness of man. Diversified as are the interests of communities and of individuals, the whole are under the guardianship of this invisible but powerful protector. It secures to every man, the humblest citizen equally with the highest, the enjoyment of his personal security, his personal liberty, and his private property. All the natural and absolute rights of individuals are held in its safe-keeping. It, moreover, regulates and protects all their relative rights, whether public or private. Magistrates, whether supreme or subordinate; people, whether natives or aliens; officials, whether legislative or executive, civil or military; the domestic relations; bodies politic; rights concerning property; crimes and their punishment, are severally embraced in this branch of the common law, which is defined as "a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." The words of Demosthenes may also be added: "It is proclaimed as a general ordinance, equal and impartial to all."

If the great body of the common law, combined with the statutes of our land, touching, as they do, the dearest relations and the most cherished interests, were not pervaded by the principles of natural justice, equity, and morality, they would never have received for so long a time the unwavering homage and respect of all classes of citizens. The wise and the good would have contemned them, and the vicious have trampled them under foot. Intelligent men would have found some more delightful employment than the devotion of years to the study of such a science. Mental cultivation would have sought out other channels of progress to the neglect of that found in the law. The competency of the human faculties to discover the truth on all matters within the range of their conception would not have failed in this particular; and there would not have been wanting many minds of sufficient daring to exhort the people to throw off the oppressive yoke of servitude to an unjust and debasing system.

But, in the history of the human race, no better system of law than our own ever ruled the conduct of men. We look back through ages of oppression, and over lands blasted by injustice and tyranny, and turn again to our own time and country with rational joy. We have embraced and continued to hold fast the grand principles of morality, of equity, and of justice, that have been eliminated from other systems and adopted into the common law; and, breathing upon them the spirit of our free institutions, have harmonized them to a completer fitness to the wants of humanity; so that there is no system of laws so perfect as that which now gives method and

direction to the complicated affairs of the greatest nation of freemen that ever lived!

The enforcement of law by one man over another, or by one class of officials—the judges—over other men, is the greatest exercise of superiority tolerated in a free country. The judge utters from the bench but a few words, yet they are fraught with the greatest consequence. If that utterance respect the estates of suitors before the tribunal of that judge, those estates are secured to the possession or pass from the enjoyment of the claimant. If they respect the life or liberty of the trembling culprit at the bar, those potent words set him free, or they immure him in prison walls or swing him from a gibbet. Yet the province of the judge is only *jus discere*, and not *jus dare.* He cannot add one jot or tittle to what has been already written, and his judgment must rest on acknowledged maxims or established principles. Never was there power of such importance wielded by human hands in this confederacy, that was distinguished by a loftier morality or more incorruptible integrity, than that of our judiciary. From the infancy of the republic to the present day, it has held the scales of justice even and steady. It has presided over the complicated affairs of society with consummate ability and rectitude. The weak have never been too insignificant to invoke and receive its aid, nor the mighty too powerful to avert its mandates of justice. We are informed that the Jewish lawgiver was renowned for being learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that ancient Egypt, by some mysterious art, subsisted in much glory during a period of fifteen or sixteen centuries. One secret of that art is disclosed, while we read of a justice so impartial that their kings obliged the judges to take an oath that they would never do anything against their own consciences, though they, the kings themselves, should command them. With a like impartiality and rectitude our own judges have been distinguished. Their decisions have been regarded as expositions of equity and morality, and so consonant with justice as to secure unwavering respect and obedience. But the rules that have guided their judgments and illuminated their opinions are those golden-linked principles of law that have been worked out by the genius and illustrated by the learning of the world's great masters of ethical lore. So that it cannot be said of our free republic that "Themis stands by the throne of Alexander to stamp with right and justice whatever he does;" but the supremacy of the law and the independence of the judiciary are powers that rise above the highest official or personal influence, and shine, like the sun, with equal effulgence upon all.

It is because the common law which we have adopted is general

in its application, and contains that organic arrangement and excellence which blends substantial justice with all the forms of its administration, while regulating civil rights, that it is regarded as the great protector of individual interests and the conservator of civil liberty. A late writer on civil government has remarked, that if we had not brought here the common law, "and should have brought from England all else, and had adopted the civil law, our liberty would have had a very precarious existence." And it is related of the elder Adams, when Blount's conspiracy was before the Senate, and the question whether the common law was to be adopted was discussed, he exclaimed "that if he had ever imagined that the common law had not by the Revolution become the law of the United States under the new government, he never would have drawn his sword in the contest." So dear to him—a great lawyer—were the privileges which that system recognized and enforced. In this land of freedom we live in the enjoyment of those liberties, secured to us by law, which Algernon Sidney referred to when he said, "The liberties of nations are from God and nature, not from kings;" for our federal and state polity, and our system of laws, are well adapted, not to protect kings or to pamper aristocracies, but to secure society, the domestic relations, and the rights of individuals. One of the most cherished of these individual privileges is the primordial right of liberty of conscience; for the genius of our laws wisely dictates that conscience lies beyond the reach of government or the power of prelate or law-maker. Here, therefore, every citizen is at liberty to pursue his own true and substantial happiness, restrained only by those checks which are found to be the necessary guarantees of that individual liberty, and which, as all experience shows, conduce to the best interests of order, morality, and justice.

In the full enjoyment of the greatest blessings that heaven has ever bestowed upon any people, the Anglo-Saxon race are pursuing their brilliant career. Upon their extended empires the sun never sets. All abroad throughout their vast domains order, peace, and security reign. Whitening fields, burdened with ripening grain, lie unmolested, until their owners gather in their rich harvests. The law stands like a sentinel over that unprotected treasure, and watches it still when in storehouse and barn. From the ports of great cities all manner of naval structures depart with precious freights, and return again laden with the products of distant lands. Over the lonely pathways of ocean and along the thronged piers of the metropolis those cargoes are safe and they who own them. Those cities themselves, that seem like Babels, have no habitation whose very boundaries are not guarded, and whose inmates are not protected by the

law. It is there, as everywhere, a shield to the innocent and an avenger of the wronged. Science and art, invention and industry, bring forth their contributions to the general good, and are sure of their rewards. Religion rears her temples without restraint, and dedicates them for all time to the service of the one living and true God. Civilization puts on a new light, and seems fast approaching the reflection of heavenly things. Christianity holds on her bright and widening way, and when the impartial historian shall hereafter from his serene throne trace the causes that led that wonderful race up the stupendous heights of their brilliant culture, intelligence, morality, and freedom, chief among the sources of their greatness will be marked the wisdom and beneficence of their systems of law. And while that historian, touching the people of these United States, shall speak of their national greatness and security, their civil liberty, and the tranquillity of their society; of the protection afforded among them to private rights; of the increase and diffusion among them of intelligence and wealth, and of the manly tone of their moral sentiment and energy, he will admit that these were the grand elements moved and influenced by their forms of polity and their principles of law; and that the definite standards of right which those principles established, coinciding with the dictates of Christianity, taught them, as a people, to ascend from the grosser inducements of natural inclination to that rectitude and morality which have exalted the American nation to the highest rank of the civilized world.

Art. V.—ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT AND HIS COSMOS.

Cosmos: a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander Von Humboldt. Translated from the German by E. C. Otte, B. H. Paul, and W. S. Dallas. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850-1859.

The conflict between natural science and the Christian faith is waning. Meeting on the basis of a compromise obtained on the one hand by a corrected Scripture philology, and on the other by an abatement of some scientific pretensions and conclusions which had been carried too far, particularly in geology, these two are now found to be essentially in unison. The one is a complement of the other; each wrong in excluding, and only just to itself in affirming the other. Faith can lend to science its sweet trust and hopes, and science in return can give its clear insight and its truths to faith, and both thus find their appropriate place and function in the life of

the individual no less than in institutions. This concord is the outgrowth of two ideas, which are to-day too firmly established in the Christian consciousness ever to be other than important factors in existing as well as all future culture. One of these ideas is, that nature and revelation, or God in his works and in his word, must harmonize, and hence, that the purely scientific conclusions of the one, fairly though independently reached, must be in accord with a fair interpretation of the other. The second idea is, that the world was made for man; in which, still further, two things are implied: first, that all the uses of nature are servants of man's physical, intellectual, and moral needs; secondly, that it is mainly by means of the mathematical and physical sciences that man is to pass from his present severe bondage to the labor of supplying his natural necessities, up to that lordship of nature which the steady progress of science and the useful arts now assure us of as the fulfillment of the primal command given to the race at the beginning, to subdue the world and have dominion over it. In this view, physics and theology touch each sympathetically in the sphere of the religious life, which as ever, and to-day more than ever, serves itself from the empiric sciences.

Humboldt was the representative man of the age in the department of the natural sciences. He was empiricist and philosopher in one. He loved the solid facts; from them he strove to read the law, and then to ground both law and fact in some higher, more comprehensive unity of law or fact. He was unsurpassed for careful, thorough observation, power of combination, range of scholarship, a keen faculty for noting resemblances and differences; which qualifications place him beyond all question as a representative man in natural science, whose business is with matter in its forms and laws, and not with its genesis nor with the moral and religious aspects of natural truths. Analytic, like Aristotle and Bacon, he tends to the individual, the phenomenal, and develops the ideas in them; then, sympathetically and poetically, he seeks from them to build up an organic whole; not reconstructing nature as the rational cosmologists have been trying to do, with only small success as yet, but describing nature in its own coherence, transcribing it according to the chapters and subdivisions found written in itself. He studied nature after the method of Bacon, but was far superior to him in scholarship, and in the reach and precision of his investigations. From Thales to Leibnitz, and later still, facts have often been used as a sort of spring-board for mental gymnastics, as an arena for a metaphysical pirouetting. Theories of the world-formation, and of the on-goings of nature, have been constructed from a narrow basis

of facts, or from the mere insight of the reason, which in their logical manipulation have fallen into the grotesque or false, of which abundant examples he who wishes can find in the old philosophies lying dead and useless now, like philosophic fossils of ideal worlds. We have no intent to disturb these, only referring to them at the suggestion of the contrast between some deformed, half-mythic ancestor, and the robust, promising child of modern thought, the Cosmos.

Throughout his long life Humboldt was the child of a rare good fortune. His eminent position in science was partly due to the accidents of noble birth, wealth, court patronage, and influential friends. That great men, as the world calls them, are the creatures of circumstances, are the product of other than native-born forces, is but the complement of the truth that men are makers of their own fortunes. No enthusiasm nor iron will can wholly dispense with the aid of circumstances. These make and mar, push and postpone: in the poetic symbolism of the Greeks they were blessed gods. It is he who is planted on the "rim of the rising tide" that is borne to the highest success. For Humboldt there was a concert of propitious circumstances such as rarely falls to the lot of any individual; the most favored of mortals in science since the days of Aristotle, with whom he shares the honor of having admiring friends, kings, and kingdoms as tributary to the enriching of themselves, and of the world through them.

Alexander Von Humboldt was born in Berlin, September 14, 1769, a year often noted as memorable for the birth of quite a constellation of distinguished men, among whom were Cuvier, Canning, Wellington, and Napoleon, whose biographies form a large part of the science, literature, politics, and military history of the last seventy years. Wealth and social position freed his childhood from want and toil, and surrounded him with the means and incitements to scholarship; parental care kept him from the baser vices of youth; men eminent alike for their fine qualities of head and heart and scholarship were the teachers of his boyhood. The fine social influences of Berlin were all at his command. Campe, the translator of Robinson Crusoe, apart from the routine of text-books, fed the imagination of the growing boy with romances of foreign travel. A Doctor Heim taught him botany, according to Linnæus. Some years later he outgrew and then refashioned that science of Latin names. So, fortunately for himself, for the world, for his fame, his pursuit of knowledge was made under the rarest facilities. He is said in early life to have acquired so slowly, in comparison with his brother William, that at one time both mother and teacher

despaired of his success as a student. His after life, so splendid in results, suggests, not the old fable of tortoise and hare, but the fact of sturdy labor transmuting itself into genius. In the University at Gottingen, his good star, as usual, in the ascendant, he enjoyed the personal intercourse among others of Blumenbach, famous in natural history, of Heyne, the archæologist, Eichhorn, the historian, and George Forster, a companion of the ill-fated Captain Cook, a bold, versatile, and brilliant man, and of much influence on him in favor of the natural rights of man. At the University his side studies were mainly in natural history. In 1792, having been appointed director of the mines in Franconia, he threw himself with his wonted energy into the study of the plants in the neighborhood, to experimenting in chemistry, metallurgy, and to writing for scientific journals. Such a young man could not dawdle away his time over the sentimentalism of the Sorrows of Werther, or lounge in the day and debauch at night. To him it would have seemed lost time to build "Chateaux in Spain." He must be prying into the organic structure of plants, into geology, chemistry, reforming the methods of mining, brooding over the laws of nature and winning her secrets from her, and devising schemes of foreign travel. The serene stars, cloud-mountains in the sky, a grove, a waterfall, tropic palms, and mountain flowers, and all the forms of majesty and beauty in nature intoxicated him. Nature has a potion for her lovers that exhilarates beyond the influence of any wine that ever came from the belly of grapes, that gives an ecstacy second only to that of the trances of Socrates, Behmen, and other "dreamers," who nevertheless in their dreams lived a more real life than if they had digged for gold, or made a fortune by speculating in stocks. His burning passion to see strange lands was gratified by the five years' journey (1799-1804) to South and Central America and the United States. He traveled in company with Aimé Bonpland, a distinguished naturalist. The rich fruits of this journey appeared in a noble edition of twenty-eight volumes, accompanied by maps and engravings, in bringing which before the public the best. French and German artistic and scholarly talent were employed for many years. It would have been suggestive of human progress to have placed this colossal work side by side with the crack publications of the Augustan age of Roman literature, and still more richly suggestive to have examined their contents. Still the work was too heavy for general use; "in ponderous continuity, but with diminishing celerity, folio after folio, quarto after quarto, dropped from the press." Labor was his habit, a second and improved nature. Take a brief summary of his and Bonpland's labors in that five years' journey. They analyzed the

air on mountains, in valleys, and perilous craters; made numberless geological, astronomic, barometric, and magnetic observations; determined and corrected altitudes and geographical distances; mapped localities and the course of rivers; examined mines, volcanoes, and the tracks of earthquake shocks; botanized; gathered geologic and other specimens, and grammars of the native languages; studied and recorded the antiquities, habits, customs, agriculture, trades, language, history, politics, and physiology of the nations they visited. Of their endurance of hunger, cold, heat, and toil, of dangers from savage beasts and still more savage men, they do not complain, and we take no account.

Such great and varied collections had never before been brought into Europe from foreign lands. Humboldt took up his abode in Paris in order the more successfully to work out the results of that and other short journeys, by aid of men eminent in the sciences, who at that time were to be found in Paris. Of like beneficial results, particularly in the establishment of magnetic observatories in Europe, Asia, and Australia, was the journey to the Ural and Altai Mountains in 1829. On his return in 1830 he fixed his residence at Berlin, at the urgent solicitation of the Prussian government, which was proud of him and jealous of his living in other countries. After this he made occasional scientific, literary, political, and semi-political visits to divers persons and places, and in 1843 began to write the Cosmos, which was finished in 1858. This work is a *resumé* of the progress of the natural sciences, the net result of his own scientific labors, extending beyond a period of seventy years; years of the world most noted for the cultivation of science, literature, and all the various forms of industrial and scientific activity. The work is also the praiseworthy and magnificent endeavor to describe the universe as a harmoniously ordered whole, to bring its manifold diversity of phenomena under the unity of general laws. It was intended as a legacy, and by the author's death has become as it were the last will and testament of the author to man in general, and to the German nation in particular.

Cosmos is a happily chosen word for the title of the work, and it bristles with suggestions of labor and learning and æsthetics. It has a history, and Humboldt gives it; for he is not averse to an etymological search, knowing that a single word is sometimes a historic gem, a social picture, the food as well as the vehicle of thought. Eastward in the old Sanscrit it appears as the "purified;" westward among the Hellenes as an "adornment," "order," "rhetorical ornament." With Pythagoras it was the "order in the universe," the "universe" itself, the "totality of all things" in heaven and earth

as displaying order and beauty. The use of the word comes of a fine æsthetic instinct. A grasp of the solid facts is good, tends to breadth of base, to a solidity of foundation: but the intuitive flash of the direct insight of the reason is good also; is the grand fore-reaching toward the things yet to come; is the sudden soul-sally going out through long reaches of thought, and apprehending truths it would take the slow-footed, matter-of-fact induction long periods of time to arrive at. Who taught our ruder ancestors that through this measureless diversity of phenomena ran interweaving threads that bound them up into a concrete unity; that multiplicity was only variety in unity; that the all was one? Yet, back as far as the records go, it was the firm faith of the best minds. It came from the intuitions, and Humboldt, too catholic to deny the value of any form of mental activity, makes concessions to idealism that border on mysticism. Humboldt shakes hands with Bœhme, the prince of mystics. He says: "The recognition of the unity of the Cosmos began in an *intuitive presentiment*, and with merely a few actual observations on the isolated portions of the domain of nature." "To the primitive intuitions may be traced an exuberance of figurative language, and some of the best chosen symbols of the happy inspiration of the earlier ages are still preserved among our scientific terms." "The presentient fancy of Plato, Columbus, and Kepler must not be disregarded as inefficient in the domain of science, or as necessarily withdrawing the mind from the investigation of the actual." But Humboldt goes no farther; avers this ground to be too insecure to tread on with safety; that the results are perilous abstractions, and hence he confines himself strictly to empirical investigations. The higher range of the speculative reason, all explanation of nature *a priori*, are resolutely excluded, and beyond the range of physical phenomena and historic facts he does not go. But he was the master mind of his age within this range; he was unrivaled in his knowledge of works on science, of the physical structure of the earth, of the solar and sidereal systems, of comets, of nebulæ, of the interconnection of the sciences, and, as a worshiper of nature, more thoroughly Greek than a Greek himself.

A history of the labors tending directly and indirectly to the development of cosmical views is a history of science itself, and which, in points not a few, laps over upon the history of philosophy and literature. Many of the records of this history lie, fossillike, in the old literatures and languages; others glimmer like stray points of light near the sources of human knowledge; and yet others have perished with the civilizations and ages that produced them. But a science is not born in a day. The myth of Minerva, the goddess

of the sciences, springing in full size and panoply from the brain of Jove, is an offspring of Greek ignorance and fancy. But a fact once established follows the law of endless circulation; does not abide alone. Even the roving marauders on land and sea in the olden times, as well as men of learning, enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, and thus connected Humboldt with mythic Cadmus and Jason, the Vikings and Columbus. This physical history of the universe has a twofold interest: the one scientific, the other arising from the fact that the same races grouped around the basin of the Mediterranean sea, the same historic events, the spread of the same languages and literatures, and the same culture, prepared alike for the establishment of cosmical truths and Gospel doctrines, for a knowledge of a universe and of its Creator. In a series of graphic pictures Humboldt depicts this progressive history, and we reproduce them in part.

The Chaldeans and Egyptians, given to star-gazing, to speculation and practical mathematics, advanced astronomy. The Phœnicians, by their colonies, their commerce, their starlight navigation, and their alphabetic characters, widen the domain of knowledge. The old Etrurians, by their meteorological records and divination of nature, gave to the Romans a bias to physical inquiries. The restless Greeks, fond of adventure and greedy of gold, pushing eastward through the Bosphorus to the Crimea, westward beyond the memorable gates of the Mediterranean, and everywhere along the shores of this storied inland sea, planting colonies, singing the songs of Homer, and, under the leadership of the impetuous Macedonian, bringing with them from the remote East an enlarged knowledge of climate, geography, plants, older and other civilizations and astronomic knowledge, work to the same end. The reigns of the first three Ptolemies made Egypt notable for its criticism and learning, which was a fortunate exchange, at that time, of the graceful, imaginative Attic writers for those encyclopedic scholars who began to compare and generalize on the accumulated facts and truths of past generations. Then came the colossal empire of the Romans, by which the partition walls among the tribes and races grouped around that basin of the Mediterranean were broken down, and the Roman dominion, incorporating into itself the varied treasures of Grecian culture, the influences that had come from the valley of the Nile, from Judea, Phœnicia, the Euphrates, and India, formed the positive groundwork on which has been reared the hierarchy of the modern sciences, splendid even in its incompleteness, and far fuller of faithful promises than performance. The Ishmaelitish Arabs next take their place in the advancement of cosmical knowledge. This

was a wonderful race of men. After centuries of seclusion they suddenly overran, like wildfire, the older civilizations of the East and the West. With but little school culture, yet with great natural ability; mobile and flexible, yet clannish and meditative; devoted to alchemy, magic, and mystical fancies; lovers of nature and repose, yet wild, fierce, and sensual; clear-eyed, devout, and much given to ceremonial, and with a strong faith and feeling for the invisible, these Arabs came in contact with more cultivated nations, and there was quickly kindled within them a love of letters that soon made them, for a season, the greatest depositors and distributors of the learning of the West. They subdued the nations between the Atlantic and the Indus, had commercial relations with Northern Europe, Eastern Africa, India, and China; diffused languages; introduced the Indian numerals, arithmetic, and algebraic analysis; studied art, and enlarged the knowledge of geography, mechanics, pure mathematics, and natural history; enlarged upon the labors of ancient and cotemporaneous scholars of the three continents. They were the inaugurators of a new era in chemistry, and the creators of modern pharmacy and *materia medica*, which grew out of their practice of preparing the aromatic and balsamic products as staples of commerce, and which, on the one hand, led to the study of chemistry in the twofold form of analysis and composition, and, on the other, to modern botany. The Arabs form an important link between modern and ancient culture, and prepared for later and still more brilliant advances in the experimental sciences and cosmical views.

Results never dreamed of came from the varied pursuits of men. The love of adventure and the spirit of romance, which give a dash of heroism and a tinge of beauty to the monotonous drudgery of human toil, now prompted the bold oceanic discoveries and voyages of the Portuguese, Spanish, and English, which added a vast mass of new ideas in regard to the unity and varieties of the race, the migration of nations, plants, animals, cause of the trade and periodical winds, variations of temperature on land and sea, volcanic and magnetic action, and the thousandfold play of the forces of nature that weave in ceaseless activity this wonderful garment of the Unseen. All these, with the progress in nautical astronomy and naval architecture, the use of the compass, the log, the chronometer, soon opened up to man a knowledge of nearly all the world, and stretched the lines of a varied, busy, and rapid intercourse over all lands. Then came some noted historic characters in the last of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries: Galileo; Kepler and his three famous harmonic laws of planetary motion;

Descartes, who used the algebraic analysis in solving questions in geometry, and thus was pioneer in the mathematical path that opened out into brilliant achievements that surpass the fabled wonders of Aladdin's lamp; Newton and the theory of gravitation, and the Calculus; Tycho Brahe, the foremost man of his age in astronomic observations. Also that artificial, far-seeing organ of vision, the telescope, which, by the aid of a new faculty, as it were, the wonder-working Calculus, brought the starry heavens within the domain of scientific statements as precise as the doctrines of conic sections.

Thus the domain of positive science was extended, and a connection more or less clear and broad was established amid the changeful, ceaseless flow of the vast sea of phenomena. This idea of the unity of the universe has ever been a pleasing fancy to thoughtful minds. It must have been an intoxicating thought to him who first named it the universe—all facts *turned into one*. The unity of nature is a splendid pictorial vision of the living processes of nature, grander even than the Mosaic one of creation. Trace for a moment one of the lines of connection that run through the diversity and multiplicity of nature. Take botany, and it rays out through all the spheres of knowledge. The distribution of plants is a question of climate, and climate touches on meteorology, on the figure of the earth and its daily and annual revolutions, on solar influence and action, and these in their turn on astronomy, and thus on distant stars and erratic comets. Again, the nourishment of plants is a question of chemistry, and chemical analysis has developed a relationship between air, and soil, and plant, and, reaching still further, touches on the mineral kingdom; this on geology, and geology has its bearings on the past history and present condition of the globe as the superbly furnished abode of man, and adapted to his physical structure and mental constitution. The ability to trace this relationship is one of the trophies won from nature by the patient, wrestling toil of many generations.

Humboldt has done much for science, both by direct contribution and the stimulus and aid given to others. He may be regarded as the founder of Comparative Climatology, or Isothermalism, which holds such an important place in physical geography. In his hands botany expanded into a botanical geography, and gained a cosmical interest from the distribution of the plants according to climate and the altitude above the sea. To geology he was no mean contributor. As a traveler he was the first of his age, a second Columbus following in the footsteps of the first, and opening upon a new continent, a new world of phenomena, races, and languages. His contributions

to geography itself were equally great with the change he wrought in the mode of its presentation by giving those graphic and pictorial illustrations of the chief features of land and sea, and of generalized facts, and of complex physical phenomena, by which means the pupil obtains a far more ready, correct, and lasting view of the same than by the old methold. He is neither jealous nor ostentatious. He is glad to expedite his labors by the aid of others, and then acknowledges the aid in the most generous terms; gives materials and advice for works to others, and allows them to reap the benefit and repute of the same. He is a thorough Teuton. He is subjective enough to warrant the saying that the Germans rule the air, and his marked objectiveness is likewise a national trait that expresses itself in the German's love for landed property and material interests. He loved truth, and had the old Teutonic persistance; was veracious and simple, and hated liars and rogues. His reflective powers were large, and he would have been an ideologist, a transcendentalist of the first water, had not the practical and scientific bias in him held him to other national peculiarities, a love of detail and an adherence to facts. He might have speculated grandly, but he kept close to results. He aimed at universality on the material side of knowledge, and his success was a wonder of his age. A cardinal virtue of his was the patient, painstaking labor that makes no haste either with the spoken word or printed book. He was a scholar, and the scholar has the function of the brain, is the intellect standing at the center to co-ordinate the outlying, the erratic, the seemingly lawless, to gather facts and transmute them into truths. He was poetic, giving an investiture of grace to plain, bare truths; such grace or charm as obtains in nature, where beauty and mathematics are blended into one. In natural sciences he was a patriarch; was free from bad passions, meanness, stubborn prejudice, and partisan aims, which are as damaging to the scholarly function as heresy and immorality are to the clerical. The following is a condensed picture of him taken in Berlin.* In spite of his eighty-one years he works unweariedly in those hours which are free from court duties; he is active, punctual, and affable in his immense correspondence; walks with a slow. firm step, a thoughtful head slightly bent forward, either looking down or returning polite salutations to friends; his face beaming with kindness and no sign of pride in it; in a simple dress, sometimes with his hand behind his back and a pamphlet in it. The people honor him as much as they do the king, and in public treat him with marked esteem; they yield the walk to him and say to each other, "There goes Humboldt." He loved generous actions and

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* Lives of Alexander and William Von Humboldt, p. 145.

romantic scenery; he could appreciate a description of nature whether in Hebrew psalm, Greek pastoral, Roman idyl, or Indian hymn. The wind and clouds, the southern cross and tropic palm had an attractive charm for him. He loved this wondrous world passionately and tenderly as a mother loves her child. We must place the works and influence of Humboldt among those providential dispensations which directly further the welfare of humanity. Touch these works on what side you may and you strike upon some great question of human interest.

We do not feel ourselves competent to sit in authoritative judgment on such a work as the Cosmos, which treats of the history, processes, and results of the different branches of natural science in a masterly manner, that has secured for it a translation into the languages of most of the civilized nations. The Cosmos is a physical description of the universe. The author himself indicates the scope and object of the same. "Beginning with the depths of space and the regions of remotest nebulæ, we will gradually descend through the starry zone to which our solar system belongs to our terrestrial spheroid circled by air and ocean, there to direct our attention to its form, its temperature, and magnetic tension, and to consider the fullness of organic life unfolding itself upon its surface, beneath the vivifying influence of light." This will be done so as "to include the realms of infinity no less than the minute microscopic animal and vegetable organisms which exist in standing waters and on the weather-beaten surface of our rocks.* . . . And here we have been able to arrange these phenomena according to partially known laws; but other laws of a more mysterious nature rule the higher spheres of the organic world, in which is comprised the human species in all its varied conformation, its creative intellectual power, and the languages to which it has given existence. A physical delineation of nature terminates at the point where the sphere of intellect begins and a new world of mind is opened to our view. It marks the limit, but does not pass it."†

A few words on the relation of the Cosmos as the representative of the physical sciences to the Gospel. The former has even its truths independently of the Scriptures, and for this reason its testimony in favor of the doctrines of the Bible is the stronger for being undesigned and independent. We demand intellect and we demand morality; we reverence the saints and honor the savans. But then science is subordinate to the moral sentiment; knowledge is in order to life; knowledge is worthy of pursuit both for its own delight and for the guidance it gives to the moral conduct, and in

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* Vol. i, p. 80.

† Vol. i, p. 359.

this way the sage shall serve the saint. The doctrine of a personal God is not stated in the Cosmos. In fact, that and kindred questions lay outside of his self-imposed task, and in the present state of our knowledge we think the exclusion not at all detrimental to the interests of religion and positively beneficial to science, which, if not warped by prejudice or passion, will always bear convincing testimony to the goodness and wisdom of the Creator.

The oneness of all nature, the harmony of the universe, declare the unity of the Creator. From a survey of the material universe, whether in the waving leaves of plants, in the fossil flora and fauna, those somber records of bygone ages, or in the clusters of the cosmical islands with their suns and circling planets wheeling silently around some unknown center, we find everywhere the footsteps of the same. In the remotest regions pierced by the telescope, the same law of attraction, the same method of revolution, the same light, hold sway. This unity denies the existence of rival Gods. Moreover, there is no warring, hostile dualism of God and matter; that pagan and patristic error, with its twin children of a harsh asceticism and licentious antinomianism, has fled forever from the lands blessed by science truthfully so called. As positively as the words of Jewish or Christian Scripture, science proclaims a monotheism. A clear-eyed unprejudiced science sees no rival deities in the universe; one system of order harmonizes its widest differences, and finds, or is destined to find, some copula for its sharpest antitheses and seeming discords, and is becoming more and more "the analysis of the thoughts of the Creator of the universe . . . and in tracing them the human mind is only translating into human language the divine thoughts expressed in nature in living realities." Again, to those who will go behind the facts to discover the idea, the principle, or the drift of them, so to speak, the harmony of the universe is a lesson of progress, and is at one with the prophecies of Hebrew prophet and Christian apostle. For this harmony is not only an adjustment of the present forces and forms, but also a succession of related facts. In the successive ages between the various organic and inorganic forms of matter, there have been connections and correspondences enough to be the grains of truth in the infidel development hypothesis of the notorious Vestiges of Creation. And so "along the shores of old oceans that roll no more," in the changes of the earth's crust and atmosphere, in the organism from the mollusc up to man, and in the dispensations of the sciences themselves, we read a law of progress, a law not from evil to good, but from good to better. From the past and present we may range into the future; and from the fragmentary curves of discovered purposes, even if

broken to the dim vision of sinful man, we may sketch the orbit of the ages yet to come. Not the sameness of the circle, but the ascending, widening sweep of the spiral, is the fit symbol of the on-going of nature. The divine wisdom has "in a certain manner tied the evidences of religion to the wheel of man's endeavor,"* and he is best trained to defend his faith who takes lessons from the teachings of the blow-pipe, the telescope, geometry, geology, and zoology, as well as history and Scripture.

Moreover, science has demonstrated the stability of this ever-moving universe. The aberrations of the heavenly bodies are self-correcting; stars do not cross the track of stars; planets do not fall outward into space nor inward to their suns; the ecliptics do not slip down to the equatorial circle, although they rock backward and forward through myriads of years; and so the succession of the seed-time and harvest, and the variety of the days, are not changed into a weary monotonous sameness of all seasons and days. Science reads us lessons in unison with the yearnings of the hopeful, and with the wishes of the good and the convictions of the rational. Besides, they sadly err who think and say that the exact sciences chill the poetic feelings or clip the wings of the imagination. The soothing charms of nature are lost by no empiric process or mathematical reduction. Poetry and mathematics are not contradictory, but antithetic only. The stars of heaven, seen by the eye of science making their great revolutions without haste and without rest, and with a periodic precision that baffles the detection of a second's discrepancy in a thousand years, spring nobler thoughts and give more fire to the imagination than ever came from Greek or Roman constellations of Bear or Dragon, with all their mythic fancies. The deductions of science in regard to life stir the soul, and nourish it to a richer poetic bloom than can possibly come to it from any mythic or fanciful similitude of life. We cannot always reduce the play of the life-forces to geometric lines and figures; the growth of the corn and the blooming of clover are not questions in our mathematics; yet the interplay of precision and provision with the unknown and the infinite gives a satisfaction and a pleasure to the mind of man of the noblest kind. The imaginative pleasures of precise scientific knowledge far transcend those of ignorance and indefiniteness.

We are introverted; we must busy and bother ourselves with questions of duty and destiny. We are like ships on the stormy sea, drifted often by unknown currents, driven by winds and tossed by waves, and are ever on the look-out to hail some passing ship to tell us whence we came, where we are, and to what port we are

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* Cardinal Wiseman on Science and Revealed Religion.

bound? Hence the pertinency of questioning all facts, all science, if perchance they can help us solve some of the riddles of human life that infect our thoughts. The immortality of the soul touches on the question of a plurality of habitable worlds; the resurrection of the body on chemistry; the compensations and methods of nature on the doctrine of future punishment and reward; the successive periods of the world-life as revealed by geology and zoology, pointing the finger to times when species and forms began to be, pointing to places where the line of genealogy is abruptly ended, suggest a power above nature, and so justify miracles. The relationship between facts of science and human destiny is too intimate to limit all investigation to mere empiricism.

A serious charge has been brought against the Cosmos, that of Atheism, or Pantheism, which are the same heresy seen from different standpoints. The charge is a gratuitous one. The object of the work being a physical description of the universe, and lying as it does in the domain of empiricism; being the record of external facts, their generalizations and their genesis within material nature itself, the questions concerning the being of God and the destiny of man are only indirectly connected with it, only supervene upon it. The geometry that hides in nature reveals the divine intelligence, but yet we do not censure Euclid for not passing over from strict science to natural theology. And hence for Humboldt limiting himself purposely to empirical investigations, to what lay within the grasp of the senses, not beyond them, we have no word of reproach, though we have feelings of regret that that clear, steady eye was not directed to man's spiritual relations as well as his physical ones. But æsthetic grace and the majesty and universality of natural law are the burden of his teachings. And if he sums up the forces operating in nature and in morals as effects of some *primordial necessity*, yet this same necessity can be counted as an equivalent for secondary causes which need have no taint of Atheism about them.

The Cosmos professes to be simply a picture of nature, a delineation of things sensible; avoids inquiry into primal causes and final ends; it treats of the material, and disclaims, not the existence, but the investigation of the intellectual sphere. From silence we cannot affirm a denial, and hence the error of those who, infidel themselves, claim Humboldt as one of their class. They say of the Cosmos that the name of God does not occur; that it shows that all belief in a personal Creator, a self-conscious Ruler of the universe, all looking toward immortality, all supersensual forces, not provable by the senses or by inductive logic, or that do not lie clear to the eye of experience, must be shoved aside as childish crudities or

hoary errors by man, who is his own supreme law to himself. We simply but emphatically deny these inferences. They are ignoble assumptions, falsely wrested from the text, and those who do it seem like men pushed to desperate extremities for arguments and seeking to entrench themselves behind a great name. The fact is, there is no attempt, open or secret, to establish or to refute religious truths. If any inferences can be justly drawn they lie on the other side, as one whose name carries weight with it justly says in regard to phenomena and their cause :

> "When in our pride of philosophy we thought we were investigating systems of science, and classifying creation by the force of our reason, have we followed only and reproduced, in our imperfect expressions, the plan whose foundations were laid in the dawn of creation, and the development of which we are laboriously studying, thinking, as we put together and arrange our fragmentary knowledge, that we are anew introducing order into chaos ? Is this order the result of the exertions of human skill and ingenuity, or is it inherent in the objects themselves, so that the intelligent student of natural history is led unconsciously by the study of the animal kingdom itself to these conclusions, the great divisions under which he arranges animals being indeed but the headings to the chapters of the great book he is reading ? To me it appears indisputable that this order and arrangement of our studies are based upon the natural primitive relations of animal life; these systems to which we have given the names of the great leaders of our science who first proposed them being in truth but translations into human language of the thoughts of the Creator. And if this is indeed so, do we not find in this adaptability of the human intellect to the facts of creation, by which we become instinctively and unconsciously the translators of the thoughts of God, the most conclusive proof of our affinity with the divine mind, and is not this intellectual and spiritual connection with the Almighty worthy our of deepest consideration ?" *

Life is too short to excel in all departments of knowledge. There will be a deficiency somewhere. Humboldt dwarfs himself on the ideal side in order to develop a completeness on the material one. But this dwarfing is found in all devotees of a special department of knowledge as well as in the mad riders of one idea. When as a natural philosopher Humboldt shuts his eyes to the brighter side of natural truths, ignores the tracing of the lines of science making their perfect curve in the moral world, dropping his pen or closing his sentence when the current of his thoughts verges toward questions touching the whence, the where, and the whither of this mysterious life, we feel that he has made a sad mistake, but a personal rather than a literary one. He loved beauty, but that love stirred but a faint pulse-beat in the moral life; he loved the truth, but truth relating to the connections of nature and not to the lessons of a divine benignity, wisdom, and love, scattered broadcast over nature. As an appendix or introduction, as suggestions or thoughts "between the lines," a word might have been added respecting the

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* Essay on Classification, Agassiz.

religious nature and destiny of man; and if he could consistently give a hundred pages to the influence of nature on the feelings and imagination, as he has done, he need not so strictly have avoided giving a single line on the teachings of nature in regard to a supreme Ordainer, from whom has come the plan of creation, which plan is clearly not the result of physical laws. But he chose his field of labor, confined himself of set purpose strictly to empirical investigations, worked in it with unprecedented success and with a world-wide enduring benefit to many, and we make no complaint; do not even blame him; for into the sweet fields of idealism, into the noble sphere of theology, others have entered and will yet enter and gather the abundant harvests, for which Humboldt himself has sown the seeds of truth with no sparing hand. He wished to be regarded as a teacher of natural science, nothing more. We accept him gladly, thankfully, as such, and render him our hearty thanks for a long life's contributions to our stock of empiric knowledge. But then, on the other hand, since he does not recognize the spiritual amid the glories and wonders of nature, we respectfully bid him step aside as a subordinate to the perfect teacher, one who has, in addition to his other qualities, the "upward-looking aspect of mind which is the crowning gift of all," and which seeks "the Deity in his manifestations."

There is one historic personage between whom and Humboldt there are certain points of likeness. We introduce the parallel partly to set forth more clearly the characteristics of Humboldt, and partly to recall attention to that part of the Cosmos omitted by him, namely, the universe as a manifestation of all-comprehensive mind and all-impulsive heart. The majority of mankind will confess to Humboldt's deficiency as the perfect philosopher of nature, so long as they believe in a personal God who is the source of life and happiness, and believe that matter, nature, truth, and emotion, or the world, knowledge, and life, are not to be violently sundered into hostile antagonisms, but are to be joined in a sacred union in which the spiritual shall dominate the sensuous. We refer to Emanuel Swedenborg; but to Swedenborg as a man of science, and not, be it remembered, as a theologic seer, for there were, so to speak, two Swedenborgs: the later or theologic one supervened upon the earlier or scientific one in the fifty-fourth year of life. Humboldt and Swedenborg were descended from good families, and stood in intimate, confidential relations to royalty; both had the same republican proclivities, were advocates of the legal equality and brotherhood of all the races of men; both were students from childhood, devoted mainly to the study of the mathematical and natural sciences; both were superintendents of mines, and wrote and pub-

lished works of value on metals and mines, works still held in high esteem; both were notable scientific travelers; both had a practical genius. Humboldt could give suggestions for growing fine grapes, and Swedenborg for improvements in stoves; both disliked the purely metaphysical method and used the solid inductive one in investigation; both systematized rather than collected facts; both stood head and shoulders above their native cotemporaries in the vast breadth of their scholarship, which took in solar attraction and chemic forces, the circulation of the blood, and the revolution of suns and planets, and from the force-currents of a bit of magnetized iron they could surmise the planetary forces and orbits; both accepted the universality of the laws of nature, and taught that the movements of nature, even in their most graceful, fluent forms, are at bottom as mathematically precise as the rebound of a ball or the variations of algebraic equations; both were untiring drivers of the pen for more than threescore years, were "Captains of the heroes of the Writing Desk;" both were grandly careless of mere artistic effect in their style of writing; both were simple in dress, unassuming, modest, kind-hearted, eminently gentlemanly in deportment and catholic in feelings; both gathered slowly but comprehended broadly and remembered tenaciously; both were bachelors living in unostentatious style; both were poetic by nature, and at times blended the imaginative and the scientific in the written thought, which seemed a union of grace and truth. Both pass from external facts into the domain of the emotional, where nature by its reflex action moves the feelings, kindles the poetic impulses, and prompts those intellectual creations of wonder, grace, beauty, and terror that pervade and overarch the whole of our natural life, as testify Greek statuary, the Gothic arch, the poetic sides of science and literature and art. But here Humboldt stops. Swedenborg passes alone into the region of faith, where appear the moral bearings and religious uses of science, where the Cosmos seems more than facts, and physical laws seem a revelation of intelligence and goodness; where philosophy and science are merged into life, where the intellect serves the moral sentiment, where the Deity is sought from his works. It is more for the spirit and aim of Swedenborg's dealing with science than for the net results that we value him, and we prefer an occasional stepping from the material to the spiritual with the Swedish seer to an abiding amid the former with the German sage.

The world divides its teachers and thinkers into two classes, the materialists and the idealists. The materialist believes in houses and lands, in external history, the senses as the sole source of

knowledge, the universe as matter regulated by fixed discoverable laws, and the ministry of material uses, such as social wants, bread, freedom from oppressive toil, as the final causes of science. But the idealist affirms that the spiritual and material import of a fact are the reverse and obverse sides of the same; that nature is symbolic as well as servile, and her facts are significant of beauty and goodness as well as of utility. He sees an intellect through the geometry of the heavens, in the harmony of chemical proportion; a supernatural ordainer in the order in the universe; a moral governor in the moral, social, and individual compensations; a divine goodness and beauty in the abundant blessings and profuse beauty of the world. Flowers reduced to their ultimate classification so as to exhibit their relation to soil and climate, and the connection between root, stem, and flower for an instructive lesson; but when, from the idealist point of view, the great teacher teaches the goodness of the Creator and the loveliness and certitude of human trust, who does not see that it is a lesson of nature transcending that of simple empiricism?

"Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass . . . shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore, take no thought, saying, What shall we eat?" etc. The words *wherefore* and *therefore* emphasize this didactic use of nature. The whole passage is one of the finest instances we know of, illustrating how the insight of the reason is a minister to the devotional, trustful feelings of the soul, and leads to a serene faith which men ever require unless they have done violence to some of the noblest aspirations of our common nature. He has firmest hold of the feelings and thoughts of the world who is a minister of the ideal and the real in common. The Mystics even are a useful class, serving higher uses than grinding corn or grading railroads, inasmuch as they give to facts and principles, which the empiricist has exhausted and left, the higher æsthetic charm, the poetic uses and moral significance, which alone will prevent this wonderful, complicated universe from appearing as a mere congeries of material forms, as a piece of godless mechanism.

Where physical nature ends Humboldt pauses. A laborious life of near a century and no rise to the higher planes of thought, no answer to the demands of a first philosophy, no heed to the immortal longings of the soul. We still wait for the Christian philosopher, the true expounder of a universe which discloses "premeditation prior to the act of creation," and which, as it contains the thoughts

of the Deity, must yield to man, created in his image, lessons of life suited to an heir of immortality.

We said that the contest between faith and science was waning. It is even so. But this has been brought about by reconciling the two, not by the triumph of one over the other. It must be the same henceforth. We have no fears of the results of any scientific investigations. All scientific truths may be wrought into the experience of a perfect life, of a life that is rounded out according to God's ultimate idea of manhood. The astronomer will resolve nebulæ, weigh worlds, and bring the starry hosts within the domain of mechanics, without regard to Scripture statements. So let him work. The geologist will examine the great stone book, and translate therefrom the records of extinct organisms, and bring to light relics and memorials and forms of bygone ages, without regard to the book of Genesis. So let him work. The chemist will analyze and recombine matter with no eye for proofs of anything outside of his sphere of labor. So let him work. The ethnologist will study the varieties of the race in the forms of the skull and facial angles, in their anatomy, color, and hair, without regard to the Scripture doctrine of the unity of the race. A Layard exhumes Nineveh without seeking to confirm Jewish history. So let them work. For in the end all the lines of separate inquiry will ray inward to the same center, will establish, explain, or illustrate Bible truths. We think the duty of the clergy as the spiritual guides of men is clear: it is to welcome the truths of science in the spirit of a genial recognition of the laborers in science, as co-workers with them to the same end, namely, the glory of the Creator and the wellbeing of the creature. For it is in nature that we trace the fresh footprints of the Deity; in nature, fluent or solid, hide his precious thoughts, and man is the interpreter of the same. The times have changed and we must change with them. About Arius and Athanasius, primitive Millenarianism and Monasticism, it is well to study in connection with Christian doctrines; but the preacher of to-day should no less con well the lessons of the telescope, the microscope, the blowpipe, and the crucible, for just here are now some of the most gifted intellects of our race working with an enthusiasm and a reward unknown before. Here too lies the conflict with the infidel tendencies of the age. The smoke of the old metaphysical battles has well-nigh rolled away. It was the ring of the geologist's hammer that recently summoned to a contest on another field, that of the physical sciences. Yet even here the oneness of nature and revelation will be so shown as to increase man's confidence in the power, wisdom, and goodness of a God who is One. The physical sciences are radiant with promises of good cheer to man.

ART. VI.—THE PARSEES.

The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion. By DOSABHOY FRAMJEE. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1858.
Parsisme. By M. MICHEL NICOLAS. Revue Germanique.
Mazdeisme. By M. HAUG. Two articles in Revue Cotemporaine.

THOUGH few in number, the Parsees possess an interest for the Christian scholar surpassing that of any Oriental nation except the chosen people of God. Under the various names of Magians, Guebres, Gebirs, and Parsees, they have maintained a distinct national existence, a peculiar national creed, and a system of religious worship, varying in a marked degree from the nations by which they were surrounded, from a period prior to the birth of Abraham to the present day.

They are not, and never have been, as a people, idolaters. No idols have ever defiled their temples, no sacrifices have ever stained their altars. They have been stigmatized for ages as fire-worshipers, but they have always indignantly repudiated the charge, and we believe with truth, except, perhaps, in the case of the most ignorant among them. They preserve indeed what they call the sacred fire in their temples, but so did the Jews. They offer no sacrifices to it, but burn incense lighted from it in their temples. Their own account of this worship is, that they regard fire and the sun as special symbols, by which Ormuzd, the supreme being, manifests his good-will and beneficence toward men, and hence they are to be regarded as sacred, but not to be considered as objects of worship, or to be addressed as existences. As a people, the Parsees have been acknowledged, even by their enemies, in all ages, to be virtuous, chaste, brave, regardful of the rights of others, and eminently good citizens.

A people who have thus maintained their integrity for four thousand years have a claim to be better known and understood by Christian nations; and it is with a satisfaction in which we are certain our readers will participate, that we present a brief sketch of their history, their religious views, and their present condition, drawn from recent works published by themselves, and from the testimony of those who have long resided among them, and whose eminent scholarship, not less than their thorough familiarity with the Parsee customs and worship, qualifies them to be competent witnesses on the subject.

The descendants of Shem who settled in Persia and Media seem

to have retained, with less admixture of error than other nations, the traditions which, through the patriarch Noah, had been preserved of the Supreme Being who had placed our first parents in Eden, and of the tempter whose machinations drove them thence. These traditions were carefully preserved by a class called MAGI, or wise men, who, though not officiating in all cases as priests, yet possessed, by common consent, an authority analogous to that of the priests of other nations. For some centuries these wise men maintained the primal traditions nearly or quite in their original purity, and through their high reputation as the guardians of the antediluvian traditions exerted a powerful influence on the adjacent nations. Long ages after the sensual inhabitants of the plain of Shinar had reared altars and offered human sacrifices to deities which personated their greed, their violence, and their lust, the grave sages of Iran adored only the holy and all-powerful Ormuzd, who made his sun to rise alike upon the evil and the good. But human nature is corrupt and prone to fall, and the time came when the Persian sages lapsed from the purity of their worship, and though perhaps never falling into absolute idolatry, yet dealt in incantations and talismans against the powers of evil, and probably even sought by some homage to avert the wrath of Ahriman, whom by this time they had exalted into a being of malignant nature, and of almost equal power with Ormuzd. Ages passed on, and the pure faith of the early Magi seemed destined to fade from the memory of the inhabitants of Iran; but at length a reformer arose, Zurtosht or Zartusht by name, (the Zoroaster of the Greeks,) and sought to restore the purity of the early Persian worship. The period of Zurtosht's career is not satisfactorily settled. Some have supposed that there were several of the name, and that the acts of these had all been attributed to one. This theory took its rise from the supposed fact that the last of the name, the Zoroaster of the Greeks, was cotemporary with Darius Hystaspes, who ascended the throne B. C. 521. This idea gained plausibility from the apparent coincidence of the name of Gushtasp (the monarch often spoken of in the fragments of Zurtosht's books still extant) with Darius's surname of Hystaspes. So strong a proof of their identity did this seem that many of the Parsees of India, whose traditions were broken by their exile, and who possess but fragments of the sacred books, had adopted it. Recent explorations in Media, however, have brought to light inscriptions and tablets which materially conflict with this view, and indicate that the Gushtasp of the Zend-Avasta was, as the internal evidence of the work itself would seem to demonstrate, a monarch of much earlier date. The portions of the Zend-Avasta to have retained, with less admixture of error than other nations, the traditions which through the patriarch Noah had been preserved of the Supreme Being who had placed our first parents in Eden, and of the tempter whose machinations drove them thence. 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The portions of the Zend Avesta now extant are addressed to a pastoral and agricultural people, not highly civilized, and not congregated in large towns; yet, for some centuries prior to the time of Darius Hystaspes, a large portion of the Persian population had been dwellers in cities, and they were among the foremost nations of the East in civilization and refinement. For these and other reasons M. Nicolas, whose article on this subject in the Revue Germanique gives evidence of profound research, is inclined to place the advent of Zurtosht 1100 years earlier, or about 1600 B. C., thus making him a cotemporary of Moses.

Zurtosht was born, according to the Persian traditions, at Rai or Raghai, in Media. His father's name was Poroshusp, and his mother's Doghdo or Daghda. An angel, it is stated by his biographers, with the true Oriental love for the supernatural, presented to Poroshusp a glass of wine, and the conception of Zurtosht followed. At his birth the counselors of the governor of the province, jealous of the honor conferred on Poroshusp by the angel, prompted their master to destroy the child, but the efforts made for this purpose failed. During the childhood of the future reformer these same malignant counselors sought his destruction many times. Once he was cast into a blazing fire, but escaped unscathed; once he was exposed in a narrow passage to be trampled to death by a herd of half-wild oxen, but they carefully turned aside; repeatedly was he thrown in the way of wolves and other wild beasts of the forest, but always was preserved from their fury.

On attaining his thirtieth year he left his native town and came with his family to the Persian capital. Here for ten years he remained in seclusion and devoted himself to the study of the earliest traditions of the Magi, and to the effort to comprehend as fully as mortal might the character and will of Ormuzd. At the expiration of this period he presented himself at the court of Gushtasp, bearing in one hand the sacred fire, and in the other a cypress twig, and demanded audience of the monarch. When the king inquired who he was and why he came thus before him, Zurtosht announced himself as the prophet of Ormuzd, who had been sent to teach him and his people the path of truth, virtue, and piety. Gushtasp and his courtiers at first ridiculed and persecuted the prophet, but the miracles he wrought convinced them, and ere long the monarch gave the weight of his influence in favor of the reformed religion, and two of his highest officers, Furshorter, his prime minister, and Jamosp, the wisest of his counselors, became its most active propagandists.

His doctrines thus received, Zurtosht desired to perpetuate them.

and brought forward as a divine revelation the fruit of his ten years' study and meditation. He gave to this collection of twenty-one volumes, which was at once a system of cosmogony, theology, doctrine, ritual, and litany, the name of Avasta; and as it was written in the Zend, the ancient language of the Persians, a language prior even to the Sanscrit, it was called the Zend-Avasta. Of this work there are now extant but three volumes, and fragments of four or five others. So far as can be judged from these portions, it would seem to have been a compilation of the earliest and most reliable traditions of the Magi, with a cosmogony and ritual of Zurtosht's own invention. His royal patron received the work as a divine revelation, and immediately took measures for its diffusion throughout his realm. Twelve thousand hides were, by his orders, converted into parchment for its transcription, and numerous scribes employed in copying it. Nor was Gushtasp's zeal satisfied with its propagation throughout his own dominions. Missionaries were sent to other lands to proclaim the doctrines of the Zend-Avasta; and before Zurtosht's death it was professed by most of the adjacent nations, and had even penetrated into India. One stout-hearted king, however, Arjasp, the ruler of Turan, opposed its introduction into his realm, and persecuted bitterly its adherents. Exasperated perhaps by his obstinacy and hostility, Zurtosht departed from his hitherto peaceful policy and persuaded his royal patron to declare war against the infidel king. The war thus commenced was protracted through many years, and victory inclined alternately to either side. At one time Arjasp won several battles, and seemed to have so nearly conquered the followers of the prophet that he made extensive preparations for a massacre of all the believers in the Zend-Avasta; but the scale soon turned, and at length thoroughly subdued, he and his people yielded to the king of Iran and professed their belief in the doctrines they had so long opposed. During this long and sanguinary war Zurtosht died, or, as some say, was murdered by the Turanians. He had reached the age of seventy-six years.

The Zend-Avasta continued to be the religious standard and oracle of the Parsees down to the time of Alexander the Great, who conquered Persia and destroyed many of the sacred books. That these doctrines were prevalent in the time of Darius the Mede (Cyaxares II.) and of Cyrus, who assumed that name, signifying the SUN, at the time of his accession to the throne, will be admitted by every attentive reader of the sacred or profane history which records the deeds of these two monarchs.

The attempt of Alexander to destroy the copies of the Zend-

Avasta in circulation among the people, that he might introduce the Greek mythology and hero-worship was followed, a century or two later, by a more persistent effort on the part of the idolatrous Arabs, who ravaged the country to obtain and burn every copy of the sacred books in existence. They succeeded but too well; for eighteen hundred years no complete copy has been known to exist; and though fragments remained, and the more pious of the Persians sought to retain and transmit by oral traditions the religion of their fathers, yet numberless corruptions had crept in, and in the first two centuries of the Christian era these monotheists of twenty centuries seemed fast lapsing into idolatry, just as the other nations of Western Asia were rousing themselves to shake it off.

It was at this period, 226 A. D., that a wise and pious prince, Ardeshir Babekan, ascended the throne, and almost at the commencement of his reign sought to restore to his country the faith of their forefathers. He assembled all the learned men and priests of the empire, more than forty thousand in number, it is said, to consult together upon the best means of restoring the ancient purity of their national religion. From this vast concourse a body of wise and learned men were selected, who chose the most eminent of their number for piety and learning, *Ardai Veraf*, to prepare a volume, which they critically examined and approved. This work, ARDAI-VERAF-NAMAH, (the revelations of Ardai Veraf,) bears a considerable general resemblance to the *Divina Commedia* of Dante. It is a vision of the future condition of men, both the good and the evil, and in its conversations presents most of the distinguishing doctrines of the Zend-Avasta. It is still extant, and though not regarded by the Parsees as one of their sacred books, has exerted a powerful influence over their religious history.

In the latter part of the seventh century of the Christian era the Parsees, defeated and overwhelmed by the Saracens, who would tolerate no faith which did not acknowledge the divine mission of Mohammed, emigrated in great numbers to India, and located themselves in Sanjan and other portions of Guzerat. Industrious and frugal, and treated with kindness by the Hindu rajahs, they became during the next seven or eight centuries a wealthy and powerful people, adhering strictly to their traditions and not adopting the Hindu idolatries or worship. Toward the close of the fifteenth century the Mohammedans undertook the subjugation of Guzerat, but found formidable enemies in the Parsees, from whose minds eight centuries had not sufficed to efface the wrongs inflicted by the followers of Islam on their ancestors. The Hindus, too, resisted the Mohammedan invaders, but in the bloody conflict which followed

the Parsees were ever in the van, and bore the brunt of the terrible slaughter with which their enemies signalized their triumphs. For a long time the contest was doubtful, but at length the Parsee leader was slain and the allied troops gave way, pursued closely in their flight by the bloodthirsty disciples of the prophet. Defeated but not discouraged, the surviving Parsees again exiled themselves from their homes and emigrated to Bombay and Surat, where they now form a large portion of the population. Mr. Framjee, one of themselves, estimates their present number at about one hundred and fifty thousand, and five or six thousand are still found in Persia. The testimony of the East India Company's officers, and the officials of the British government in India, to the high character of the Parsees for integrity, morality, and devotion to the interests of the government under which they live, is uniform. They are regarded as the best native citizens in India, and are to a very considerable extent its bankers. Within a few years past they have made decided progress in female education, and in their matrimonial laws. They have also taken religious instruction, to a considerable extent, out of the hands of the Mobedo or hereditary priests, who are generally ignorant, and confided it to intelligent and devout laymen. In liberality to every deserving object of charity the Parsees have set a noble example to Christian nations. Their wealthy men have been very generally distinguished for benevolence. One of them, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, who deceased the past year, contributed to public objects of charity more than $1,500,000, and a considerably larger amount in private acts of beneficence.

Having thus given the religious history of this remarkable people, we proceed to give a brief sketch of their theological system, and our readers will, we think, find in it not only traces of the Semitic traditions and the legends of Eden, but evidence that more than once its Magi and reformers had come in contact with the revelations of Hebrew prophets, and possibly also with the New Testament Scriptures.

The Supreme Being, creator of heaven and earth, is Ormuzd. Far back in the ages of eternity he created seven spirits who should stand before his throne, and have rule over the phenomena of nature and the subsequent creations of his hand. These seven spirits were called *Amschaspands.* Chief of them all in glory, dignity, and power, was *Ahriman;* and next to him *Bahman*, *Ardebehescht*, *Schariver*, *Stapandomad*, *Khordad*, and *Amerdad.* Ahriman, stimulated by pride and ambition, sought the throne of the universe, and failing in this rebelled, leading with him in his revolt many of the inferior spirits. Thenceforth he became the power of evil.

Next in rank to the Amschaspands came the *Izeds*, twenty-four or twenty-eight in number. These seem to have been personifications of the powers of nature favorable to man. Below these were the *Fravaschis* or *Ferusis*; angelic beings and disembodied spirits of men, and perhaps of animals also.

When Ahriman had revolted from his allegiance to the Supreme Being, Ormuzd, for his own glory, set apart a period of twelve thousand years, during which Ahriman might be free and exercise his power. This æon or cycle was divided into four sub-periods of three thousand years each: during the first of which Ormuzd reigned supreme and completed his work of creation; during the second the contest began between Ahriman and himself; in the third the two parties to the conflict were to have, apparently, equal power; and in the fourth, which is now progressing, Ahriman has for a time the predominance, but in the final struggle is to be subdued and punished.

Ahriman, like Ormuzd, has surrounded himself with six chief spirits, who are as active in plotting evil as the Amschaspands in promoting good.* Besides these, he has under his control a host of inferior malevolent spirits, to whom the general name of *Devs* or *Dævas* is given: among these the *Dronkhs* carry off the bodies of the dead, the *Yatus* are enchanters, the *Pareikas* (the *Peris* of the Persians) are maidens of wonderful beauty who entice men to evil, the *Koyas* strike their victims with blindness, and the *Karafnas* with deafness. The *Devs* seem to be the impersonation of vices, impurities, and all noxious things.

During the first period of three thousand years after the revolt of Ahriman, Ormuzd created the sky, the sun, moon, and stars. He then made the fire, the wind, and the clouds; separated the solid part of the earth from the waters, bade the mountains raise up their heads, and planted among them *Albordj*, the father of the mountains, from which the sun and moon each start on their respective journeys. He next created the vegetable world, and first *Hom*, the type of all trees. He then formed *Abudad*, the great bull, from whose blood all the living things on the earth have sprung.

By this time Ahriman was ready to enter upon the contest. He first slew *Abudad*, but his body became the germ of all animals and of the first man, *Kajamorz*. The *Devs*, at Ahriman's command, slew him also; but Ormuzd caused the plant *Reivas* to grow out of his body, and at the end of fifteen years it matured, and bore as fruit fifteen pairs of human beings, the first of whom were *Meshia* and *Meshiana*, the parents of the present race. After each act of creation Ormuzd rested and celebrated the festival *Gahunbar*.

Ahriman, finding himself foiled in his efforts to destroy the human race at the beginning, changed his tactics, and sought by his own influence and that of his *Devs* to seduce them from their allegiance to Ormuzd. In this effort he has been but too successful. Ormuzd requires of all human beings three things: *Homute*, *hookhte*, and *vuruste*, purity of speech, purity of action, and purity of thought. These requirements, to men enticed to wickedness by the temptations of the *Devs*, which fall in with the evil propensities of each, seem a hard matter, and many fall and are lost. When death comes there is a struggle for three days between the *Feruers* and the *Devs* for the possession of the deceased. At the end of that time, if the soul is pure, a fair and beautiful maiden comes and leads the disembodied spirit away to the land of the blest; but if it has yielded to the temptations of Ahriman, a hideous hag appears, who hurries it to the place of torment. At the end of the world, the bodies of the dead will be raised and united with their spirits.

At the expiration of the twelve thousand years Sosiosh or Caoshyanc, the promised redeemer, shall come, annihilate the power of the *Devs*, awaken the dead, and sit in final judgment upon spirits and men. Immediately after this the comet *Gurzscher* will be thrown down and the world will be destroyed by fire. The remains of the earth will then sink down into *Duzakh* (hell) and become, for thirty-six thousand years, a place of punishment for the wicked. The just who may be living upon the earth at the time of its destruction, will pass through this fiery ordeal unscathed, and enter upon their inheritance of blessedness in a new heaven, *Govodmone*, and a new earth, created for them by Ormuzd. At the expiration of the thirty-six thousand years, Ormuzd will have compassion on the wicked and will pardon their sins, and admit into heaven those who seek it by penitence and prayer. After a still longer period of suffering and purification, Ahriman himself, and the spirits who accompanied him in his rebellion, will give evidence of their penitence and be admitted into heaven, where they will chant the praises of Ormuzd.

The Parsee worship consists of reading portions of the Zend-Avasta, (the language of which, however, is understood by very few,) adoring the sacred fire as a symbol of Ormuzd, sprinkling themselves with consecrated water, praying to Ormuzd and the good spirits, and partaking together of bread and wine.

They are very strict in regard to ceremonial uncleanness, especially that induced by touching a dead body. The defilement resulting from this can only be removed by a long process of purification. When a Parsee dies, his body is borne at the end of three

days to the *tower of silence* (a lofty building erected on a hill or terrace) and placed on a grating near the top of the tower, which is open. The flesh is plucked from the bones by birds of prey and insects, and the bones fall after a time into a receptacle beneath, whence they are taken and placed in a suitable shrine.

A people whose religious traditions approach thus nearly to those of the ancient people of God, and among whom the feeling of the necessity of personal holiness and purity is yet a living principle, cannot be far from the kingdom of God. Their very morality may indeed, like that of the young ruler in the Gospel, for a time prevent their hearty and willing reception of salvation through Christ; but we cannot doubt that God has purposes of mercy toward a race so wonderfully preserved from idolatry, and that ere long the Parsees will be among the trophies of Immanuel, and, by their intellect, influence, and wealth, prove the most successful propagandists of Christianity among the nations of India. May he hasten the time.

ART. VII.—THE DIVINE-HUMAN PERSON OF CHRIST.

THE scope of our investigation, to harmonize with the Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ his true humanity, does not require us to demonstrate the former; we take it for granted. Nor do we consider it necessary to examine in detail the testimony of the New Testament concerning the true humanity of the Son of God. This also is granted on all sides. The impression which the Evangelists make upon us is evidently this, that the birth and life of Jesus was really and truly human. Born of a woman, in the entire helplessness of an ordinary child, he increased both in years and in wisdom. In keeping with the laws of our physical life, he felt hungry, was tired, etc. In the same manner his physical life appears as really human; he feels grief and joy, indignation and pity, etc.

It is evident that the New Testament represents Jesus both as a true man and very God; it must also be conceded that humanity and divinity are not predicated of Christ as existing in him side by side of each other, as if the humanity and the divinity in Jesus were two separable, though closely connected, constituent parts of him, or as if the God-man Jesus Christ was a compound being consisting of a God and a man. The whole New Testament speaks only of one Christ, the incarnate Son of God, the incarnate Logos that was in the beginning with God and that was God, God manifested in

the flesh. For this reason the Christian Church has at all times taught that Jesus, uniting in himself two natures, the divine and the human, was in one person very God and very man, equal to the Father according to his Godhead, like unto us according to his humanity in all things, sin excepted.

But to this union of two opposite natures in one person, such as are the divine and the human, it is objected, that it *involves not only a mystery that transcends human reason, but something self-contradictory and therefore impossible.* "God," it is said, "is eternal and infinite, man is created and finite; the Eternal One cannot be conceived as born in the course of time. Again, God is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent, while man is impotent and limited, both as to his being and knowledge. God is supremely blessed, absolutely independent, and governing all things; while man is capable of suffering and dependent. How can, then, one and the same person be eternal and created, omnipresent and finite, omnipotent and limited in power, omniscient and lacking in knowledge, uninterruptedly happy and suffering, at the same time?"

In such a juxtaposition these predicates appear indeed irreconcilable. But *supposing* the matter to be as represented, our inability to reconcile them would be no valid reason why we should doubt their union in Jesus Christ. The proofs of true divinity and true humanity in Christ are not less convincing and irrefutable, if we cannot understand the manner in which God and man are one in him. *Our very inability to understand this* HOW *forbids us to look upon the fact itself as something self-contradictory.* The historical phenomenon of Jesus Christ is rationally inexplicable, except we ascribe to him divinity proper and true humanity. We are therefore not justifiable to deny either of these predicates because we cannot comprehend the manner of their union. Even the science of mathematics must recognize a manifest contradiction in the proposition that two lines may for ever approximate toward each other without ever meeting! To purely immaterial beings, as the angels, the existence of a being that is composed of spirit and matter, that is mortal and at the same time immortal, such as man is, might possibly appear as self-contradictory as does to the skeptic the union of divinity and humanity in the person of Jesus Christ. Even to ourselves the union of body and soul is incomprehensible, and infinitely more incomprehensible is to us the Divine Being; how can we then presume to affirm that the union of divinity and humanity in one person is self-contradictory and impossible? Where is the proof that it was impossible for the eternal Son of God to have, in addition to his eternal divine form of existence, also

the human form of existence in time? where the proof that the Godman Jesus Christ cannot be, at the same time, both in time and eternity? Is it not peculiar to God's dealings to reconcile opposites? Think, for example, of the opposites, divine grace and human liberty. Why should our faith in what God has revealed and abundantly confirmed unto us be shaken, owing to our ignorance of what he has not revealed unto us? He has revealed and confirmed unto us the fact, that in Jesus Christ the Godhead dwells bodily, without explaining unto us *how* this is the case. Our concern is merely with the question, What is Christ? not with the question, How was God in the man Jesus? The answer to this question is beyond human comprehension. It is too deep for us; we cannot fathom it. There is nothing analogous by which it could be explained; it is an object of faith. The philosophy of the fact we must leave with God.

We have thus far proceeded on the supposition that the incarnation of the Son of God might really involve a contradiction that our reason cannot solve. But before we can admit this supposition it is our duty to examine closely whether the teachings of the New Testament on the incarnation of the Son of God really involve the contradiction in question, or, in other words, whether the New Testament places the attributes of divinity and humanity so side by side to each other that this contradiction results therefrom. If we should find after a close examination that this is not the case, but that the teachings of the New Testament on the person of Jesus Christ solve, or rather, do not involve the contradiction as stated above, it is certainly the duty of Christian theology to express the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel in terms which do not involve a seeming contradiction. The evangelical theology of Germany, in the struggle against the remnants of rationalism, which denies the divinity proper of Jesus Christ, has felt herself called upon to endeavor to harmonize with the divinity of the Redeemer his real humanity, or the really human development of his life which is so expressly taught by the evangelists, in order to gain thereby a proper conception of the person of the God-man. Dr. Dorner, the author of the "Entwicklungs-Geschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi,"—"History of the Development of the Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ," says on this point: "In the long conflict between Christianity and philosophy, it is a matter of congratulation that *that* point is gradually coming to be universally and distinctly understood, which is of the very first importance if the controversy is ever to be decided. All the energies of the two conflicting parties are collecting themselves more and more around the person of Christ, as the central point where the matter must be the human form of existence in time? where the proof that the Godman Jesus Christ cannot be at the same time both in time and eternity? Is it not peculiar to God's dealings to reconcile opposites? Think, for example, of the opposites, divine grace and human liberty. Why should our faith in what God has revealed and abundantly confirmed unto us be shaken, owing to our ignorance of what he has not revealed unto us? He has revealed and confirmed unto us the fact, that in Jesus Christ the Godhead dwells bodily, without explaining unto us *how* this is the case. Our concern is merely with the question, *What is Christ?* not with the question, *How was God in the man Jesus?* The answer to this question is beyond human comprehension. It is too deep for us; we cannot fathom it. There is nothing analogous by which it could be explained; it is an object of faith. The philosophy of the fact we must leave with God.

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Dr. Liebner, another theologian that has become renowned through his Christological writings, says: "The question: What do you think of Christ, whose son is he? has become again in its full force the cardinal question of theology; theologians become pre-eminently Christologians; the stone which the (theological) builders had rejected has again in reality become the corner. And there arises again for our age, with peculiar adaptedness for apologetical purposes, that grand and majestic train of Christological truths, from the center of which all is seen in true evangelical fullness and in the proper evangelical order up to the doctrine concerning the triune and only true God, and down to every question connected with Christian ethics. And what here comes to light is, to say it in a few words, the system of all systems, that system which is destined by its inalienable birthright to subdue all other systems. The ancient Church has in sanctified and gigantic speculations laid the foundation; the Church of every succeeding period, when alive to her calling, has continued her efforts in the same direction, and its completion will require the efforts of the Church to the end of

days. It is the system of the eternal divine thoughts that are laid down in the facts of Revelation, and have been actualized most distinctly in Christ, the only begotten Son, and which are reproduced by the believer, who by a living faith has received these facts within himself. We shall grow in the knowledge of Jesus Christ as *the truth*, in whom all riches of wisdom and knowledge are hid, and shall learn to understand, and show more clearly, that only those views of God, of creation, of the world, of man, of sin and grace, that have their roots in the Christological truth, are tenable and victorious; in short, that Christianity embodies all true philosophy as well as all spiritual life."

This much is, at all events, certain, that it is by no means indifferent what conceptions we form of the person of the God-man. It would also be against the fundamental principle of evangelical Protestantism to say that the Church has settled once for all, unalterably and infallibly, the terms concerning the mode of the twofold nature of the God-man, and thus made all further searching of the Scriptures on this mystery useless. When the angels desire to look into this mystery why should not we also desire it, since it concerns us much more than them? Although we can never fathom this mystery, which must forever be an object of faith, it is nevertheless our sacred duty *to learn to understand so much of it as the Scriptures enable us to know, and as we can comprehend without affecting our faith in the fact on which the mystery is based.* We find accordingly that the Church, in the very first centuries of her existence, turned her attention in this direction, and endeavored, in her confessions of faith, logically to define what she believed with the heart. What difficulties she encountered in these her endeavors, and how she labored to meet them, we shall now briefly state, or, in other words, we shall show how manifold attempts have been made to make the mystery of the incarnation intelligible to human reason and to meet the objection raised by philosophy, namely, that the union of the divine and the human in the person of the Redeemer would be something self-contradictory, and therefore impossible. In pursuing these inquiries, we would however entreat the reader to bear in mind that the fact of the incarnation is no less firmly established, even if all efforts that have been made or may be made to define the mystery in terms satisfactory to philosophy shall prove abortive. The failure of all the efforts that have thus far been made to bring the mystery within the reach of human comprehension, either proves that human reason is absolutely unable to form a proper conception of the manner in which God and man are personally united, or that on this point the Scriptures have not yet days. It is the system of the eternal divine thoughts that are laid down in the facts of Revelation and have been actualized most distinctly in Christ, the only begotten Son, and which are reproduced by the believer, who by a living faith has received these facts within himself. We shall grow in the knowledge of Jesus Christ as *the truth*, in whom all riches of wisdom and knowledge are hid, and shall learn to understand, and show more clearly, that only those views of God, of creation, of the world, of man, of sin and grace, that have their roots in the Christological truth, are tenable and victorious; in short, that Christianity embodies all true philosophy as well as all spiritual life."

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of Constantinople, A. D. 680, accordingly decreed, that there were two wills in Christ notwithstanding his personal unity, a divine and a human will, and that the human obeyed the divine (will.) During the middle ages the subject was left alone, but in the times of the Reformation the Lutherans and the Reformed started opposing views with regard to it.

Gess, in his valuable work on the Person of Christ, states and refutes the views of the two parties, as follows: "Since the Redeemer is at the same time God and man in one person, the main object of the Lutheran Church from the beginning was to view the divine and the human life as truly one, and on this was based the doctrine that the divine nature in Christ communicates its attributes to the human nature, and that on the other hand the divine nature had part in Christ's sufferings. By the *communicatio idiomatum* is meant that the omniscient, holy, omnipresent, and omnipotent Logos communicates his omniscience, holiness, omnipotence, and omnipresence to the human assumed nature, and that from the very moment of the conception. But if Jesus was born as an omniscient, holy, omnipresent, and omnipotent child, how is it then with his humanity, with his redemption by means of his active and passive obedience?"

"In order to maintain the really human development of Jesus as man beside the divine nature and works of Christ as the Logos, the Reformed theologians* said: 'As the Logos, Jesus was on earth omnipotent, absolutely holy, uninterruptedly blessed, the omnipotent, omnipresent Governor and Ruler of the universe; but as a man he passed from ignorance to knowledge, learned obedience after the manner of men, was dependent, circumscribed,' etc. Thus they divide the life of Jesus and all its functions into two parallel lines, that of the divine Logos and that of human development, saying: the two lines must be recognized in their essential, specific peculiarities, but the development of his twofold life was that of the same person, of the same Ego. But how can two so radically different kinds of life proceed from and return to the same Ego? How can the eternal self-consciousness of the Logos be also that of the infant Jesus? How the Ego of the omniscient Logos the Ego of the learning Jesus? How can the Ego of the Logos, that rests in absolute holiness in the will of the Father and in supreme happiness, be the Ego of Jesus agonizing in the garden? If we ascribe to Christ such a twofold life, it is indispensably necessary to vindicate to either kind of life an Ego corresponding to its peculiarities.

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* The Reformed view is for the most part held by the different evangelical denominations of this country.

But in this way we get instead of one Christ two Christs, and instead of the *God-man a God and a man.*"

It can really not be denied, that if the divine and the human nature in Christ, though said to constitute but one person, are so separated, that whatever the one does or suffers does not affect the other; that consequently the human nature suffers, the divine performs miracles, the one is omnipresent, the other circumscribed, and if the interchange of the predicates in the Scriptures, according to which that which belongs to one nature is ascribed to the other, is considered a mere figure of speech, such a view of the person of Christ is hardly distinguishable from Nestorianism. In the place of the real union of the Deity and humanity in one and the same person, we thus get, without being aware of it, a combination, a cooperation of two subsistences or beings, a divine and a human one, between which our view of Christ and his work must continually fluctuate, so as to ascribe the human development, the obedience and the sufferings of the God-man to the human soul or nature of the Redeemer, but the merits of his redemption to his divine nature. The New Testament does not thus set forth Christ, but declares most positively that the Ego of the Jesus on earth was identical with the Ego that was before with the Father in glory.

Since neither the Lutheran or the Reformed definitions concerning the personal union of the Logos and of the human nature in Christ are satisfactory, the attempt has been made *to make it appear as a gradual concrescence of the human and the divine nature in Christ.* According to this view the incarnation of the Logos was not a momentary act, completed in the moment of the conception, but a gradual process, and Jesus at first was nothing else than a mere human being conceived by the Holy Ghost; but by means of the perfect sinlessness and holiness of Jesus it became possible for the Logos not only to infuse into Jesus one measure after another of the fullness of his divine life, but also to become at length the very Ego in Jesus. This view is refuted by *Gess*, as follows: "Let us look at Jesus, who, according to this view, was gradually pervaded by the Logos, but was anterior to his resurrection not yet one person with him! He calls himself *the* Son of man. If the incarnation of the Logos took place in the moment of the conception, if therefore the man Jesus in his gradual self-development was the Logos in the form of human development, we easily understand this self-designation of Jesus; he was the prototype of humanity. But if Jesus was not the incarnate Logos himself, but merely a human being conceived by the Holy Ghost, with whom the Logos became gradually *one* being, he was only *a*

member, not the representative of humanity. In the next place, how is it about the value of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, if he was at the time of his death, indeed near, but not yet fully in a personal union with the Logos? It can then not be said that he offered himself through the eternal Spirit unto God, and became a priest by virtue of his endless life. (Heb. ix, 14; vii, 16.) The Logos took consequently no part in the sufferings of Christ; but what good can such a Redeemer do unto us? In the last place, if the normal development of Jesus had for its object a gradual concrescence with the Logos, why is it that we do not find the most distant intimation of it in the New Testament? Jesus speaks daily of his relation to the Father, who sent him, to whom he represents himself as being obedient, who was with him, to whom he would return, in whose glory he would come again, while he says not one word of the Logos, who, according to the view under consideration, takes possession of him, with whom he is to become, in the full sense of the term, one Spirit. Emphatically he says: 'The Father is in me and I in the Father,' but of the Logos he says no such word. Nor do the apostles anywhere intimate such a relation of Jesus to the Logos." Gess shows likewise that a gradual indwelling of the Logos in Jesus and the completion of the personal union in the resurrection, would be perfectly at variance with the positive declarations of the Scriptures concerning the Logos, such as: "I have gone forth from the Father, and come into this world." Again: "I leave this world, and go to the Father;" "Glorify me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was;" "If you shall see now the Son of man ascend to where he was before;" "God has sent forth his Son, born of a woman;" "He has emptied himself, assuming the form of a servant, born after the similitude of men." All these declarations of Christ, all these declarations of his apostles, plainly teach that the same personality or Ego, which spoke and tabernacled on earth, had had glory before in heaven, and that the same Ego, that before had glory in heaven, afterward spoke and tabernacled on earth. At first the Logos became flesh and *then* dwelt among us, (John i, 14.) What had been from the beginning, the disciples afterward beheld with their eyes and handled with their hands. (1 John i, 1.)

We see thus what difficulties beset every attempt to solve the mystery of the personal oneness of the God-man. But have not all these difficulties their origin in the supposition *that the Logos in the absolute infinitude of his being united himself with an individual man, created by the Holy Ghost, to constitute with him one personality? and is this supposition really founded on the Scriptures?* Is not rather the solution of this apparently irrecon-

cilable contradiction to be sought in what the Scriptures say of the Logos emptying himself, (Phil. ii, 6, 7;) of his laying aside the glory which he had with the Father before the world was, (John xvii, 5;) of his becoming poor, (2 Cor. viii, 9?) Do not the simple words of the evangelist, "And the Word became flesh," (John i, 14,) contain the key for the proper understanding of the personality of the God-man? Is the plain meaning of these words about this: The Logos united himself in the absolute infinitude of his being with the man Jesus, begotten by the Holy Ghost, to constitute one personality with him? or is it rather: the Logos, without giving up his divine substance—a thing that would be an impossibility—became, by assuming flesh and blood, a human being, living in a truly human form of existence and in human lowliness? In short, does the passage not clearly mean that the Logos, without giving up his divine nature, became to all intents and purposes a man? That he, who is God, from God, and in God from all eternity, entered into the sphere of time and space; that he, by an act of emptying himself, subjected himself to human development, and assumed human existence and life, human will and intuition, feeling and thinking? Does not the oneness of the divine and the human in Christ consist in this: that he, retaining his divine nature, took upon himself as an attribute the human form of existence and human condition, and in consequence thereof had human feeling, human will, and human thinking? Is not the subject of the incarnation, which is described as an act of self-emptying, the Logos himself? Does not the development of the incarnate Logos in time, his acting and suffering, take place, according to the Scriptures, in the perfect identity of this divine human being? Do the Scriptures ever distinguish between the personal-human and the personal-divine principle in Jesus? Do they ever recognize a specifically personal-human principle besides the divine principle of his personality? Do they not, on the contrary, proceed throughout on the assumption that the antemundane Logos is identical with the man Jesus on earth as a divine-human personality? Is the distinction between the human and the divine principle of personality not a mere abstract reflection, perfectly unknown to the Scriptures? Is it not rather the uniform doctrine of the Scriptures, that the two natures in Christ are so united in one person, that the human nature never excludes the divine, nor the divine the human? Is it not exactly this truth which the Church has always been anxious to proclaim and maintain, by ascribing to one person two natures, the divine and the human? And is the explanation of the personal oneness of the God-man, as indicated in those questions, not presupposed and con-

firmed by the common consciousness of the Christian Church, which knows nothing greater and nothing more precious, than that the Father gave his only-begotten Son, (John iii, 16;) that he sent him in the form of sinful flesh, born of a woman, (Rom. viii, 3; Gal. iv, 4;) that the Son of God, out of love to us, came down from heaven, (John vi, 38;) went out from the Father, (John xvi, 28;) became poor for our sake, (2 Cor. viii, 9;) emptied himself and took upon himself the form of a servant? (Phil. ii, 7.)

An affirmative answer to these questions constitutes both the basis and the aim of modern Christology, as held by most of the evangelical divines of Germany. This view is called "Kenotic," after the Greek term (*κένωσις*) used by the apostle Paul, (Phil. ii, 7,) in order to express the act of self-emptying on the part of the Son of God. Other divines, however, have been, and to a great extent still are loth to adopt this plain and natural method, from fear of either impairing the unchangeableness of the divine being, or of raising Christ's true humanity at the expense of his divinity. That great care is here necessary, and that some advocates of the *kenosis* have gone too far in developing their doctrine, will appear from what we have to say hereafter. Without any force, however, are objections like the following: "If the Son of God is viewed as having become to all intents and purposes a man, as existing fully in the human form of existence, his divine nature is thereby denied; or if the Son of God only took upon himself the attributes of human nature, without an individual human soul, he is not like unto us in being; he was only a God in a human body." This objection takes for granted what must be proved first, and is in reality aimed at the mystery itself as taught by the Scriptures. It cannot be denied that the New Testament ascribes to one and the same person true humanity and true divinity, without anywhere teaching us to ascribe the one to the Logos and the other to the man Jesus; while it is plain, on the other hand, that Jesus, as *the* Son of man, never places himself on an equal footing with other men. He was a real man, but on a different basis from that of other men.

Equally unfounded is the objection: "To assume any self-limitation on the part of God is inconsistent with the unchangeableness of the divine being!" God's immutability is that perfection of his, by virtue of which *God's will and God's nature remain in constant harmony.* Every change must, as a matter of course, be rejected that would bring God's will or nature in conflict with himself. But any act on the part of God affecting his life internally or externally, that is, in harmony with the divine will and being, is consistent with the divine immutability. To deny such acts on the

part of God is to deny the *living God himself.* A God without a motion internally or externally would be, according to the Scriptures, a nullity, a dead god, an idol. "The very idea," says Ebrard, "of God as the living one implies the possibility of a self-limitation or change of self; of course of such a change by which God continues as God, and in which he has at all times the power of asserting his infinitude. In the divine being this is possible through the Trinity. As the Triune God distinguishes himself from himself, there rests, consequently, in his being the possibility for him to distinguish himself from himself also in time; that is, to receive within himself the difference between existence within time and out of time."

That the Son of God can become a man without thereby destroying his true divinity, even the fathers of the Church taught. Tertullian says: "God can change himself into everything, and yet remain (in substance) what he is." Hilary says: "The form of God and the form of a servant can indeed not unqualifiedly become a unity, but exclude themselves rather, such as they are. But how does their union become a possibility? Answer: Only by giving up the one, the other can be assumed. But he that has emptied himself and taken upon himself the form of a servant, is therefore not a different person. *To give up a form does not imply the destruction of its substance.* Exactly in order to prevent this destruction, the act of self-emptying goes only far enough to constitute the form of a servant."

Ebrard makes the fitting comparison: "If a crown prince, in order to set others free, should go for the time being into voluntary servitude, he would be to all intents and purposes a servant; and as he has not forfeited his claims to the crown, also a prince, so that he could with propriety be called both servant and a prince: in the same manner Jesus was the true and eternal God, and at the same time a true and real man, and it can be said with propriety of him, the Son of God is man and the man Jesus Christ is God." To this is added by the author of "Die Biblische Glaubenslehre," published by the "Calwer Verein": "The same is the case with man, who, notwithstanding the various changes of his circumstances here, and the great changes which he shall undergo in the resurrection, is still the same person. We meet even in God with a change of conditions. He rested before and after he had created the world; does this not imply a self-limitation on the part of God? Again, the personality of God, what else is it than a self-comprehension of the infinite? Yet in all these self-limitations God remains God. Should then the Son not be able to remain in substance what he is, if out of compassion for fallen humanity he becomes a man, and in order to become a man lays aside his divine glory?"

This leads us then to the main question: *What have we to understand by the divine glory which the Son laid aside during his sojourn on earth?* To this question the Christologians, who adopt the kenosis, return different answers. We are met here again by the old difficulty to unite the divine and the human in one self-consciousness. The question is this: whether the self-consciousness of the God-man is mainly the divine self-consciousness of the eternal Son, or the self-consciousness of the assumed human nature. *Gess* takes the latter view, and says, that in order to do justice to the true humanity of Jesus Christ it is necessary to consistently carry out the self-emptying act of the Logos, so that the Son of God, in the act of the incarnation, laid aside the divine attributes of omnipotence and omniscience and his divine self-consciousness, and regained the latter gradually in the way of a really human development, in such a manner as not to affect the true and real divinity of Christ. Whether a temporary laying aside of the divine self-consciousness is consistent with the immutability of the divine being, we need not discuss here. The argumentation of Gess is very acute, and may appear to the metaphysician as the most consistent and satisfactory analysis of the personal union of the divine and the human in the person of Christ; but exegetically it seems to us as untenable as it is unfit for the practical edification of the Christian people, and a theology that cannot be preached intelligibly from the pulpit is justly to be suspected.

As it may however be of some interest to the reader to know in what manner *Gess*, who teaches so decidedly and uniformly the divinity proper of the Saviour, endeavors to make the suspension of the divine self-consciousness by the Logos consistent with his real divinity, we shall give his argumentation in a condensed form. He discourses as follows:

"The Logos by taking upon himself flesh and blood became a human being, that is, a being that exists in a really human form and lowliness; or in other words, the human flesh and blood, which he took upon himself, became, through this assumption, a determining power for the Logos, in the same manner as the bodily organization—apart from sin—is by the Creator's will the controlling power for the soul. The development of the soul's life is by God's appointment so conditioned by the development of the life of the body, that a certain growth of the body is required before the soul can awake into a life of consciousness and will, and as a personal soul make the bodily organization subject to the appointed laws of God. Christians profess, according to 1 John iv, 2, Jesus to be the incarnate Son of God. The Logos, who was from the beginning, has come in the flesh; that is, by assuming flesh and blood he became flesh, a truly human soul, clothed with flesh and blood.

"No human being is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent; therefore Jesus was so neither. This antemundane glory he laid aside in his incarnation. Man is in the first phase of his life not even conscious of himself; he has no

self-consciousness neither in his mother's womb, nor for some time after his birth, and attains but by degrees to feeling, and then to self-consciousness. It is true, the Scriptures do not expressly declare that the Logos laid aside his self-consciousness in his incarnation; but it is the consistent development of the Scriptural doctrine concerning the self-emptying of the Son, and the only key that unlocks the proper understanding of the real humanity of the Son, if we say that in his incarnation he laid aside also his antemundane self-consciousness in order to regain it in the ordinary way of the development of a human soul. And when he regained it in this way he had it before his resurrection only in the form of a human self-consciousness, subject to the changes which proceed from the bodily organization. In the eternal perfection of his self-consciousness in his antemundane state the Logos beheld the depths of the Deity and the life of the universe, that is, he was omniscient; in the same manner the Logos merged in eternal perfection his own being and his own will in that of his Father, that is, he was absolutely holy; but after he had determined himself to possess his self-consciousness no longer as an eternal one, but as one that is developing in the course of time, he had in consequence thereof also his knowledge of God and of the universe, as well as the merging of his being and will in that of God, in a state of development, that is, he entered into a state in which he had to *acquire* knowledge and to *learn* obedience. Besides his omniscience, he had also parted with his sovereign government of the world, or his omnipotence and his omnipresence. This must not be understood as if these attributes had been absolutely lost; by no means, since the substance of the Logos on earth was the same that it had been before, and we might say that these powers had, as it were, entered a state of rest, to which their moving cause, the self-consciousness of the Logos, had reduced them. The self-determination of the Logos, to suspend his eternal self-consciousness, and to possess it for the time of his sojourn on earth not as an eternally perfect one, but as one in a state of development, is indeed something which, from the nature of the case, must be without any analogy in the sphere of our knowledge. But is it for this reason irreconcilable with the Godhead? By no means. The mystery that the Logos determined himself to suspend his eternal self-consciousness, and thereby lay aside his omniscience, his omnipresence, and his omnipotence, finds its solution in the fact that he was no creature, but the God—Logos. A man's dependence consists not only in this, that he cannot reach a heighth of power which God has not given him, but also in this, that he cannot bring his life to a close and dip it in unconsciousness as long as God sees fit to grant him life and self-consciousness. How readily would the damned choose the state of unconsciousness or even of non-existence—but they cannot! Whoever does not produce his life cannot stop it himself. But the Logos is God; he has life in himself like the Father; the Father's life flowing over into him, which he receives by his own free act, is the basis of his life; his self-consciousness is his own deed. Therefore he can suspend his self-consciousness. The Logos would not be omnipotent if he had no power over himself. The omnipotence of God must indeed not be viewed as unqualifiedly illimited; his liberty is not arbitrariness. The limit of God's power is his holiness. He cannot do what is not holy, consequently not necessary and rational, for he cannot *will* it. But his holiness is the only limit of his power. If now God's holiness wills it that we be saved, and if the only method to effect this is the incarnation of the Logos, and if the incarnation of the Logos involves his self-determination, to have his eternal self-consciousness for the time of his sojourn upon earth no longer as an eternal one, but as one that is in a state of development, then this transition of his eternal self-consciousness into a human one that develops itself must be possible. Or should his power be less than his holy love? But it is the deed of love to become poor in order to make others rich. In this

way it wins its eternal price. In order to prove from the idea of God that this self-emptying act of the Logos is inconceivable and repugnant to the idea of God, one has to prove that this deed is not a deed of holy love. But such a proof is utterly impossible. It is true, if the Logos in becoming poor became so forever, so as to be unable hereafter to make any one rich, then this act of his to empty himself could not be a deed of holy love.

"But he regains his riches, his antemundane glory; the exalted Jesus is glorified with the same glory which the antemundane Son had. And he indeed regains it after he has revealed the name of God unto men, has stood atoning for them before God and has made himself the author of spiritual life for them, and by virtue of this communicates to them his life of glory. No one can therefore say that this miracle of the incarnation, the self-determination of the Logos to become a helpless unconscious child in Mary's womb, involves an impossibility; the nature of God, his omnipotent love, makes it possible. Nor does the transition of the Eternal One into the form of existence in time, and of the Omnipresent One entering into space, involve a contradiction. The Eternal entering the sphere of time is nothing else than the ideas of the Eternal God realizing themselves in the development of time. And as regards the transition of the Omnipresent One into space, it may be well to bear in mind that God, although he is limited by no space, could not be omnipresent if he could not be in all parts of space, and from this follows his ability, to exist in space if he sees fit to be so. Let it likewise be borne in mind that the human soul, though the breath of God and therefore above space, is notwithstanding this indissolubly united with the body as its organization, and thus far subject to the laws of space."

The Christology of Gess may be summed up in the following three theses:

"1. The Father gives unto the Son to have life in himself, as the Father has life in himself; for this reason the Son is God, and the source of life for the world. On the same foundation rest his omniscience, his omnipotent government of the world, his omnipresence. The Son, on his part, receives into himself the fullness of life. He is willing to receive it only from the Father, and to have it for the Father, and merges it in the Father; this constitutes his eternal holiness.

"2. But the Logos became flesh. He determines to suspend his eternal self-consciousness and his eternal will in order to resume it in the proper time, and in proportion to the development and strength of the bodily organism, with which he unites himself in the form of human development. From this it follows that the flowing over of the Father's fullness into the Son ceases for the time of his sojourn upon earth. Where there is no receiving there is no giving; the Son, existing in a state of unconsciousness and then in the narrow limits of self-consciousness and human will, does not receive into himself the infinite stream of the Father's life. During this period the Son lives by the Father, as the disciple of the exalted Saviour lives through the Saviour. The Father is in the Son on earth too, but the Son receives the Father's fullness into himself only wave by wave, just as the disciples can drink only by drops the life-stream of the exalted Saviour.

"3. But although the Logos has after his incarnation no longer his eternal self-consciousness nor will, yet the substance of the Logos is still the same after his having become man. The substance of our human soul, that now lives within so narrow limits, and that will hereafter live in the liberty of eternal life, is in a similar manner the same. It is this identity of the Son's substance before and after the incarnation which constitutes Christ's superiority to men and angels while he was on earth. On the other hand, the change of the divine form of self-consciousness and will into the human form of self-conscious-way it wins its eternal prize. In order to prove from the idea of God that this self-emptying act of the Logos is inconceivable and repugnant to the idea of God, one has to prove that this deed is not a deed of holy love. But such a proof is utterly impossible. It is true, if the Logos in becoming poor became so forever, so as to be unable hereafter to make any one rich, then the act of his to empty himself would not be a deed of holy love.

"But he regains his riches, his antemundane glory; the exalted Jesus is glorified with the same glory which the antemundane Son had. And he indeed regains it after he has revealed the name of God unto men, has stood atoning for them before God and has made himself the author of spiritual life for them, and by virtue of this communicates to them his life of glory. No one can therefore say that this miracle of the incarnation, the self-determination of the Logos to become a helpless unconscious child in Mary's womb, involves an impossibility; the nature of God, his omnipotent love, makes it possible. Nor does the transition of the Eternal One into the form of existence in time, and of the Omnipresent One entering into space, involve a contradiction. The Eternal entering the sphere of time is nothing else than the ideas of the Eternal God realizing themselves in the development of time. And as regards the transition of the Omnipresent One into space, it may be well to bear in mind that God, although he is limited by no space, could not be omnipresent if he could not be in all parts of space, and from this follows his ability to exist in space if he sees fit to be so. Let it likewise be borne in mind that the human soul, though the breath of God and therefore above space, is notwithstanding this indissolubly united with the body as its organization, and thus far subject to the laws of space."

The Christology of Gess may be summed up in the following three theses:

"1. *The Father gives unto the Son to have life in himself, as the Father has life in himself*; for this reason the Son is God, and the source of life for the world. On the same condition rest his omniscience, his omnipotent government of the world, his omnipresence. The Son, on his part, receives into himself the fulness of life. He is willing to receive it only from the Father, and to have it for the Father, and merges it in the Father; this constitutes his eternal holiness.

"2. But the Logos became flesh. He determines to suspend his eternal self-consciousness and his eternal will in order to resume it in the proper time, and in proportion to the development and strength of the bodily organism, with which he unites himself in the form of human development. From this it follows that the flowing over of the Father's fulness into the Son ceases for the time of his sojourn upon earth. Where there is no receiving there is no giving; the Son, existing in a state of unconsciousness and then in the narrow limits of self-consciousness and human will, does not receive into himself the infinite stream of the Father's life. During this period the Son lives by the Father, as the disciple of the exalted Saviour lives through the Saviour. The Father is in the Son on earth too, but the Son receives the Father's fulness into himself only wave by wave, just as the disciples can drink only by drops the life-stream of the exalted Saviour.

"3. But although the Logos has after his incarnation no longer his eternal self-consciousness nor will, yet the substance of the Logos is still the same after his having become man. The substance of our human soul, that now lives within so narrow limits, and that will hereafter live in the liberty of eternal life, is in a similar manner the same. It is this identity of the Son's substance before and after the incarnation which constitutes Christ's superiority to men and angels while he was on earth. On the other hand, the change of the divine form of self-consciousness and will into the human form of self-conscious-

> ness and will, and the ceasing of the overflow of the Father's fullness into the Son, as conditioned thereby, constitutes the basis on which Christ's equality with other men rests. A proper attention to these two points makes the development of the life of the incarnate Son intelligible."

The objection that the spirit being no substance at all, no distinction can be made between its substance and its activity in feeling and knowing itself, in willing, in knowing what is beyond itself and in acting thereon, is met by Gess as follows:

> " Our own experience sufficiently proves that the soul of man *exists* before it feels and knows itself, before it acts, and it is equally well known that the body is subject to diseases in which the soul suspends its activity; but as soon as the health of the body returns, the soul is again as it was before the disease. It has perhaps no remembrance whatever of the time of the disease, which proves that it was unconscious, but now its life breaks forth again. All thorough psychological study teaches likewise that the soul embodies a good deal more, both good and bad, than it is conscious of in every moment. To know and to will without a substance that knows and wills, is indeed an absurdity. For this reason there can be no worse advocate of the doctrine concerning the spirit against materialism than this idealism; for denying, as it does, the independent substance of the spirit, there is nothing left from which the spirit can be derived, as its source, except the life of the body."

But how can such a laying aside of the divine self-consciousness, as *Gess* assumes, be reconciled with the many declarations of Christ concerning himself as the Son of God, the consciousness of which fact he was not gradually gaining, but had in perfection, as the only begotten of the Father, from whom he went forth as such and came into the world, without the least intimation of an interruption or laying aside of this his dignity? If he had regained his divine self-consciousness, by means of a gradual development, in a purely human manner, how could he have spoken so positively of his antemundane glory, of his eternal divinity? how could he have said, "Before Abraham was, I am? No one ascends up to heaven except he that has come down from heaven, the Son of man, who is in heaven. Who sees me, sees the Father. As the Father has life in himself, so he has given to the Son, to have life in himself. I am the bread that came down from heaven and that giveth life unto the world."

If he had possessed the consciousness of his eternal equality with the Father only in a human form, and regained it as the result of his divine-human development, how could he have claimed equal honor with the Father? how could he have forgiven sins? Again, if he had unqualifiedly laid aside his omnipotence, those of his miracles could indeed be accounted for which he himself ascribed to the Father, but not those which he performed in his own name. How could the transfiguration of his body upon the holy mountain, which Peter calls the power and appearance of divine glory, be derived from a merely human development of his divine nature?

We conclude from all this, with *Liebner* and other Christologians, that by the glory which the Son of God laid aside during his sojourn on earth we must not understand his divine self-consciousness, not the fullness of the Deity, as far as it can manifest itself in a human manner. On the contrary it is said of this very glory: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. . . . And of his fullness have all we received grace for grace." This divine fullness the Son did not give up at his incarnation, but it followed him as his peculiar property from heaven, from out of the Father's bosom, to legitimate him as the Logos, as the only begotten of the Father, yet so that he turned it into a divine-human glory, acquired in a human manner. Only the form of God, the divine form of existence, consequently the transcendent divine majesty and sovereign power over all things united with uninterrupted glory, he had exchanged at his incarnation, and during the time of his sojourn on earth, for his human form of existence, for the form of the servant. Into this his antemundane glory however he re-entered (John xvii, 5) on his going home to his Father, (John vi, 62,) also in the capacity of the exalted Son of man, (Phil. ii, 9.) But on every stage of his divine-human development the Son's oneness of being and of will with the Father remained; and by this very fact he was in his human teaching and conduct the express image of the invisible God, the personal revealer of him who had sent him, the Son of God, in the form of human existence. According to this view the immanent relation of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost did not suffer any change by the laying aside of the divine form of existence on the part of the Son, nor during the time of his existence in human form. And only according to this view have the words of the incarnate Son of God their full force: "Believe me, that I am in the Father and the Father in me; if not, believe me for the very works' sake. The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works." John xiv, 10, 11.

If it is objected that the really human development of Jesus is inconsistent with or excluded by the uninterrupted continuance of the eternal self-consciousness of the Logos in the incarnation, we answer that this inference does not necessarily follow. There is nothing self-contradictory in the assumption that the incarnate Logos had in his one Ego the consciousness of his twofold nature. Even if we cannot explain how the Logos was conscious of himself, as the eternal Son of God, and yet had this self-consciousness only in a human form, yet *the consciousness* of his twofold nature was necessary for the *mediatorial office* of the incarnate Logos; he was

to know himself according to his absolute divinity and his human development; and if we suppose that only so much of his divine self-consciousness *as was necessary for his mediatorial office*, passed over into his human self-consciousness, this twofold self-consciousness is in perfect agreement with his purely human life and with his mediatorial office. As to the divine attributes or powers that are connected with the divine self-consciousness, there is nothing self-contradictory in the supposition that the divine Ego of the Logos acted with the powers of human nature, with human self-consciousness and human will, if we *adopt the above mentioned relative self-limitation of the divine knowledge and will as necessary for the mediatorial office*. But even if by this view of the personal oneness of the divine and the human in Christ the metaphysical difficulty should not be fully removed, we would prefer confessing the unfathomable depth of this mystery to any philosophical solution of the problem which we could not fully reconcile with the plain teachings of the word of God.

ART. VIII.—THE AMERICAN PULPIT.

Annals of the American Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the close of the Year eighteen hundred and fifty-five. With Historical Introductions. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Six volumes, 8vo. Volumes I and II, Trinitarian Congregational; III and IV, Presbyterian; V, Episcopalian; VI, Baptist. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1857–60.

THE most important result of the discovery of America was the opening of a new continent to Christianity. Worldly men interested in that discovery, whether navigators or monarchs, thought only of new fields of commerce and dominion. The Church of that period had just vitality enough to be eager for such enlargements of its territory and its revenues as might be won by the easy process of ceremonial occupation. Ambition and avarice worked freely together in the conquest of the New World, and both won bloodstained trophies of triumph in the fair lands upon which they precipitated their hordes of adventurers. Judging from the results of the Christianization which papal countries introduced into Mexico and Central and South America, it is questionable whether, in a religious point of view, those parts of the New World might not as well have been left to their original heathenism. We would not under-

rate the good which Romanism has done in abolishing human sacrifices and semi-civilizing sundry tribes of savages; but we must be allowed to deprecate in the severest terms its parody of true Christianity, its compromises with paganism, and its interdict of God's word from the regions over which it has obtained sway in America and elsewhere. Not for such results only was the New World thrown open to the Christian Church. God, in his providence, was beginning to disturb the slumbers of the dark ages. The Bible was about to be exhumed from its conventual grave, and men were about to be raised up who, by their earnest religious life, and their faithful proclamation of divine truth, were to shake the papal throne to its foundation. Room was wanted for the glorious movement—room not preoccupied by decaying nationalities, and the stumbling-blocks of semi-pagan ceremonies and debasing superstitions. At the right time such room was provided, and as years advanced it was occupied, too, in such a manner as to bring the results of a ceremonial Christianity into direct contrast with the earnest spirit and practical zeal of a preached Gospel.

In Spanish and Portuguese America there can scarcely be said to be a pulpit. Preaching desks there are in the larger churches and cathedrals, but they are only occasionally used; rarely, indeed, save on festival occasions, when they are employed more usually for eulogizing the saints than for preaching Christ. Not so in the America of the pilgrims and their descendants. Here, from the first, the pulpit has been an institution of the land and an essentiality of the Church. Ceremonies have been ignored, but the Gospel has been preached. The camp of the emigrant, the cabin of the settler, the log school-house and meeting-house, the chapel and the church, have successively been made to resound with the word of life. By the pulpit the masses of the people have been instructed, and the fruits of righteousness have appeared.

Thus, in two hundred years, has sprung up one of the fairest and most promising branches of the Christian Church. Around her altars has the gathering of the nations been. But not content with instructing the strangers that have come within her gates, the American Church has sent forth her messengers into all the world to preach the Gospel. While many of the more ancient Churches are still slumbering at their ease, and known chiefly in the history of the past, the Church of America is already making her influence powerfully felt in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the most distant oceans. This, too, is the Church of North America, while that of South America requires itself to be evangelized.

The pulpit, as the living exponent of God's word, is the grand

characteristic of American Christianity; and while it has been doing so much for our land and for the nations of the earth, numerous have become the preachers. "The Lord gave the word: great was the company of those that published it." The clergy of America have never aspired to hierarchal honors; they have never been salaried by a national treasury. They have never been the stipendiaries of ancient foundations, but, trusting to the voluntary support of an intelligent people, they have gone to their work like men of God, and he has graciously sustained them in it. The world has never known a class of men of higher intellectuality, of more generous culture, of larger benevolence, of more consistent piety, or of a more positive personal influence. Living, they make their mark upon every feature of their age; and dead, they yet speak, their works following them.

Such men are the makers of history; and though they do not figure in scenes of strife, and oftentimes their noblest deeds never challenge the public gaze, yet they live for glorious purposes, and they receive "the honor which cometh down from God." It is fitting, too, that men should honor them, and that the pulpit should have its published annals.

Jerome, in the fourth century, saw this, and wrote his celebrated work, "*De Illustribus Viris*," a book from which we have the best notices of the Christian preachers who succeeded the apostles down to the author's day. The true history of the Church must ever be largely composed of the lives and actions of Christian ministers; and treatises upon ecclesiastical history, whether ancient or modern, are usually interesting in proportion to the power and skill of their authors in displaying the characters who have moulded and influenced successive ages, together with the bearings of their individual and collective action. History, whether sacred or secular, if written without lively portraitures of character, is stiff and stately, like dull frescoes on solid walls. That which throws humanity into the foreground, and gives it life and motion, charms us like a moving panorama.

But even though we see characters moving and acting upon the historic page, it is pleasant and instructive oftentimes to contemplate them in their individual relations. Hence from the best written Grecian and Roman histories we delight to turn to the pages of Plutarch, to gaze as in a gallery upon the well-drawn portraitures of individuals; to see Cicero and Demosthenes, Pericles and Fabius, Cesar and Alexander side by side.

Biography, in whatever form it is written, must ever be the soul of history. Hence the work of Dr. Sprague, to which our attention is now directed, although primarily contemplating another design, is

one of the most generous contributions to American Church history yet made. We prefer, however, to regard its chief merit in accordance with its primary object. It was due to the memory of the fathers of the American Church that their names should be rescued from the obscurity of the past, and presented for edification and instruction to the present and future. Not less fitting was it that worthy names of the present day should be embalmed in cotemporary records, and handed down to rising generations. The inspiration of so noble an undertaking came upon the right man at the right time.

The middle of our century is a fitting *terminus adquem* for such a work. Closing at a much earlier period, it would have lacked a certain completeness which the annals have. Deferred later it would have been difficult if not impossible to secure much of the data without which no future work of the kind can ever be complete.

Dr. Sprague has now been more than forty years in active ministerial life, in circumstances which have brought him into most favorable and extensive personal acquaintance with the clergy of various denominations. From early life he has cherished a peculiar interest and manifested extraordinary diligence in the collection of autographs. This taste of itself naturally brought him into correspondence with a vast number of clerical celebrities, while his careful habits of observation and his fondness for the illustration of character have for a series of years been co-operating to accumulate a mass of data under his hand which Providence was evidently designing for some worthy end.

About fourteen years since the idea occurred to him of a work like the present. With characteristic energy, and a skill which nothing but previous and extensive practice in authorship could have qualified him to exercise, he at once set about the accomplishment of a task of the magnitude of which at that time even he himself had but a limited conception. Not content to avail himself merely of published sources of information, and wielding the pen of a "ready writer," Dr. Sprague at that time commenced a series of personal correspondence which, though far from finished, yet has probably never had its equal in the history of letters.

The plan of the "Annals of the American Pulpit" became gradually developed, and though not free from various difficulties, has been matured with large discretion. The first temptation of an author contemplating "commemorative notices of distinguished clergymen" would doubtless have been prolixity, especially in cases where abundant materials were accessible. Yet to have indulged in extended memoirs, even of extraordinary characters, would necessa-

rily either have excluded many worthy names or have rendered the work interminable. The author in this respect has hit upon a golden mean well adapted to his purpose. The Annals are indeed voluminous, but this is a necessity growing out of the great number of subjects, among whom his pages are divided with a very just equation of space. Not unfrequently the reader becomes interested to read more about a given person than the Annals contain, and at such a moment to complain of them as meager in detail. A little reflection will show that such complaint would be unreasonable, for had a volume been devoted to each character, few libraries could have aspired to embrace the entire series. The most however, that can be desired in any special case is indicated by the notes and marginal references, which specify with great care all the sources of information extant with reference to individual subjects.

The author's general plan has been to prepare from the best sources, and usually in his own language, a brief memoir of each subject, to be followed by one or more letters of personal recollection from individuals who actually knew the deceased while living. For the sake of securing this *original* testimony on the important point of character, Dr. Sprague has been willing to sacrifice some literary attractions, but he has gained greatly in positiveness and fidelity of description. He says, in his general preface:

> "The rule, in every case practicable, has been to procure from some well-known person or persons a letter or letters containing their recollections and impressions illustrative of the character; but where there has been no one living to testify, as was uniformly the case with all who died before 1770, I have availed myself of the best testimony of their cotemporaries, from funeral ser mons, obituary notices, etc., that I could obtain. And where, as in a few instances, I have not been able even to do this, I have endeavored to substitute that which seemed to me to come *nearest* to original testimony, that is, the opinion of those who, without having known the individuals, were best qualified, from peculiar circumstances, to form a correct judgment concerning them."
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> "The other characteristic feature of the work is, that it at least *claims* an exemption from denominational partiality. Though I have of course my own theological views and ecclesiastical relations, which I sacredly and gratefully cherish, I have not attempted in this work to defend them even by implication. My only aim has been to present what I supposed to be a faithful outline of the life and character of each individual without justifying or condemning the opinions they have respectively held."

In respect to the claim of impartiality, now that six volumes are before the public, it is but just, while it is faint praise, to say that the author *has succeeded.* In the language of a prominent weekly journal, "Thus far he has not only satisfied but delighted his various denominational readers." The catholicity of the Annals is admirably illustrated in the beautiful commingling of original letters

which the successive volumes contain. In those before us we find Methodists attesting excellence of character in Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists; Presbyterians in Episcopalians, and Baptists in Episcopalians and Presbyterians; while we have reason to know that in the forthcoming volume, to be devoted to Methodist biography, there will be found equally catholic epistles from brethren of other denominations. Not only clergymen but distinguished civilians and statesmen, including at least three ex-presidents of the United States, have joined in the grateful task of commemorating the virtues of deceased ministers of the Gospel.

One very remarkable characteristic of this work consists in its being composed so largely of the contributions of notable persons who have themselves died since recording their recollections of others, to aid in its completion. In 1856 the author wrote as follows:

> " Of about five hundred and forty individuals who have contributed to this work, seventy-nine are known to have deceased, and fifty-two have place in it as both contributors and subjects. Quite a number of the contributors have been between eighty and ninety years of age, six between ninety and a hundred, and one has actually completed his century. Of those who have passed ninety, four still survive, retaining almost the intellectual vigor of middle age. This host of veterans, so many of whom have gone to mingle in other scenes, have freely imparted to me their recollections of their early cotemporaries and associates, which must otherwise soon have perished, but which may now be preserved for the benefit of posterity."

Since that date the swelling flood of mortality has carried away an additional host of contributors; and should the venerable author live to complete his task, which is devoutly to be hoped, he will be able to add at its conclusion statements still more affecting.

It has been a matter of some question with us, whether to bring the work of Dr. Sprague fully to the attention of our readers at this stage, or to await the issue of the seventh volume, which will be devoted to Methodist biography. We understand that may be expected by the public near the close of the present year, and that it promises to equal in size any of its predecessors. Having some knowledge of the pains which the author is taking to do full justice to the subject, we trust that it will equal in interest any volume of the series, and that when issued it will be the more highly appreciated from a previous presentation of the connections in which it will appear.

The Annals throughout have a chronological arrangement, which, together with the historical introductions to the biographies of each denomination, secures for them many of the advantages of a consecutive history, without departing from the author's primary design.

We may here incidentally remark that the comparative age of the Churches represented in the first six volumes is indicated by the fact, that of the divines who commenced their ministry anterior to 1700, Dr. S. has commemorated five Episcopalians, three Presbyterians, three Baptists, and eighty-six Congregationalists. Sixty years, with two generations of men, had still to pass away before his first subject among the Methodists arose. Out of many hundreds of individuals commemorated in the volumes now issued, it is curious to observe how very few originated in the same place, or lived, labored, or died under the same or closely similar circumstances. While as to scenes of life and phases of character there is in the annals a never-failing variety, yet in point of religious interest there is a similarity which demonstrates a fact of unspeakable importance to any Christian heart. It is that true religion is the same wherever found, and at whatever period.

As it is our hope to render the present paper useful to the reader, we proceed to make sundry references to Dr. Sprague's volumes, together with such extracts as our space will permit, under a classification not allowed by the author's plan, but which will be found to possess some advantages of its own. Our plan will enable us to group together several classes of characters which we find included among the clergy of America. We will begin with

MISSIONARIES.

One of the finest missionary examples on record is that of good John Eliot, which, standing as it does at the very beginning of Christian efforts in America, will not soon cease to exert its happy influence upon succeeding generations, although there is a tendency of late to allow it to be thrown in the shade by the splendor of foreign missionary enterprise.

Next to Eliot in the work of evangelizing the American Indians were the missionary Mayhews, whose labors, running through three generations, extended from 1646 to 1758. Their connected history is very interesting.

Most of the New England ministers who labored in behalf of the Indians at an early day were also pastors, and preached more or less regularly to English congregations.

The next missionary character of decided interest appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was David Brainerd.

It was not till the early part of the nineteenth century that the era of modern missions dawned upon the American Church. The circumstances are stated in the notice of Adoniram Judson :

> "The result of a conference respecting foreign missions, which then took place between Messrs. Judson, Nott, Newell, Hall, Richards, and Rice, all of them theological students at the time, was, that they resolved to make known their wishes to the General Association of Massachusetts, at its next meeting in June, 1810. Judson drew up a paper setting forth their wishes, and requesting advice as to the propriety of cherishing them, and the proper means of carrying them into effect. This was the incipient step toward the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions."

Mr. Judson's adhesion to the Baptist Church, announced immediately after his arrival in India, was the occasion of the formation of a convention of the Baptist Churches of the United States for the support of missions.

From these, and other missionary societies formed soon after, a glorious company of self-denying and apostolic men and women have been sent forth to evangelize the nations.

Not the least instructive and interesting portions of Dr. Sprague's volumes are the memoirs of distinguished and faithful missionaries. We would call special attention to those of Gordon Hall, Samuel Newell, Samuel J. Mills, Jr., James Richards, Daniel Poor, Pliny Fisk, Levi Parsons, Daniel Temple, William Richards, Samuel Munson, Henry Lyman, George Dana Boardman, John Taylor Jones, Josiah Goddard, and Walter Macon Lowrie. In this honored list Congregationalists outnumber all the other denominations. Including Judson, the Baptists count four; while Presbyterians have one, and Episcopalians none.

But in reading missionary memoirs, especially, we delight to forget denominational distinctions, and feel that the devoted men who have planted the banner of the cross on the shores of India, Burmah, China, Africa, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Borneo, and the Sandwich Islands, are our own beloved brethren in Christ Jesus. If the Churches were as thoroughly imbued with missionary feeling as they ought to be, denominational prejudices would vanish. It is pleasant to hope that such happy results are rapidly approaching, and to believe that whoever may write the annals of the American pulpit for the centuries following the close of Dr. Sprague's book, will have occasion to illuminate his record with a much greater proportion of missionary narratives as well as of missionary triumphs.

CLERGYMEN OF THE OLDEN TYPE.

Here, again, the Congregationalists, as the "standing order" of New England, have a marked pre-eminence. For a time they enjoyed the prestige of an Established Church, and, Puritans though they were, right royally did they bear their prerogatives. All

the pretensions of High-Churchmen in this republican nation compare with such realities as shadow does with substance.

Among the worthies of this class deserving special note are Hancock of Massachusetts, Eaton of Maine, and the early clergy of Andover, whose stately habits are thus described by the Hon. Josiah Quincy:

> "The period was between 1760 and the Revolution, before the scepter of worldly power, which the first settlers of the colony had placed in the hands of the clergy, had been broken. The parsonage at Andover was situated about two or three hundred rods from the meeting-house, which was three stories high, of immense dimensions, far greater, I should think, than those of any meeting-houses in these anti-church-going degenerate times. It was on a hill, slightly elevated above the parsonage, so that all the flock could see the pastor as he issued from it. Before the time of service the congregation gradually assembled in early season, coming on foot or on horseback, the ladies behind their lords, or their brothers, or one another, on pillions, so that before the time of service the whole space before the meeting-house was filled with a waiting, respectful, and expecting multitude.
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> "At the moment of service the pastor issued from his mansion with the Bible and manuscript sermon under his arm, with his wife leaning on one arm, flanked by his negro man on his side, as his wife was by her negro woman, the little negroes being distributed, according to their sex, by the side of their respective parents. Then followed every other member of the family according to age and rank, making often with the family visitants somewhat of a formidable procession. As soon as it appeared, the congregation, as if moved by one spirit, began to move toward the door of the church, and before the procession reached it all were in their places. As soon as the pastor entered the Church the whole congregation rose and *stood* until the pastor was in the pulpit, and his family were seated, until which was done the whole assembly continued standing. At the close of the service the congregation stood until he and his family had left the church before any one moved toward the door. Forenoon and afternoon the same course of proceeding was had, expressive of the reverential relation in which the people acknowledged that they stood toward their clergyman."

Not with the intent of obscuring the glory of the olden time, but rather for the purpose of showing things as they were in another point of view, we might refer to a most painful example of a godly minister being sacrificed as a victim of the witchcraft delusion. Cotton Mather himself was present at the execution, riding round in the crowd, harranguing the people, not against, but in favor of the bloody deed! (See Vol. i, p. 87.)

Not a few of the American clergy of the appropriate period deserve the title of

REVOLUTIONARY HEROES.

Prominent among them was Naphtali Daggett, D. D., who was for twenty years Professor of Divinity at New Haven, and eleven years President of Yale College. Hon. Elizur Goodrich writes at once a thrilling and an amusing narrative of his attacking a detach-

ment of two thousand five hundred British troops alone, and with only his fowling-piece for a weapon!

Similar narratives of bravery, coupled with greater discretion, are given of BENJAMIN TRUMBULL, D. D., of North Haven, Connecticut; THOMAS ALLEN, the first minister of Pittsfield, Massachusetts; GEORGE DUFFIELD, of Philadelphia; JAMES CALDWELL, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, and several others. The number of chaplains of the army of the Revolution who are commemorated in these volumes is very considerable, but many ministers of influence were in positions to render greater service to the patriotic cause than those who actually joined the ranks.

DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS AND SCHOLARS.

A most interesting chapter might be compiled from the Pulpit Annals, illustrating the history and character of those American clergymen who usually, in addition to constant labor as preachers, have served as presidents of colleges and professors in collegiate or theological institutions.

It should begin with Henry Dunster, who was made the first president of Harvard in 1640, and come down to the present day. It would be found to embrace the most interesting facts in the history of nearly all the prominent institutions of learning which have sprung up in our country in connection with some of the brightest lights of the several religious denominations.

In the first class we should see, side by side, such men as Increase Mather, Witherspoon, Edwards, Whitlock, Manning, Maxcey, Dwight, Appleton, Bishop Chase, Fisk, Olin, and many others worthy of the honorable association.

In the field of general and special scholarship we should find another class of men represented by such names as Moses Stuart, Archibald Alexander, Reuel Keith, N. W. Fiske, and others. We cannot forbear to copy the following paragraphs respecting the scholastic habits of Professor Moses Stuart:

> "He was systematically and intensely laborious. No man ever practiced a more rigid economy in regard to time, and no man ever schooled himself to a more diligent and conscientious application to hard downright study. The intensity of his application was such that the physical powers could not sustain it more than four hours in the twenty-four; but these four hours came every day, and his power of accomplishment was amazing. He would write pages while a more formal man would be adjusting his spectacles and nibbing his pen. Of his daily study, not a moment of the four hours was lost in trifling, not a moment was exempt from real hard productive labor; the least possible amount of time was consumed in revising or correcting; and though he often wrote and rewrote, and wrote again, on some topics, at different periods, with seven or eight repetitions, yet it was never deliberately or easily, but always in the same impulsive, energetic, hard-working, steam-engine sort of way.

Hence the amount that he accomplished was enormous, and hence, too, all his works were better fitted for the oral instructions of the lecture-room than for the printed page pondered in the closet. His readers can never feel the kindling enthusiasm that was never wanting among his hearers.

"He was as earnest to communicate as he was to acquire. The pleasure of attaining was no greater than the pleasure of imparting; nay, he found it even 'more blessed to give than to receive.' The lecture-room was his paradise, and the circle of admiring pupils his good angels. The delight was mutual. It was thus that he inspired the same enthusiasm that he felt himself. It was wonderfully contagious."

Of scholarship in the direct work of the ministry, the Annals furnish numerous creditable examples. That of Dr. James Patriot Wilson, of Philadelphia, is conspicuous. Of him it is said:

> "Perhaps he was the only clergyman in the United States who had not only read all the Greek and Latin fathers, but who almost literally lived among them. He was perfectly familiar with them all, and knew the peculiar views of each. His fondness for this department of study had grown almost into a passion, and he was desirous that his people should reap the advantage from this kind of intercourse with the men of other ages which he thought he had received himself."

AUTHORS.

Probably no class even of literary men furnishes so large a proportion of authors as does that of the clergy. We cannot, of course, enter into even the most summary presentation of the authorship represented in the work before us. We wish to remark, however, the scrupulous care with which Dr. Sprague has given, in connection with each minister's biography, a statement of his several publications, even down to pamphlets and single sermons. By this means a clue is furnished to the entire series of any man's publications, and also to a vast amount of the floating theological literature of our country. It is worthy of observation that a very large proportion of this literature, both in the present and in past generations, bears the stamp of polemics.

PIONEERS OF CIVILIZATION.

While it cannot be doubted that the great majority of the worthy pioneers of Christianity and civilization in our rapidly developed country are not admitted to the record of distinguished clergymen in any of the denominations, yet it is pleasant to find that so useful a class of ministers has excellent representatives even in the present volume.

In reference to a few from different sections of the country, and more especially those who endured the hardships incident to planting educational institutions in frontier settlements, we might mention Dr. Wheelock, founder of Dartmouth College, who

> "In August, 1770, proceeded to Hanover, N. H., in order to make preparation for the immediate reception of his family and his pupils in the wilderness. The pine trees on a few acres had been cut down. Without nails or glass he built him a log-cabin, eighteen feet square, and directed the operations of forty or fifty laborers, who were employed in digging a well and building a house of one story for his family, and another of two stories, eighty feet long, for his scholars. As his family arrived, both these habitations were prepared. His wife and daughter lived for about a month in his hut, and his sons and students made them booths and beds of hemlock boughs. Almost immediately after they had become settled in their new habitation they experienced a precious visitation of the Holy Spirit, which was followed by extensive and permanently happy effects upon their little community. Dr. Wheelock lived to preside at eight commencements of the college, and conferred its honors on seventy-two young men, of whom thirty-nine became ministers of the Gospel."

One of Dr. Wheelock's pupils was the Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND, who became, in 1764, a missionary to the Indian tribes of Central New York, and who labored usefully among them forty years. One of the crowning labors of his life was the founding of an academy, which in due time became Hamilton College. Washington College, Tennessee, was founded under circumstances of great self-sacrifice on the part of the Rev. SAMUEL DOAK. REV. GIDEON BLACKBURN, a student of Dr. Doak, became still more celebrated for his labors and success in founding schools among the Cherokee Indians, and ultimately a theological seminary at Carlinville, Illinois. The labors of the venerable BISHOP CHASE in founding Kenyon College, at Gambier, Ohio, and subsequently Jubilee College, at Robin's Nest, Illinois, are also full of a certain melancholy interest.

COLORED PREACHERS.

It will be interesting to many to observe that among the "distinguished clergymen" of America are enumerated not less than three colored men, or those in whose veins flowed at least a large proportion of African blood. They are LEMUEL HAYNES, for many years the settled pastor of a Congregational church at West Rutland, Vt.; ANDREW MARSHALL, who was fifty years a slave, and fifty more pastor of a colored church in Savannah, Ga.; and LOTT CAREY, who was born a slave in Virginia, but who lived to be governor of the free colony of Liberia, and died universally respected and lamented as a philanthropist. The former two were of mixed blood; the latter, so far as the record shows, of pure African descent. The portraiture of each one is well drawn in the Annals.

USEFUL PASTORS.

We are obliged to confess that our search through the annals for examples of extraordinary usefulness in the pastoral office has not

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USEFUL PASTORS.

We are obliged to confess that our search through the annals for examples of extraordinary usefulness in the pastoral office has not been so amply rewarded as we could have desired. Examples of great interest and instructiveness there are. We may refer to those of Rev. A. HYDE, of Lee, Mass.; J. BUSHNELL, of Cornwall, Conn.; Dr. SPENCER, of Brooklyn, and Dr. MILNOR, of New York. That of Dr. BEDELL, of Philadelphia, is too instructive to be omitted.

> "Dr. Bedell was remarkable for his talent in keeping up a large system of parochial operations, which embraced all the best methods of promoting Christian knowledge, a devotional spirit, and benevolent effort among his people, and also in getting their means and energies into active employment in good works; he himself being present and influential at all points, the head everywhere, keeping all in just subordination, guiding all with a shepherd's voice, full of work, and yet never seeming as if he were in the least encumbered or troubled with that which came upon him daily. His spirit was always on the alert. He *enjoyed* his labors. His cares were his delight. He served as a *son*, and, in that respect, a *servant* of God. The yoke was easy because he loved the work and the Master.
>
> "He was much indebted for this ability to get through so much with so little wear of mind to his eminent habit of *order* and system. That habit appeared in all things, the smallest and the greatest. All were timed and placed, and came and went in rank and file. And a system once adopted was kept. He lost little time in passing from one occupation to the next. The connection was settled. How much time is often wasted and wear of mind incurred in our transactions in considering what we shall go at next."—*Bishop M'Ilvaine.*

Brief as is the above extract, it indicates the true elements of pastoral labor and success. They may be summed up in three words —devotion, industry, system. Without a heart-felt devotion to the work of the Lord and the welfare of his people, pastoral labor becomes intolerably irksome. With it nothing is more refreshing to the soul, however wearisome to the body. But as this is a work that never ends, even piety cannot accomplish it without industry, and industry itself will fail if developed only by impulses and without systematic and life-long perseverance.

PREACHERS AND PREACHING.

We must now pass to a principal object of the present paper, which is to show in a connected form the peculiar traits, as it respects preaching, of the leading pulpit orators of America. Such a design seems to us peculiarly appropriate to a notice of "Annals of the Pulpit." For whatever characteristics of greatness a minister of the Gospel may exhibit in collateral or subordinate relations, the sacredness of his vocation and the heaven-appointed design of his message alike demand his best efforts and his highest energies for the pulpit. The pulpit must be his throne of power. Through it he communicates face to face with dying men. Indifference in pulpit effort admits of no compensation. An opportunity of doing good by speaking forth the words of God once lost is lost forever.

Yet there are infinite diversities of pulpit gifts, and nearly equal differences of administrations, for the same spiritual result. It is extremely interesting to study the varieties of human talent as applied to this one great business of preaching. There is scarcely an object of beauty or sublimity in nature which has not its counterpart in the varied phases of human eloquence. The balmy zephyr, the rushing storm, the murmuring brook, the raging cataract, the modest violet, the stately oak, the refreshing dew, the rolling ocean, the sunlight and the darkness, each, all have their place in the gentle offices or the grand movements of the material universe. So in the world of mind God has given talents which in their appropriate action create influences as varied and yet as useful in their several spheres.

Inherently vicious therefore would be any system which should seek to recast all varieties of talent in one mould, or to reduce all preaching to a fixed and unalterable style. Nevertheless, while investigating the varieties of pulpit talent portrayed in the volumes before us, we have been not a little interested in certain points of resemblance between all the great orators of whatever denomination, and in all varieties of circumstances.

The one thing which has most excited our surprise, and at the same time confirmed our cherished theories of true pulpit eloquence, has been the discovery that even in denominations where the reading of sermons has been supposed to be the established law of custom, all the *most* distinguished and truly powerful preachers have cultivated habits of extemporaneous speech, and have accomplished their deepest impressions and largest usefulness by means of it. The prominent exhibition of this fact at this time we deem specially opportune.

Without adducing theory or labored argument on the subject, we propose to show what has been the practice of all, or nearly all of the most eloquent ministers of the four denominations represented in the Annals thus far published, not doubting that it will be confirmed by all subsequent records and investigations. Let it not be for one moment supposed that we would, by any citation or allusion, discourage ministers from writing sermons; on the other hand we commend the practice as an important means of mental discipline and of special preparation for preaching, and we doubt not that neglect of it is the prevalent fault of extemporaneous preachers. We object, however, *toto cœlo*, to a servile dependence either on manuscripts or on memorization during the delivery of sermons. The whole man, mind and body, eye, tongue, brain, and soul, needs to be in harmonious, excited, and yet regulated action as a means of

communicating thought, feeling, and purpose to an auditory as well on religious as on other subjects. All great orators find out this necessity in one way or another, and it is one of the "undesigned coincidences" of the "Annals of the American Pulpit" that from hundreds of intelligent and chiefly clerical witnesses, writing, without any concert of purpose, respecting hundreds of different subjects in all possible varieties of circumstances, there has been put upon record a mass of evidence that cannot be without great weight in settling right convictions on this important subject. We shall not be supposed to intimate that every extemporaneous speaker is or can be a great orator, but we may safely urge that every candidate for the sacred office will be profited by the study of good examples.

For the sake of producing such examples in as great numbers as possible, we omit much of comment that it would be pertinent and pleasant to make. Although some advantages might be gained by a different arrangement, yet on the whole we think it best to follow the denominational and chronological order of the Annals themselves, more especially as it will contribute to the convenience of all readers who may wish to verify our references, or in the moment of excited curiosity to learn more of the character, habits, and history of the worthy men whom we shall bring to their attention. The extracts are of necessity brief, relating chiefly to two points, the celebrity of the preacher and his manner of preaching. On these points sentences are combined at pleasure from various parts of the several notices.

TRINITARIAN CONGREGATIONAL.

JOHN DAVENPORT, 1637–1672.

Mr. Davenport was successively a graduate of Oxford, a minister of St. Stephen's Church, London, chaplain or patriarch of the colony of New Haven, and minister of the First Church, Boston.

Dr. Bacon says of him:

"Instead of being, as his weaker cotemporaries were prone to be, a slave to the technicalities of the art, he used them as easily as an expert workman uses the tools of his trade. None in a debate could better state the point in question, none could detect more promptly or expose more strikingly the fallacious statements or the inconclusive arguments of an opponent. His various stores of knowledge afforded him at need those ready and lively illustrations which are often more effective than dry argument can be.

"His sermons, as he prepared them for the pulpit, appear to have been not discourses fully written out, after the manner now adopted by the most accomplished New England preachers, but outlines, with somewhat extended sketches of the leading topics, to be completed and enlivened by the freedom and fire of extemporaneous utterance. Hence we can only very imperfectly judge of his power in the pulpit by any specimens of his preaching which have come down to us. A person who in his youth was the particular friend of Davenport the aged says, 'He was a princely preacher.'"

JOSEPH BELLAMY, D. D., 1737–1790.

Of this celebrated New England divine his biographer says:

"He adapted himself with great felicity to the state of the times; and while he resembled Whitefield in the abundance of his preaching he was not unlike him in respect to fervor and aptness, and he greatly exceeded him in discrimination and logic. Dr. Bellamy's preaching was generally from short notes, was of a remarkably discriminating character, and was alike adapted to awaken the careless, and to keep before the minds of his hearers what he regarded as the scriptural test of Christian experience. In his manner of preaching he was to be reckoned among the sons of thunder. With a prodigious voice, vivid imagination, great flow of language, and a deep sense of the importance of his message, he spoke like one having authority, and rarely failed to secure an earnest attention."

JOSEPH HUNTINGTON, D. D., 1763–1794.

"Dr. Huntington was undoubtedly one of the most popular preachers of his day. He spoke extemporaneously, seldom writing more than a skeleton, or the principal topics of his discourse."

CHARLES BACKUS, D. D., 1773–1803.

"His high reputation as a theologian procured for him invitations to occupy the theological chair in two of our colleges, Dartmouth and Yale. His sermons were well studied. He always preached with animation and power, especially when he preached extempore.

SAMUEL SPRING, D. D., 1774–1819.

According to the testimony of the late Dr. Woods, of Andover:

"Dr. Spring was powerful in the pulpit. As a preacher he was remarkable for a clear and forcible illustration of divine truth, and a faithful and unsparing application of it to his hearers. His written sermons were prepared with care and labor, and were always weighty and instructive. But his extemporaneous preaching was far more striking and powerful. It was here that he showed his superior strength to the best advantage."

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D. D., 1777–1817.

"Though he preached regularly twice on the Sabbath, while in Greenfield, it was generally from short notes; and it was his own opinion that his preaching then was more effective than when, in subsequent life, and upon a change of circumstances, he wrote out his sermons and read them as they were written."

The late Rev. N. W. Taylor, D. D., says of Dr. Dwight:

"I do not think his powers as an extempore preacher were fully appreciated. I might assign the reasons for this. But without prolonging this detail, I will only say that on some few occasions I have heard him in an off-hand speech surpassingly eloquent, far exceeding anything in himself when preaching his most eloquent written discourses."

EDWARD PAYSON, D. D., 1807–1827.

"Dr. Payson's sermons, which are already before the public, show the richness and fertility of his mind, his deep knowledge of the Scriptures and experience of the truth, his faithfulness, his happy, various, and brilliant powers of

illustration, and deeply earnest and evangelical tone of his ministry; and there is enough of feeling and emotion in the printed sermons themselves to indicate that the living man who uttered them was by no means confined to his manuscript. Their delivery must have been attended with many of those extemporaneous effusions and impulsive appeals which render the words of the living preacher so much more interesting and effective than the reading of his book."—Dr. A. Peters.

Payson himself has left on record (see his Memoirs) the conviction, that of the good done under his preaching, the most was apparently attributable to his extemporaneous lectures and addresses.

Asahel Nettleton, D. D., 1811–1844.

Few men have been more celebrated among the Congregationalists for pungency and power in the pulpit than Dr. Nettleton. Of his preaching it is said, "It was for the most part extemporaneous, though his mind had always been filled with the subject from previous study."

PRESBYTERIAN.

The number of Presbyterian clergymen whose experience and example illustrate our theory is very considerable. We may mention as worthy of notice the names of James Waddell, the blind preacher of Virginia, so graphically described by William Wirt, and James Turner, of whom Dr. Plumer says: "I would readily travel a hundred miles to hear such a sermon as either of those I heard from him. I have never seen any man sway an audience as he did. Old and young, learned and unlearned, saint and sinner, the white man and the black man, felt and owned his power."

Of the senior Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, Dr. Hall remarks: "As is often the case with the most effective preachers, no printed sermons of Dr. A.'s can give any adequate conception of the interest which belonged to their delivery, especially when he preached without a manuscript." Dr. Boardman and others make similar remarks; but by far the most full and satisfactory accounts of Dr. Alexander's habits and views of preaching are given in his life, written by his son, the late Dr. J. W. Alexander. They are worthy of special attention.

John M. Mason, D. D., 1792–1829.

The celebrated Dr. Mason, of New York, having graduated at Columbia College, pursued a course of theological study at the University of Edinburgh. His biographer says:

"One of the most important advantages which he seems to have derived from his connection with the university, was the admirable facility which he

acquired at extemporaneous speaking. . . . He ultimately attained a rank among the first extemporaneous preachers of the age."

Rev. Dr. M'Cartee gives the following recollections of Dr. Mason as a preacher:

"No mere verbal description can convey to those who never saw Dr. Mason an adequate idea of what he was as a preacher. With reference to his manner of speaking, I may state that no one was ever less indebted to the tricks of oratory for his power over his audience. Some preachers are great only on great occasions. They need some rousing question or some rare event to excite or to concentrate their energies. What Dr. Mason could do under excitements of this sort, his orations on the death of Washington and of Hamilton, and his sermon entitled 'Messiah's Throne,' sufficiently discover; but I think that he delivered discourses not less masterly and eloquent than the very best of his published ones in the ordinary course of his ministry. He told me that, in the earlier part of his ministry, his habit was to write the introduction and the application of his sermons with great care, and then to commit them perfectly to memory. But in later years (except the very last of his ministry) his numerous duties forbade his making even this kind of preparation for the pulpit; and if he had not been compelled by the importunity of friends to reduce to writing what he had already preached, some of his most admired sermons would have been lost forever.

"Toward the close of his life the failure of memory consequent upon the disease which paralyzed mind and body, obliged him to write his sermons and even to read them. It was not without a severe mental struggle that he consented to put on this ignoble yoke as he viewed it, for he had all the old Scottish prejudices against 'readers of the Gospel,' and had said as hard things about them as any one. The first time he preached for me in this way was in Spruce-street, Philadelphia, where he knew the people had an especial dislike of 'the paper.' He laid his notes on the Bible, and then said: 'My friends, I must ask your indulgence for adopting to-day a practice which through life I have condemned. I must read my sermon; the hand of God is upon me; I must bow to his will.' I need not say that the bitterest haters of 'notes' in the audience were melted, and for a time the Church was truly a Bochim."

George Addison Baxter, D.D., 1797–1841.

"When he first began to prepare for public life he suffered not a little inconvenience from an impediment in his speech; but this he overcame by accustoming himself to declaim, after the manner of the great Grecian model, with pebbles in his mouth, and in the noise of waterfalls. So completely was this difficulty removed that, in later life, one of the most remarkable things in his delivery was its perfect ease and freedom; and so far from feeling the fatigue, after preaching, of which most ministers are wont to complain, he actually found himself invigorated by that kind of effort for a journey or any other unusual exertion."

Doctor B. was for many years connected with Washington Academy, afterward College, Virginia. In 1831 he was appointed Professor of Theology in the Union Theological Seminary.

"On all sides Dr. Baxter seems to have been admitted to be a truly great man. His power of condensation was remarkable. A few words availed with him more than many with most other speakers or writers. After what has just been stated, it seems almost superflous to say that Dr. Baxter was what acquired at extemporaneous speaking. . . . He ultimately attained a rank among the first extemporaneous preachers of the age."

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"On all sides Dr. Baxter seems to have been admitted to be a truly great man. His power of condensation was remarkable. A few words studied with him more than many with those who speak or write. After what has just been stated, it seems almost superfluous to say that Dr. Baxter was what is usually termed an *extempore* preacher. He probably never had a manuscript sermon in the pulpit in his life; and in all the preaching which I ever heard from him, I never saw him with the briefest outline committed to paper. His pulpit preparations were nevertheless thorough."

JOHN BRODHEAD ROMEYN, 1798–1825.

Dr. Romeyn was made for the pulpit. All his natural tastes and mental training seemed to have peculiar reference to that sphere. As a preacher he stood eminent, in some respects "*primus inter pares*," among the great lights our city could boast at that day. His discourses in the early part of his ministry were generally written out; but in later years he was accustomed to leave large chasms in his manuscript to be filled up by the suggestions of the moment, and these extemporaneous parts of his sermon often produced the greatest effect."

HENRY KOLLOCK, D.D., 1800–1819.

"Dr. Kollock's eloquence was the unique, living expression of what he believed, approved, and felt on some great subject. His written discourses were excellent compositions, and he sometimes pronounced them with astonishing effect; but his brightest efforts of eloquence were purely extempore."—*Bishop Capers.*

At this point, for lack of space, we are compelled to omit extracts after the plan we had designed to follow, and to limit our references to a bare enumeration of names, such as those of GIDEON BLACKBURN, JAMES LAURIE, JOHN HOLT RICE, SYLVESTER LARNED, DAVID NELSON, DANIEL LYNN CARROLL, WILLIAM S. POTTS, and JAMES PATRIOT WILSON. Having noticed the scholarship of Dr. Wilson, we cannot forbear to add the following paragraph from Dr. Sprague's memoir:

"I heard him preach one sermon, and it was throughout as consecutive and condensed as the demonstration of a problem of Euclid. I am confident that I never heard another preacher who tasked my powers of attention and reflection so much. The loss of a sentence or two would have greatly marred the impression of the entire discourse. He spoke without notes and with great deliberation, but with as much correctness as if every word had been written. On a blank leaf of his copy of Henry Ware's Tract on 'Extemporaneous Preaching,' he has left the following testimony over his signature: 'I have preached twenty years, and have never written a full sermon in my life, and never read one word of a sermon from the pulpit, nor opened a note, nor committed a sentence, and have rarely wandered five minutes at a time from my mental arrangement previously made.'"

EPISCOPALIAN.

Rather singularly, as it will seem to most readers, the first name of any great celebrity in the volume devoted to the biography of Episcopal ministers is that of GEORGE WHITEFIELD. His fame as a preacher and his habits of effective extemporaneous speech are so well known that no space need here be taken to exhibit them.

In this connection may be enumerated the honored names of DEVERAUX JARRATT, JOSEPH PILMORE, RICHARD CHANNING

Moore, Bishop Henshaw, Dr. Bedell, and Dr. Reuel Keith. The example of the latter is eminently instructive:

> "As an extemporaneous preacher Dr. K. had few superiors. He often wrote his sermons in full, and delivered them with great power; but his unwritten sermons were still more acceptable, and evidently more effective. He never was willing, however, to preach without careful preparation, as he once said, when, declining to preach on the following Sunday, he was still urged to preach an extempore sermon: 'Ah! if a written sermon would do I might draw on old stores; but if you want an *extempore* sermon, I must have a *week* to get ready.
>
> "Dr. Keith stood very high as a preacher. It is the opinion of a clerical brother, who has had every opportunity and qualification for forming a sound opinion in the case, that he was the most acceptable preacher that attended the Episcopal conventions of Virginia."

The following additional statement of Dr. Keith's son, a missionary in China, should prove a great encouragement to all who encounter difficulties in acquiring the habit of extempore address:

> "His difficulty of speaking extempore in the early part of his ministry was so great that he had actually been known to give up the attempt, and sit down in silent defeat. But some of the extemporaneous efforts of his later years were, in the judgment of his friends, among the best he ever put forth."

BAPTIST.

Nearly all the great lights among the Baptists of America, as well as of England, may be named as examples of extemporaneous preachers. We take pleasure in referring to the memoirs of Samuel Stillman, James Manning, Hezekiah Smith, Thomas Baldwin, Andrew Broaddus, Jonathan Maxcey, William Staughton, also Doctors Cone, Maginnis, Tucker, Rhees, and several others.

In conclusion, on the subject of preaching—that all-important work of the Christian minister—we need only say that if examples can teach, the present and future generations of ministers need not remain uninstructed in both the principles and the practice essential to an effective proclamation of the word of God. From the examples cited, as well as similar ones that have been given in other countries and times, we think the following conclusions irresistible:

1. That habits of extemporaneous speech should be cultivated and practiced by preachers of the Gospel as the most efficient and impressive mode of addressing their fellow-men.

2. That diligent, systematic, and laborious preparation, by means both of study and writing, is quite as essential to high success in this style of preaching as in any other.

3. That every speaker should seek to develope his own peculiar gifts for sacred oratory without servile imitation of any human being.

4. That whatever natural talents or acquired graces any one may possess, he cannot expect to succeed in winning souls to Christ without the blessing of God and the constant aid of the Holy Spirit.

ART. IX.—THE APOSTLES' CREED.

In all ages of the Church great respect has been paid to the Apostles' Creed. St. Augustin calls it, "The illumination of the soul, the perfection of believers, by which the bond of infidelity is dissolved, the gate of life is opened, and the glory of faith is shown; little indeed in words, but great in mysteries; short, so as not to oppress the memory, yet comprehensive, so as to exceed the understanding. Worthily, therefore, is this Creed to be attended unto, since whatsoever is prefigured in the patriarchs, declared in the Scriptures, or foretold in the prophets concerning the blessed TRINITY and the mystery of our SAVIOUR'S incarnation, death, and crucifixion, is contained in it." By Irenæus, Tertullian, and Jerome, the Creed is styled "the rule of faith and truth."

At an early period the Apostles' Creed was called a *symbol*, and studiously concealed from the pagan world, and not revealed to the Catechumens until just before their *baptism*, or initiation into the Christian mysteries; then it was delivered to them as that secret mark or token by which the faithful in all parts of the world should know each other and be known.

We have abundant proof that the Creed was carefully kept from the knowledge of the profane and unbelieving. Cyprian assures us that "the sacrament of faith, that is, the Creed, was not to be profaned or divulged; for which he cites two texts of Scripture, the one, Proverbs xxiii, 9: 'Speak not in the ears of a fool, for he will despise the wisdom of thy words;' and the other, Matthew vii, 6: 'Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.'" St. Ambrose advises the utmost vigilance to conceal the Christian mysteries, and to be very "careful not by incautiousness to reveal the secrets of the Creed or the Lord's prayer."

With respect to the author of the Apostles' Creed, or the time of its composition, we can obtain but little satisfactory information. Its title and early tradition assign the authorship to the apostles

themselves. In the fourth century Ambrose declares that the twelve apostles, as skillful artificers, assembled together and made a key by their common advice, that is, the Creed, by which the darkness of the devil is disclosed that the light of Christ may appear." Some of the fathers allege that each member of the apostolic college inserted a particular article, and thus the Creed was divided into twelve parts. One tradition declared that Peter said, "I believe in God the Father almighty;" John, "maker of heaven and earth;" James, "and in Jesus Christ, his only son, our Lord;" Andrew, "who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;" Philip, "suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;" Thomas, "he descended into hell, the third day he rose again from the dead;" Bartholomew, "he ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father almighty;" Matthew, "from thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead;" James, the son of Alpheus, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic Church;" Simon Zelotes, "the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins;" Jude, the brother of James, "the resurrection of the body;" Matthias, "life everlasting. Amen."

This tradition cannot be true, because it was nearly four hundred years *after* CHRIST before the framing of the Creed by the apostles was heard of. It is also historically certain that several of the articles attributed to them formed no part of it during the three first centuries. These were "the descent into hell," and the "communion of saints." A venerable authority informs us that "the descent into hell" was neither in the Roman nor Oriental creeds.* "The communion of saints" was not in any creed till above four hundred years after Christ, and then not immediately received in all. The clause of "life everlasting" was omitted in several, while in others it was inserted.

Thus, although no reliance can be placed on the tradition of the apostolic authorship of the Creed, still it originated in the earlier ages of Christianity. Irenæus was born A. D. 97, and was the scholar of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and repeats a creed not much unlike the apostles'. He also declares that the Church dispersed throughout the whole world had received this faith from the apostles and their disciples. This celebrated father and bishop further says: "This faith the Church guards carefully, *as if she* dwelt in one house, believes, as if she had but one soul, and proclaims, teaches, and delivers, as if she possessed but one mouth."

The Creed doubtless obtained its distinctive title because it was universally received as the best summary of the facts and doctrines

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* **Rufinus.**

which constituted the subject of apostolic preaching. It was regarded also as requisite to be believed by all converts to Christianity, and all who took upon themselves its holy profession. So it early became the Creed of Christendom, and still continues to be. The primitive fathers took extraordinary care to conceal the Creed, keeping it from the knowledge not only of the heathen but also the catechumens. They even scrupled to commit it to writing, choosing rather to transmit the sacred articles to posterity by tradition, as they called it, the "*tradition of faith.*" Jerome asserts "that this symbol of our faith and hope, delivered by the apostles, was not written in paper and ink, but in the fleshly tables of the heart;" and another father exhorts his hearers to preserve this gift in the most inward recesses of their hearts, not to permit vile paper to depreciate this precious gift, or black ink to darken this mystery of light." There are numerous similar passages as evidence of the strange disposition to keep the Creed secret among the early Christians.

Although we do not know who were its authors, still it is evident the Creed was not the work of one man, or composed at the same moment. We presume that some of its articles were derived from the days of the apostles themselves, while others were afterward added by the primitive Church, to oppose errors and heresies that had sprung up. We know that the first apostles and evangelists who preached the Gospel in the Jewish and pagan world received converts into the Church by baptism. Then their assent to the Christian faith was demanded; and we have an example in Acts viii, after the conference between Philip and the eunuch. The latter desired to be baptized, when the evangelist told him, *that if he did believe with all his heart he might.* The eunuch replied, "that he did believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God," on which Philip baptized him, *not before.*

This apostolical confession at baptism was not at that early period committed to writing, but intrusted to the officers of every Church, to preserve undefiled, and use as the terms of Christianity and admission to their communion. Some imagine that St. Paul had this in view when he exhorted Timothy "to keep that which was committed to his trust," and "to hold fast the form of sound words." Rufinus states that in his days "the ancient custom was retained at Rome for persons to be baptized publicly to recite the Creed." Athanasius relates that those who came to the sacred laver of regeneration confessed, saying, "I believe in God the Father almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, and in the Holy Ghost." Long before either of those fathers, Justin Martyr, who was martyred about A. D. 165, assures us that "none were baptized unless

they did first declare their assent to the doctrine and faith of the Gospel."

In the apostolic ages several heresies arose in the Church, and were very detrimental to her best interests; and to prevent their fatal tendencies, as well as to hinder heretics from uniting with the orthodox Christians, the fundamental truths of the Christian faith were inserted in the Creed.

Thus did the early Christians respect and reverence the Apostles' Creed; and later, for several centuries, it was not only used at baptism, but usually read as the standard and basis of the *Christian faith*, the congregation testifying their commendation by saying, AMEN.

Timothy, Archbishop of Constantinople, about the year A. D. 521, appointed the reading of the Creed at every assembly in the Eastern Church; and the Bishop of Antioch, at the same time, also prescribed "the perpetual recital of the Creed at the public administration of divine service." Before that time, an early historian observes, "it was only repeated on the day immediately preceding Good Friday, when the catechisms were more solemnly performed in order to the celebration of baptism the Easter or the Easter-eve ensuing."

At a synod of thirty-five bishops in the Western Churches, held under Alaricus, in Languedoc, it was ordained: "On the Lord's day before Easter, the Creed should be publicly preached in the Church to the competitors, or to those of the catechumens who, being ripe for baptism, were speedily to be admitted thereunto." Still its constant reading did not become general in the West until nearly six hundred years after Christ, when all the Churches of Spain and Gallicia were instructed to repeat the Creed "with a loud voice every Lord's day, that so the true faith might be manifested and assented to, and the hearts of the people being purified by faith, they might be prepared to partake of the body and blood of Christ."

The creed here referred to was the *Nicene*, or Constantinopolitan, which for some reasons peculiar to that age was preferred to the Apostles'; still the last soon recovered its former use and value, and for ages has been esteemed the most venerable and divine. All others, with the exception of the Nicene, and that ascribed to Athanasius, have long since ceased to be used. Thus has the Apostles' Creed, in the providence of GOD, been honored of him.

"*I believe in God.*" These first words of the Apostles' Creed, expressing the *existence* of GOD, and the *unity* of the GODHEAD, lie at the foundation of everything sacred and of religion. St. Paul declares that "he that cometh unto God must *believe that he is.*"

In all the Eastern creeds the language is, "I believe in ONE GOD the Father;" and so it is with most primitive creeds, whether Latin or Greek. There is a peculiar force in the expression *one God*, in contradiction to the errors of some men who at that day wickedly opposed this vital sentiment of our holy religion, the unity of the divine essence.

These opposers could not have been the Jews, for the unity of the Godhead is everywhere inculcated in the Mosaic law. In all their captivity and dispersion, throughout hundreds of years, they have never deserted this great principle; and in their thirteen articles of faith, composed by Maimonides, the second is the "*unity of the blessed God.*" In their hymns, published as early as 1642, we find this chorus often repeated: "All creatures, both above and below, testify and witness all of them as one, that the Lord is *one* and his name ONE."

The apostles and first preachers of the Gospel carefully warned the heathen converts against *polytheism*, directing them to the belief and worship of the true and only God. St. Paul and Barnabas exhorted the Lycaonians to turn from the idolatrous worship of Jupiter and Mercury unto the living God, "who made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all things that are therein."

Heresies, doubtless, were the principal cause of the first article in the Creed. In the earliest ages of the Church there were such, and their leaders, Irenæus declares, "were all disciples and successors of that first grand heretic, Simon Magus. Among these false leaders were the *Gnostics*, professed Christians of the first and second centuries, who held two principles, the one *good* and the other *evil*. They supposed the soul to be the substance of God, but denied the divinity of Christ, saying that God only dwelt and acted within him; not unlike some fashionable Unitarians of our day. Some imagine this heresy to have arisen in the apostles' time, and that St. Paul alludes to it in 1 Tim. vi, 20: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and opposition of science falsely so called." In the dialogues of Origen, a disputant for this sect affirms "matter to be co-eternal with God;" another "that matter was co-eternal with the Lord; that it was neither born nor made, but was without beginning and end."

This doctrine would really make two gods. How false and absurd! Origen mentions another faction of the heretics, which affirm that "there were three principles: the first the good God, who was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; the second the creator of the world, and the third the devil. We doubt not that these impious doctrines may be traced to Simon Magus, for an

early writer (Epiphanius) positively declares, that the author of two eternal principles, a good and a bad one, went to Jerusalem about the days of the apostles, and there disputed with the elders about the unity of the Godhead and the creation of the world. This, doubtless, was Magus, the father of the heretics, and his blasphemy; and there was great need of inserting in the early Christian creed the belief of ONE GOD, the same divine being who was the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.

Next in the Apostles' Creed, after the existence and unity of God, follows that relation in which he stands to us as our Father, as he is also the author and origin of all being. The Gnostics, with other heretics, denied that God made the earth with its various creatures, and hence refused to attribute unto HIM this title of father. "I believe in God the Father *Almighty*," is the well-known language of the Creed, and the word almighty meets these heresies, and declares our belief in the omnipotent power and operation of God to create the world out of nothing. Neither stood HE in need of any help from angels, or any other beings, to accomplish the glorious work. The word *almighty* also signifies the immensity and omnipresence of God; his power is omnipotent, his dominion universal, and his essence infinite. Thus, when we recite this clause in the Creed, "Maker of heaven and earth," we profess our belief of these great truths, in the only eternal and supreme God, who alone created and formed all things, both visible and invisible.

The Nicene, with the more ancient Greek creeds, read, and "in one Jesus Christ;" and the Church very early inserted in the rule of faith this proper antidote against a fatal error, which separated Christ from Jesus. This heresy denied the unity of our Saviour's person, creating two distinct and different persons, not one Christ Jesus, as the Creed declares.

In the Creed, the Son of God is first described by his name Jesus, and then by his office, that he is Christ, and afterward by his divine and human nature. Jesus was a proper name, and given to others besides our Saviour. Joshua, the son of Nun, was called Jesus. In Colossians we read of "Jesus who was called Justus;" and in the Acts, "of Bar-jesus, or the son of Jesus." When we repeat the words of the Creed, "in Jesus Christ," we declare our sincere belief in *Jesus of Nazareth*, CHRIST the anointed, and *Messias*. He was called Christ from anointing, because the unction, which by a figure formerly ran upon prophets, priests, and kings, the Divine Spirit poured in perfect fullness on this King of kings, priests, and prophets. David and Christ were both anointed, the one by man and the other by the Father; in an incomprehensible

manner. The Psalmist styles it "the oil of gladness above thy fellows," and this oil was the Holy Ghost.

After our Saviour's name and office there follows in the Apostles' Creed his sonship, which expresses his divine name, nothing human or common, but divinity proper and peculiar to him, and not attributable to any other. He is the Son of the Father, and his only Son, and in such a manner as any other never was or ever can be.

Christ's sonship is a sublime and incomprehensible mystery, a divine secret. To dive into it men may pretend to learning and knowledge, but betray their presumption and ignorance. The pious and humble will not search after things too difficult and too high for human comprehension. Speaking of Christ, the prophet, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, asks, "*Who shall declare his generation?*" We shall not attempt it, but remain thankful, assured, and contented that Christ was not only man because the Son of man, but also GOD, *because the* SON of GOD.

Following the divine nature of our Saviour, there comes in the Creed his *dominion*, expressed by the title LORD, and he is frequently called by this name in the New Testament. The Scriptures, too, are filled with the declarations of Christ's dominion; his empire is universal, and his kingdom everlasting. "His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Dan. vii, 14. He is King and Lord over all.

But he is "*our Lord*," is the language of the Creed. Christ and the devil have opposing kingdoms, and this warfare is perpetual and untiring. St. John declares "that the whole world lieth in wickedness;" but our Saviour came to erect an opposite kingdom to Satan's, and invites all men to become his subjects. The formal admission into its blessed privileges was baptism, when the baptized openly renounced the rule of the evil one, submitting himself to Jesus Christ, his Lord and Governor. To this hour, converts to Christianity, at their baptism, do the same act, for there is but "one LORD, one *faith*, one *baptism*, one *God* and Father of all." Eph. iv, 5, 6.

The divine nature and godship of our Saviour having been declared, the Creed next affirms his *humanity*. He was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. By this, and the following expressions are avowed the reality and manner of his *incarnation*, that the Son of God did, for man and our salvation, become the Son of man, not disdaining to take on him the seed of Abraham, sin alone excepted.

In the apostles' as well as our days, there are those who reject

this truth of the *incarnation.* The *Corinthians* especially embraced this heresy, and allowed that our Saviour was born in the ordinary way, like other men, but denied his conception by the Holy Ghost. Corinthus, who was a kind of early Unitarian, defended this heresy, and it was the occasion, it is imagined, of St. John's writing his Gospel. The Corinthians published these doctrines even in the time of the apostles, asserting that *Jesus* and *Christ* were distinct persons—Jesus the son of Mary and Joseph, and Christ came down to dwell in *Jesus* at the time of his baptism, and left him at the time of his passion. Hence they contended that Christ did not suffer, but *Jesus* only. They also rejected the *Acts* of the Apostles and the *Epistles* of St. Paul against these fatal errors. This extraordinary way of our Saviour's conception and nativity was inserted in the Creed.

Our Saviour's passion was likewise introduced for the same object, for it was attacked by these same heretics. The sufferings and passion of Christ form so convincing an argument of his real incarnation, that it is hard to imagine how any one could withstand its force and truth. To our mind, the passion of the world's Redeemer is a most convincing argument to prove the certainty of his incarnation. That all doubt or cavils might be removed, the authors of the Creed have taken care to mention the *time* of the passion, "under Pontius Pilate." The ancient Churches were most exact on this point, for there is scarcely a creed extant that does not expressly mention our Saviour's sufferings *under* Pontius Pilate.

To the passion of our Saviour is added its particular manner—his *crucifixion.* He was nailed to the cross, and hung between the heavens and the earth in an open place, where all might see that it was Jesus of Nazareth, and not Simon the Cyrenian, as some early scoffers wickedly asserted. Our Lord was not only crucified, but he died the common death. Well might this great truth be inserted in the Apostles' Creed; for if Christ did not die, and could not die, our faith is in vain, and we cannot be saved. This belief is the well-known chief corner-stone of the blessed Gospel.

According to the universal law of nature our Saviour died, and his body was committed to the grave, destitute of motion and breath, wrapped in a linen cloth; it was laid in a tomb, secured by a stone with the seals of those who rolled it on. Thus the Lord Jesus expired on the cross, and suffered the dissolution of soul and body. By his personal endurance he can sanctify every state and condition to all his faithful members. He permitted his body,

like unto ours, to be committed to the earth, and buried in a grave, while his soul fled to the invisible world, or, as it is expressed in the next article of the Creed, "*He descended into hell.*"

This is a most noted sentence from the various interpretations that have been given to it, which are so multiplied that we cannot, in an article like the present, even enumerate them. "*Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*" is the language of the Scriptures, (Acts xi, 27;) and *εἰς ᾅδου*, in *hades*, is the Greek word rendered *hell.* In the original it means the state of *separate spirits*, or the state of the *dead.* Among the Greeks hades was a general term expressing this state; it was *Tartarus* to the *wicked* and *Elysium* to the good. Scholars are not agreed as to its true interpretation, and the article itself had no existence prior to the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, or the second General Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381. The creed of this last body was incorporated into the liturgy of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, under the name of the *Nicene Creed.* The article appears to have been *first* introduced into the Apostles' Creed of the Church of Aquileia about the year A. D. 400, but not generally adopted by the Church until the seventh century. At the Reformation the Church of England made the descent one of the articles of religion, during the reign of Edward VI., and it was re-affirmed in 1562, during the time of Elizabeth. The Churches then expounded the *descent* of our Saviour *into hell* as meaning his preaching to the spirits who were in prison, or in hell.

Among the acts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785, was one expunging from the Creed the descent of Christ into hell. That Church had not then been organized, and when the proposed omission was considered by the English bishops they ordered it to be restored. In the General Convention of 1786 these views were subject to a searching criticism, when after a warm debate the clause was reinstated. In 1789, when Bishops White and Provost were consecrated, the Book of Common Prayer was subjected to final revision, and another discussion arose concerning the *descent.* Then it was ordered to be printed in italics and between brackets, with a rubric, permitting in its stead the use of the words "He went into the place of departed spirits." In 1792, when the General Convention met again, this subject came up a third time, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to have the article expunged altogether. It was now resolved to print the Creed in all future editions of the Prayer Books, with the article inserted, not in italics and brackets as before, but with a rubric, leaving it discretionary for the Churches to use the expression or not, or to use

in its stead: "He went into the place of departed spirits." (*Journal of Convention.*)

The Methodist Episcopal Church has an interest in this investigation, for our own XXV Articles of Religion were selected by Mr. Wesley from the XXXIX of the Church of England. Thus are we nearly allied to each other by common and vital Christian principles. Calvin first proposed a metaphorical interpretation of "the descent into Hell," referring it neither to the body or the soul of Christ in the intermediate state, but to a period *antecedent* to his death. It describes figuratively his extreme mental sufferings and agony in the garden and on the cross. This view for a time was very prevalent in the Reformed Churches. The Heidelberg Catechism, published in 1563, which is the manual for the German and Dutch Reformed Churches, expresses the same view. It asks: "Why is there added 'He descended into hell?' Answer. That I may be assured and wholly comfort myself in this: that my Lord Jesus Christ, by his inexpressible anguish, pains, terrors, and hellish agonies, but especially on the cross, hath delivered me from the anguish and torments of hell." The words taken by themselves and *per se* will bear this construction of Calvin; but this cannot be their meaning in the Apostles' Creed. The connection forbids it, the clause coming *after* the burial and *before* the resurrection; doctrinally it has no scriptural basis to rest upon. Where is it said in God's word that our Saviour suffered the torments of the damned on the cross, or in the abode of lost spirits? It seems impossible to us that he could have suffered them. His sinless soul suffering remorse of conscience! that awful ingredient in the pains of the lost!

Some suppose that the descent of Christ into hell imports that *Christ descended into the place of future punishment—Gehenna.* This view prevailed extensively during the Middle Ages, connected with the doctrine of *purgatory;* but no respectable writer now advocates it as thus explained. In the Book of Common Prayer, published during the reign of Edward, A. D. 1552, the third article of religion reads: "As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into hell; for his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul, being separate from his body, remained with the spirits which were detained in prison; that is to say, in hell, and there preached unto them." The following year, in the Short Catechism, set forth by royal authority, the descent is thus explained: "Forasmuch as not only the living but the dead, were they in hell or elsewhere, they all felt the power and force of his death, to whom, lying in prison, (as Peter saith,) Christ preached,

though dead in body, yet relieved in spirit." Ten years afterward, (1562,) in a synod during the time of Elizabeth, this explanatory clause was stricken out. The precise import of Christ's descent has ever since remained an open question in the Church of England. Bishop Beveridge, in his exposition of the XXXIX Articles, advocates this extreme view, and it must be confessed that the language, construed according to its ordinary use in our day, implies two things: 1. That our Saviour, as to his human soul, went to the place of punishment. 2. This place of punishment, or hell, is situated beneath the earth. This meaning every English reader would plainly put upon it. The Saxon word *hell* doubtless was employed originally in the comprehensive sense of the Greek, *hades*, and was adopted to represent it. In the translation of the Scriptures hell is used to signify the grave, the general state of the dead, while in the New Testament it means the region of the impenitent and lost. The word has ceased to be used in the wide sense once attached to it, and is now employed specifically to designate the place of future punishment to the wicked. We need only add that the descent of Christ into hell, as thus explained, is now abandoned, and we know no careful writer who advocates this extreme opinion.

There is another interpretation of the descent of Christ into hell, and it deserves particular notice. This is the theory: there is a *third place* for departed spirits in the invisible world, and distinct from heaven and hell. The place is called *sheol* in Hebrew, in Greek *hades*, and in Latin *infernus orcus*, and situated beneath the surface or at the very center of the earth. Here the disembodied, whether good or bad, remain during the intermediate state, and enjoy comparative happiness or endure comparative misery. They will leave this temporary abode at the general resurrection, and reuniting to their former bodies, will either ascend to heaven or depart to hell (*gehenna*) according to the decisions of the final judgment. This abode has two different compartments, but separated by an impassible gulf, one called *Paradise* and Abraham's bosom, the abode of the pious; and the other *Tartarus*, *the abyss*, or *gehenna*, the place of the ungodly. Here it is alleged that the rational soul of our Saviour descended and remained in that department of *hades* occupied by the pious dead.

In recent times Bishop Horsley embraced this theory,* and Bishop Hobart advocated it in a *Dissertation on the State of the Departed*, published in 1816. "He descended," says Horsley, "to hell, properly so called, to the invisible mansion of departed spirits,

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* *Vide* Sermons, published in 1810.

and to that part of it where the souls of the faithful, when they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity." It is not our object critically to examine this theory. To those desiring such a view the following are the five passages of Scripture chiefly relied upon to sustain it: Psa. xvi, 9; Luke xxiii, 43; xvi, 23, 24; Eph. iv, 9, 10: Peter iii, 18–20. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption." Psa. xvi, 9. This is the principal passage, if not the only one, on which the article of Christ's descent into hell was originally founded. Its meaning (ᾅδης) is the only question, and in its most comprehensive sense it includes the entire domain of death. It occurs sixty-four times in the Old Testament, and in several instances is used with special reference to the locality of the body, or the *grave*, the *sepulcher.* The learned translators of our authorized version in thirty-one instances have rendered it *grave*, and in three (Num. xvi, 30, 31; Job xvii, 16) *pit.*

"The third day he rose from the dead." This is the next article in the Apostles' Creed, and its certainty is absolutely necessary to the Christian religion. Thus far we have contemplated our Redeemer in his humanity and humiliation. His glorious exaltation follows, and the Sun of righteousness now rises with brightest light and splendor. The great blessing which the Gospel promises is the remission of sins, and the certainty of the gracious assurance depended upon our Saviour's resurrection. " He was delivered for our offenses, so he was raised again for our justification." Hence St. Paul argues: " If Christ had not risen our faith is in vain; we are yet in our sins." Well may we conclude that the resurrection of Christ had a place in the Creed from the commencement of Christianity. Indeed, this was the peculiar design of the apostles' office, " to be intercessors of Christ's resurrection." In the religion of nature the belief in God is fundamental; in the religion of the Jews that Moses was a prophet, and received the law from God; and in the Christian religion the resurrection of our Saviour, is a vital principle.

After our Lord's resurrection his *ascension into heaven* follows. Upon this truth depends our future ascension to mansions of eternal happiness in the skies. This is the foundation of the Christian's hope, both sure and steadfast, that Jesus the forerunner has entered for us within the vail, but will come again and receive us, that where he is we may be also.

The place to which our Saviour ascended is said to be *heaven;* not the starry heaven, but the third heaven, the *heaven* of *heavens*, the throne of God and habitation of the Almighty. While Jesus ascended

from the midst of his gazing apostles two angels appeared and asked: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." If Jesus Christ is gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, how can the popish doctrine of *transubstantiation* be true? It is evidently untrue. His body is not upon the earth, but in *heaven,* and will continue there until he comes to judge the world. (Acts iii, 21.)

He there sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, till he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. This is another precious truth of the Apostles' Creed. St. Peter declares that Jesus Christ "is gone into heaven, and is at the right hand of God, angels, principalities, and powers being made subject unto him."

After his resurrection our Lord appeared unto his *apostles,* and in view of his ascension and exaltation to his Father's right hand, he assured them that all power would be given him, both in heaven and upon earth. "For," from that time, (John v, 22, 23,) "the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honor the Son even as they honor the Father;" that is, as their governor and judge. The Lord Jesus is now seated upon his glorious throne, where he must reign until all hostile powers are brought under his feet. (Col. i, 18.)

He is the *alpha* and the *omega,* "he that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell (*hades*) and of death." Rev. i, 18. From these and similar Scriptures we learn that the affairs of *providence* as well as *grace* are all committed into the hands of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. This power and authority he constantly exercises for his own and his Father's glory and the good of his Church; and will continue so to do until the end of the world. Then *he shall come from heaven to judge both the quick and the dead.*

This is the last particular attributed in the Apostles' Creed to the SON, and refers plainly to the day of judgment at the end of the world, when he shall come to judge all mankind, both the *quick* and the *dead.* Some of the early Churches entertained this opinion: "that by quick and dead are meant the good and the bad." *Diodorus,* Bishop of Tarsus, who lived about the year 380, says, "that by the quick and dead are signified the godly and ungodly." The true meaning, however, of this article is that all mankind, both good and bad, the dead as well as the living, at that last moment shall appear before the solemn tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then shall the *beast* and the *false prophet* be taken, and cast alive

into the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. The dominion of sin shall then be accomplished, and the *saints* take the kingdom and rule; the dead, small and great, stand up together before God. The books shall be opened, and all mankind be judged out of the things written in the books, and every one according to his works.

This will be the signal and decisive day of the LORD. The heavens shall blaze into universal conflagration; devouring fire run along their wide extended arch; the elements melt with fervent heat; this earth and all its works shall be burned up. The whole host of holy angels shall attend the coming of our Saviour; and the everlasting state of the "*quick and the dead*," all the inhabitants of our earth, shall be unalterably decided by the power and wisdom of the supreme Judge. Then shall the present heavens pass away with a great noise, every mountain and island be moved out of its place. New heavens and a new earth shall be created, wherein the righteous shall dwell in perfect happiness. Wherefore let us comfort ourselves and one another with this blissful and glorious prospect.

St. Augustine somewhere writes: "That our belief might be perfected concerning God, the Creed proceeds to add that we must also believe in the Holy Ghost." Our faith respecting GOD the *Father* and the *Son* had been already declared, now it is affirmed in the *Holy Spirit*. Article IV. of our own Church thus reads: "The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God." Such is the emphatic language of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the doctrine in the Creed has always been a vital principle of Christianity. The very form of baptism has ever been solemnized in the *name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* The Holy Ghost being joined with the Father and the Son, we can infer the equality of the sacred Trinity. There is but one faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and baptism is given in the names of all the three. No one can possibly imagine that this holy rite would be perfect if given in the name of the Father and of the Son without adding the Holy Ghost. Those converts to Christianity mentioned in the nineteenth chapter of Acts, baptized with John's baptism, and who had believed in God the Father and Christ Jesus, were again baptized, because they knew not the *Holy Ghost*. They then received the true baptism, for without the Holy Ghost the mystery of the *Trinity* was imperfect. There is much more declared in the Creed relating to the Father and the Son than concerning the Holy Ghost. This manifestly arose from the fact

that there was not in the primitive Church so much controversy about the divinity and person of the Holy Ghost. The Gnostics and other heretics were most violent in their wicked attacks against the Father and the Son, and hence the Church took greatest care of the parts most exposed and assaulted.

In the fourth century the Council of Constantinople agreed that the Holy Spirit is a divine person, and proceeded from the Father, and was equal with God. But in the ninth century it was declared that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as the Father, and this new doctrine was inserted in the Creed, and affirms what is generally supposed to be taught in the New Testament. This is the argument: The Son, being the second person in the Trinity by eternal generation, so the Holy Ghost is the third person by eternal procession from God the Father and God the Son, as from one divine essence.

It may easily be shown that the Holy Ghost is a real and distinct person in the Godhead. "For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." 1 Cor. ii, 10. "Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." 2 Cor. xiii, 14. "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, he will testify of me." These, with numerous texts of a like import, clearly prove the *personality* of the *Holy* GHOST. He is not a mere attribute of God, but a distinct person from the Father and the Son, God's messenger to convict and to sanctify the heart, and testify these truths. Then he is the successor of the Son of God in his holy mission to the Church and our world.

The same and like proof texts that establish the divinity of our Saviour establish also the divinity of the Holy Ghost. God is called the *Creator*, the Son, the *Redeemer*, and the Holy Spirit, the *Comforter;* and these three divine persons compose the TRINITY in one essential Godhead. To this sentiment the early Christians subscribed. *Basil*, commonly called the *Great*, who died in Cappadocia, A. D. 378 or 9, testifies: "Seeing by the same things that God the Father and the Son are characterized and described in Scripture, by the same things is the Holy Ghost characterized and described, it is hence gathered that the Spirit is of the same Deity with the Father." St. Augustine, in A. D. 410, declares: "For so the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost God, and all together *one* GOD." From this HOLY GHOST we derive spiritual blessings, given to the world through the mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ. He regen-

erates the soul, witnesses the believer's adoption into God's family, sanctifies his inner spiritual life, and finally, washed in the all-atoning blood, will bring him to the Lamb of God in glory, forever to

"Praise FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST!"

Following our faith in the Holy Ghost, most creeds insert the article, *The holy Catholic Church.* The most ancient used only the words holy Church; *Catholic* was afterward added by the Greeks for explanation, from whom the Latins received it, and inserted in their creed as now read, *the holy Catholic Church.* At an early period the heretics and schismatics called their congregations Churches, and against their errors, as well as to preserve the *unity* of the apostolic, universal, and true Church, the term *Catholic* was inserted in the Creed. It was not confined, like others, within certain places or provinces, but, in the quaint, striking language of a very ancient writer, "enlarged by the splendor of one faith, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof."

But what is the CHURCH? In the Episcopal Homily for Whitsunday we find this answer: "The true Church is a universal congregation of God's faithful and elect people, 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.' And it always hath these notes or marks whereby it is known: *pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments administered according to Christ's holy institution*, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline." *Ox. ed.*, p. 413. Our own excellent Confession of Faith declares: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

It is said that the word Church was taken from the Jews and applied to particular societies of believers, as in Acts viii, 1: "The Church at Jerusalem." In its Scripture sense it doubtless means the whole body of believers redeemed in every nation, who are called the Church of Jesus Christ. It is called "*visible*" to distinguish it from the *universal* Church; its members may be seen, their assemblies and worship are open and public, and it embraces that part of the militant, invisible Church still on the earth. On the contrary the *invisible* Church embraces the whole family of God, on earth or triumphant in heaven, from the beginning to the end of time.

The vital test and principle of the true Church of Christ is that "*the pure* WORD of GOD *is preached;*" and by this, and not the authority and decisions of the Church, are we to judge of her

purity and power. Romanists maintain exactly the reverse of this theory, vainly affirming that the authority of the Scriptures is derived from the Church. They declare that she has the only right to determine what is the pure word of God; and assuming this foolish absurdity, they have not only corrupted the pure word, but even maintain that of itself it is not sufficient for salvation! Therefore they boldly join the uncertain traditions of man to God's sure and unerring Scriptures. At a solemn Council of Trent, held A. D. 1416, they proceeded farther still, by placing the Apocryphal books on the same standing as the Bible. Protestant Christians claim that the Bible, without fables, tradition, or the Apocrypha, is the pure word of God, and makes this belief, with the *two* sacraments, the dividing line between themselves and the Papists.

In Christ's Church we recognize but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper; strongly resembling those of the Old Testament, circumcision and the passover, which represented Christ *as to come.* In the New the sacraments represent our Saviour as *already come*, and in both dispensations they were *signs* and *seals* of the righteousness of faith. To these sacraments of the Christian Church the Romanists have added *five* more, *confirmation*, *penance*, *extreme unction*, *ordination*, and *marriage.* With this wicked assumption they have united if possible a worse outrage, the perversion of the scriptural formula and nature of baptism with the bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of his last supper. Thus they pervert and annul his express words, by withholding the sacramental cup from the communicants. In the true Church we are invited to "*Take*, eat," and "drink ye *all* of it," and "Do this in remembrance of me." Without these essentials no Christian sacrament of the Lord's Supper can be truly and properly administered, nor any Church pure and "catholic." By baptism we are admitted into the Christian Church; and by the Lord's Supper the believer perpetually remembers the death of his Lord and Saviour, the world's Redeemer. In both sacraments the visible Church is distinguished from Pagans, Mohammedans, and Jews, Romanists and infidels. To this pure, peaceful, and holy Church, in opposition to all errors, by the grace of God, we will cleave and adhere!

The article, the *communion of saints*, in the Apostles' Creed did not originally form a part of the ante-Nicene, as was the case also with *the descent into hell.* Both of these articles have an equivocal meaning, and are liable to misapprehension, while that of the others is perspicuous and plain. It is an open question whether "the communion of saints" is a distinct, independent article of faith, or, as

some declare, an explanatory appendage to the preceding, the *holy catholic Church.* Hence, in some editions of the Book of Common Prayer it is separated from this the antecedent clause only by a comma, in others by a semicolon. Exegetically, the sense of the entire article may be thus expressed: "The holy catholic (universal) Church, which is the community of saints." Thus understood, the visible Church is declared in the Creed to be that society or body embracing the community of pious persons who substantially acknowledge the same faith, holding fellowship with one another and with Jesus Christ, their common spiritual head. If the latter clause, the *communion of saints,* be considered a distinct and separate article of the Creed, then it dogmatically or positively asserts that there exists within the visible universal Church a *spiritual* as well as an *outward* union. This, then, is the communion and fellowship of saints—a communion of kindred souls, found only among real Christians.

Of the next article, *the forgiveness of sins*, the terms are very plain and easily to be understood. "*All have sinned* and come short of the glory of God," and without the atonement of Christ all must be lost; so that sin is universal, and involves all men. This article inculcates the belief and truth that God, for the sake of Christ, will freely forgive all the sins of those who sincerely repent and believe in the Gospel. In the expositions of some early fathers upon this doctrine of the Creed, we read much about *baptismal regeneration ;* but faith alone is the condition of a sinner's justification before God. If this is the only condition of pardon, it is certain that man cannot be justified by works; "knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ." Gal. ii, 16. More fully to enforce this doctrine, the apostle adds: "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified."

The "*resurrection of the body*" from the very beginning of Christianity has been an article in the Apostles' Creed; the doctrine itself being a foundation stone upon which the whole system of Christianity rests. No truth of our holy religion is more important than this. If Christ did not rise from the grave the New Testament is a mere fable, and our sinful world still without hope. If HE did rise, the Scriptures are true, and men may look to HIM and be saved. But Christ "*was crucified, dead, and buried,*" and did truly arise again from the dead. When the apostles first went forth to convert the world, their method was "to preach *Jesus and the resurrection.*" If there should be no resurrection of the dead, this grand motive to believe the Gospel would be entirely destroyed. The apostles published this doctrine in the very place where our Saviour was

tried and crucified, and among his enemies. So powerful was the important truth among the people, that while Peter was declaring it three thousand of the Jews were converted to God, and soon after five thousand. The Jewish Council were confounded, and commanded the apostles "not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus." Infidelity cannot resist these *facts*, and these facts place Christianity on an imperishable foundation.

This doctrine, so essential to Christianity, was violently attacked by heathens and heretics in the apostles' times, and hence they also so often defended the momentous truth. When St. Paul declared it at Athens, the seat of learning and the arts, the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers "encountered" and "mocked him," "because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection." The more profane and less considerate ridiculed it, and even false Christians, as Hymeneus and Philetus, erring concerning the truth, said that the resurrection was past already, and so overthrew the faith of some.

Life everlasting, the last article of the Apostles' Creed, naturally follows *the resurrection of the body*. In the primitive creeds this was variously placed, as in St. Cyprian's "life everlasting *through the Church*," but the apostles properly expressed the doctrine at the conclusion. It is the end of our faith, the introduction of every man to his eternal place and state. The dead raised, the quick and dead having received their final sentence from the Supreme Judge, all men, good and bad, shall depart into their appointed place, there to remain during *life everlasting*. The godly shall live happy forever in eternal life, but the wicked miserably, without dying, in eternal death; or, in the impressive, solemn words of Scripture, "and they that have done good shall go into *life everlasting;* and they that have done evil into *everlasting fire*."

Life everlasting! Blessed declaration and truth! To this joyful termination of our mortal life do the doctrines of the Apostles' Creed conduct us. How beautiful the gradation! A saving belief *in God the Father Almighty—and in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord—was crucified, dead, and buried—He ascended into heaven—From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*—a belief *in the Holy Ghost—the Holy Catholic Church—the communion of saints—the forgiveness of sins—the resurrection of the body—and the life everlasting. Amen.*

ART. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—THE MAY ANNIVERSARIES of all the great religious and philanthropic societies of England have been again attended with the usual success. No observer will deny that the interest of all Great Britain in these multitudinous forces that are ceaselessly operating for the reformation and exaltation of humanity is steadily growing. Their influence already pervades and ameliorates the world, and promises the greatest results for the future. A number of societies, as the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, reported an income considerably exceeding that of any preceding year. A novel and noticeable feature of the last months is THE MISSIONARY CONFERENCE OF LIVERPOOL, held on March 19th and following days. A large number of missionaries from all parts of the foreign field, and representing nearly all the different evangelical bodies, attended; a spirit of love and union was largely manifested throughout the proceedings, and all parted with the hope that the impetus communicated at those gatherings would be felt at the remotest missionary station. The upper house of THE CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY at its last meeting (Feb. 14) agreed, after long discussion, to an address to the queen, that she would grant her "royal license to allow the convocation of Canterbury to alter and amend the canon whereby fathers are prevented from acting as godfathers to their children." The Bishop of Lincoln adduced as an argument, that children were now often baptized by Wesleyan ministers, who require no sponsors, in consequence of the difficulty experienced in inducing persons to stand as godfathers and godmothers; and the Bishop of Oxford, who exhibits an unceasing activity in giving new life to existing ecclesiastical forms, availed himself of the opportunity to urge the question whether a body like the Church of England ought to be suffered to go on with a code of dead and obsolete canons like the present. He suggested that the bishops should combine to draw up a valuable body of canons, as "this was quite a different thing from altering the Liturgy and Articles, and did not involve any questions of doctrine." The Lower House was chiefly engaged with recording conservative resolutions and protesting against innovations, such as the revision of the Liturgy. The movement respecting the latter question may be considered for the present to have failed, as about ten thousand clergymen have signed a declaration stating that alterations could not be made without great danger to the peace and unity of the Church. THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL SYNOD has at last decided the case of Bishop Forbes, of Brechin. The bishop was accused by a clergyman of his diocese of teaching, in a charge delivered to his clergy on the fifth of August, 1857, doctrines contrary and repugnant to the articles of religion, and certain parts of the formularies for public worship used in the Scottish Episcopal Church, in so far as he taught, (1.) That, "the Eucharist Sacrifice is the same substantially with that of the cross." (2.) That "supreme adoration is due to the body and blood of Christ mysteriously present in the gifts," and that "the worship is due not to the gifts, but to Christ in the gifts." (3.) "That in some sense the wicked do receive Christ indeed to their condemnation and loss." The case came before the synod on February 7th and the following days, when the bishop most emphatically avowed his belief in consubstantiation, and pleaded that the presenters were bound to show that the passages complained of were subversive of the literal and grammatical sense of the articles, formularies, or offices of the Church. On March 14th the synod made known its decision. The bishop was admonished, and warned to be more careful in future. THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT continues, though with less of outward excitement, in different parts of the country. It is, in particular, progressing among the fishing population of the coast of Scotland, and among the lowest population of the large towns, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The special difference, if it may be so called, between the appearances in England and those in other parts of the kingdom is, that in Scotland and Ireland the revival is confined to localities and classes, while in England the work is pretty generally diffused, and prostrations, shrieks, and other tokens of excitement have hardly made their appearance.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE POPE has yielded more in Ireland than was generally expected. In Cork one Church responded to the appeal of the bishop by collecting one thousand pounds in hard money before the meeting broke up. Similar results are reported of other Churches in the large cities. It is considered certain that the total of the Irish contributions will not fall short of twenty thousand pounds. In London an account has been opened at the London Joint Stock Bank for the receipts of "offerings for the Pope." The committee of this fund consists of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Petre, Lord Fielding, the Hon. Charles Langdale, Sir John Acton, etc.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS is not yet at an end. The decree of January 16, that all congregations, which would not adopt the Imperial Patent until the end of March would forfeit their rights and claims as congregations, has not had the desired effect. In the Church of the Helvetic Confession (Calvinistic Church) at least, a vast majority of all the congregations still continued, in May, to refuse compliance with the demands of government. The Church of the Augsburg Confession (Lutheran Church) has not shown itself quite so inflexible, as a majority of congregations have wholly or partially accepted the new constitution. This attitude of the Lutherans is partly owing to the influence of the German Protestant press, which continues, almost unanimously, to advise the acceptance of the Patent as the most expedient course under the present circumstances. It has been observed that the Magyar element of this Hungarian population acts as the leader in the opposition to the government, while the Germans of Hungary are divided, and the Sclavonians side mostly with the government. The Protestants of the German provinces generally desire a constitution similar to the one offered to the Hungarians, as they think that it would be a considerable amelioration of their present oppressed condition. It is therefore likely that they will make no opposition to a similar patent regulating their Church affairs, which has already been announced as soon forthcoming. But to whatever issue the constitutional controversy may be brought, it is a cheering certainty that Austrian Protestantism is awakening to a new life, and already in the midst of a vigorous development. It no longer stands aloof from the great movements agitating the Protestant world, but begins to take an active part in them. Voluntary associations, formerly unknown, are multiplying, and the religious press increases both in number and in influence, and Churches are established in districts where Protestantism has been entirely unknown for about two hundred years, and numerous converts are constantly received from the Roman Church. In Prussia a long expected decree concerning the ELECTION OF PRESBYTERIES or LOCAL CHURCH COUNCILS in all the congregations of the eastern provinces which are as yet without them, was issued on Feb. 27. It is hoped that the establishment of local presbyteries will soon be followed by provisions for the convocation of diocesan and general synods. THE TERCENTENARY COMMEMORATION OF THE DEATH OF MELANCTHON was celebrated on April 17 by all the Protestant Churches of Germany with great solemnity. As "Master Philippus" (thus Luther used to call his familiar friend) frequently knew, during his lifetime, how to mediate a reconciliation or a truce between diverging parties, thus the tercentenary of his death served as an armistice for all the theological parties of modern Germany, and the representatives of all assembled around his tomb in peaceful harmony. THE HIGH CHURCH LUTHERANS have had many opportunities to sympathize with the misfortunes of their leaders. In Berlin, Professor Hengstenberg has been condemned to a fine of thirty thalers, or to fourteen days' imprisonment, as well as the payment of the bail of 2,500 thalers and the establishment of the stamp duty, for having discussed political and social questions in his "*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*," without having paid the securities and stamp dues to which political papers are subject according to law. In this case it is, however, not only the friends and admirers of Hengstenberg who hope that his appeal to the Supreme Court may be successful, for a confirmation of the sentence would endanger the freedom of the whole ecclesiastical press of Prussia in the most serious manner. In Hesse-Cassel the High Church portion of the Lutheran clergy have tested their strength by means of an address of sympathy to their gifted leader, Professor Vilmar, of Marburg, who had been found guilty of having defamed his colleagues in the the-

ological faculty. The address has received one hundred and forty-six signatures.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Bishops of Prussia have followed the example of those of France in establishing the old ecclesiastical custom of holding Provincial Councils. For longer than a hundred years the Provincial Councils have been in desuetude in all Germany, although the Council of Trent ordered them to be held every third year, and the Roman Catholics, of course, regard this circumstance as a sign of the reviving strength of their Church. This first council takes place for the Ecclesiastical Province of Cologne, and will be attended by the Archbishop of Cologne, and his suffragans the Bishops of Treves, Munster, and Paderborn, besides whom also the Bishops of Breslau, Osnabruck, and Hildesheim, (the two latter from the kingdom of Hanover) will be present. As is usual at these councils, there will be present, also, deputies from the Cathedral Chapters, from the University, (of Bonn,) from the Theological Seminaries, and the provincials of all the monastic orders. The latter have considerably increased in Prussia since 1848; then only one order, the Franciscans, were tolerated, while now, besides them, the Jesuits, Redemptionists, Lazarists, Dominicans, and Capuchins will be represented. The Concordat with Baden has been defeated, as was expected, in the Second Chamber of the Grandduchy with 45 against 15 votes, and immediately after the Grand Duke has dismissed those members of the ministry who were the chief advocates of the concordat, and appointed in their place the leaders of the opposition. After the example of Baden, the Second Chamber of Nassau has declared itself, with all except five votes, against the conclusion of a concordat. On the other hand, however, the friends of state churchism begin to see that the former relation of the established Churches to the state has become untenable, and that the spirit of the times demands at least freedom of the Churches in all internal affairs.

FRANCE.

The Protestant Churches.—Fresh Attacks upon the Religious Liberty of Protestants have repeatedly been made. The Minister of Public Worship has addressed a circular to the consistories of the Reformed Church, in which he decides that the Pastoral Conferences, which have been held for several years without molestation on the part of the government, and have already been a great blessing to the Church, cannot in future meet legally without his approbation, obtained through request and under the eye of the nearest consistory. The minister declares that this measure has for its aim only the preservation of the organic constitution of the Reformed Churches. But it is especially the Dissenters who have to suffer from the illiberal provisions of the French law. The evangelical congregations in the Haute Vienne, a large portion of which consists of converts from the Roman Church, although at length allowed to meet again for divine worship, are still deprived of their schools closed in 1852. Since then devoted schoolmasters have itinerated among the peasants, teaching the children singly or in family groups, always avoiding the simultaneous teaching of two children of different families, which in the eye of the law would constitute a school. Suddenly, one of these faithful men, Jusnel, was called before the tribunal of Ballac, because children of different families had been present simultaneously at his instruction, though he was teaching them singly. The court fined him fifty francs for illicit school-keeping, and the superior court of Limoges, to which he appealed, confirmed the judgment. A Movement for the Restoration of the National Synod is gradually increasing in the Reformed Church. An energetic layman, M. de Coninck, of Havre, has circulated a printed letter calling attention to the importance of coming to an understanding respecting the duties of such an assembly, as on its decisions will depend the very existence of the Reformed Church. He has taken the opportunity of the annual assemblies for laying the subject before the ministers of the Churches. Either the Reformed Church of France would be reconstituted on her old basis of taking the Bible as the perfect and only authority in matters of faith; of believing in the fall of man, and his state of condemnation before God; in free redemption by the expiatory blood of Christ, true God and true man, and sole mediator between God and man; or she might fall into the hands of the fatal school of theology which admits neither doctrine nor discipline. The Strength of the two Parties in the Reformed Church has been recently tested at the nomination of a candidate to the vacant professorship of Montauban.

The nomination belongs to the one hundred and six Reformed Consistories of France. The evangelical party had presented Pastor Bois, the Rationalistic Dr. Viguie, besides whom a third candidate, Professor Joy, offered himself as belonging to neither of the two parties, and as being therefore a fit person to receive the votes of both. The result was a decisive victory of the orthodox candidate, who received the votes of fifty-seven consistories; while the candidate of the Rationalists received only forty-four, and the representative of the third party not more than five. Counting, not the consistories, but their individual members, Bois received 790 and Viguie 615 votes, a majority of 175 votes for the orthodox candidate. A comparison with former elections shows that the orthodox party is making progress, and the opposite party to be on the decline, for in 1856 the vote stood only 47 to 45 for the orthodox candidate, and at the preceding, in 1849, the Rationalistic candidate was elected with 46 against 36 votes.

The Roman Catholic Church.—Great astonishment has been excited by TWO LAWSUITS AGAINST THE BISHOP OF ORLEANS. The bishop, the Atlas or the Goliath of the clerical army, thought proper seriously to attack one of his predecessors, Bishop Rousseau, who had taught that the popes have no need of a temporal sovereignty, and whose opinion on this point was often made use of by the liberal press. After a close examination of the private papers and confidential correspondence of his predecessor, Bishop Dupanlous essayed to prove that M. Rousseau was an ignorant man, a servile priest, a vile adulator of Napoleon I., a pitiful fellow, a traitor, etc. At the same time he grossly insulted the writers of the *Siecle*, calling them cowardly calumniators and dishonorable men. For these attacks one charge was brought against him by the editor of the Siecle, and a second by Madam Bertin, the grandniece of Bishop Rousseau, who, being in her eighty-fourth year, wished to carry with her into another world the consoling thought that the justice of this world protects the tomb of the dead. The trial lasted three days, and ended in an acquittal of the bishop. The complaint of the Siecle was declared unfounded, as the bishop declared he had had no intention to insult that paper; and that of the heirs of Bishop Rousseau was beyond the reach of the law, which does not punish insults against the dead. Yet the court added a very strong disapprobative consideration of the bishop's conduct in the abuse he made of private documents, and it was the general opinion that, before the public, the bishop lost his cause. The LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE ULTRAMONTANE PARTY remains unabated. Every new number of the monthly bulletin of French literature brings the names of dozens of pamphlets on the Roman question, and there is hardly one celebrated man in the ranks of the Catholic party who has not given utterance to his views. Some of the pamphlets have a very large circulation. Thus of a tract of M. de Segur, the blind chamberlain of the pope, entitled *Questions of the Day*, more than 140,000 copies were circulated up to February. The language of all these pamphlets with regard to Protestantism is violent and abusive to the extreme, and full of daring untruths. But they sometimes take one step too far, as did M. de Segur in April, when his secretary requested the insertion in the *Archives du Christianisme* of a letter in which he denies that the association of S. Francois de Sales, of which he is president, had anything to do with, or even any knowledge of some tracts published at Lyons, which are so openly calumnious and untrue, that even the Association of S. Francois de Sales thought it proper to decline the responsibility for them. But an examination of the tracts showed that five of them were verbatim reprints of chapters of M. de Segur's book against Protestantism. Ever since the society has maintained a prudent silence on the subject. Also the big gun of the ultramontane periodical press the *Univers*, after having been spiked for a short time by the French government, has reopened its fire, bearing now the name *Le Monde*. It preserves its former animosity against everything which is not ultramontane; but as its chief editor, Louis Veuillot, has not been allowed to resume his post, it is conducted with much less ability.

ITALY.

The Protestant Churches.—THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM has been less marked than was hoped from the juncture of favorable circumstances; yet it is still advancing and taking root in all that part of Italy which has been recently annexed to Sardinia. TUSCANY is still the focus of the religious movement. Besides the congregations of Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, mentioned in the last number of the Quarterly, another has

been established at Pontedara, and besides there are many other places in which believers unite together for reading the Bible. Although nearly all the leading statesmen declare themselves in favor of religious toleration, prohibitory measures are sometimes taken against Protestant worship, from fear that the name of Protestantism is still abhorred by the lower classes of the people. Several measures of this kind were complained of during the provisional government, and since the annexation to Sardinia, M. Ribetti, the Waldensian minister of Pisa and Leghorn, has been prohibited from conducting his services in Leghorn by the delegate of police of the quarter of the fort, and by the governor, and no reason has been assigned, except that the laws of the grand duke against proselytism are still in force, and that he exposed himself to ten years in the galleys. The internal dissension in the congregation of Florence continues, and will, as it seems, lead ultimately to the establishment of two separate congregations. Also an "angel" of the Irvingites has made his appearance at Florence, and it is believed that he will soon commence operations there. In Lombardy the prospects are less favorable than in Tuscany. Religious reform with the Lombards is something German, and therefore odious, because the Lombards, in general, mortally hate anything that savors of Germany. Besides, indifference in regard to religion is more general in Lombardy than in any other part of Italy. In spite of these hinderances, a number of colporteurs work for the spreading of evangelical Christianity with unabating zeal. There is especially one, whom Dr. de Sanctis, in a letter to a London paper, calls the pearl of colporteurs. He is a Turinese Christian of fifty-five years of age, has been a colporteur for six years, and his labors have been the means of many conversions. While he goes about the country, his wife sells Bibles and tracts in the square of the cathedral, and one of their sons, fourteen years of age, goes for the same purpose to the cafés and shops. An evening school was opened at Milan on January 1, which is very promising. It is conducted by a converted priest, and supported by the Christian liberality of some ministers of the canton of Berne, at the expense of £27 a year. The Circulation of the Bible in the newly-opened-up portions of Italy has largely increased. The British and Foreign Bible Society, at its recent anniversary, reported for Italy a circulation of 24,000 copies. In Florence alone 400 copies had been circulated in a few weeks.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Vote of the People in the States of Central Italy (Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna) on the annexation of these provinces to Sardinia, is a fact of the utmost importance for ecclesiastical no less than for secular history. For it was known to all the voters that the official authorities of the Church opposed the annexation with all the means within their reach. The inhabitants of the Papal legations had moreover been notified, that all who would aid in depriving the Pope of a part of his territory would incur excommunication. In view of this attitude of the clergy, the vote leaves no doubt that the Church has entirely lost the control of the Italian people. The Romagna, Parma, and Modena have together a population of 2,127,105 souls, and the number of those who voted in favor of annexation was not less than 406,791, or about one-fifth of the total population. The proportion of those who have the right of voting, to the total population, is about one fourth, which leaves only about one twentieth part of the voters as having either abstained from voting or voting against the annexation. In Tuscany 70 per cent. of all the voters have voted for annexation. The statistics of this remarkable popular vote deserve to be preserved by all who care about knowing the real sentiments of the Italian people. They only confirm what was generally inferred from former expressions of the popular will, but they express it for the first time in figures, which give no longer room to a shadow of a doubt. The reception which the Excommunication of the King *of Sardinia* has met with everywhere in Italy well agrees with the result of the vote. Public opinion has not been changed by it; on the contrary, all the manifestations of the popular will since the issuing of the excommunication have been more decidedly liberal and antipapal than before. It is also remarkable, that a considerable portion of the lower clergy side with the people, fearing no longer the ecclesiastical censures to which they generally expose themselves on the part of the bishops. Even "*Le Monde*," the chief ultramontane paper of France, mentions a number of deputations of the clergy who have called on the king to assure him of their loyalty and their de-

votedness to him. Of course we do not mean to deny that they have also been DEMONSTRATIONS IN FAVOR OF THE POPE. The bishops, in particular, seem without exception to side with the Pope, and in this respect there appears in fact a greater unanimity in the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church than at any previous period of her history. Many addresses of sympathy are also reported to have been received by the Pope from the lower clergy, the nobility, and all classes of the people. But nothing has as yet been published concerning the details of these addresses which would demand a rectification of our above statements respecting the numerical proportion of the papal and the antipapal party among the Italian people.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—MOVEMENTS OF AN EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANCE are going on among the Mussulmans. While hitherto the labors of the missionaries in Turkey have been chiefly confined to the Greek and Armenian portions of the population, now also the movement among the Mohammedans within the last three or four months has become the object of the greatest and most intensive interest. More than nine thousand Bibles have been sold to the Turks of Constantinople during four months, and the number of Turks who are reading the Bible is one of the marked features of the present movement. It is now sold publicly in the streets, and even in the mosque side by side with the Koran. The exact number of Bible readers cannot, of course, be definitely ascertained, but the Turks themselves say there are not less than ten thousand in this city alone who are diligently and earnestly studying the Scriptures, and there are great numbers also in other parts of the empire. In Jerusalem, according to a letter from Bishop Gobat, eighty soldiers and seven officers of the Turkish army were accustomed to meet regularly with one of the colporteurs for the purpose of reading the Bible. Some thirty or forty Mussulmans attend at Constantinople the service of the Rev. Mr. Williams every Sunday. Within three years more than twenty Mussulmans have been baptized in Constantinople. Several have been baptized recently, among them a mollah, or Mohammedan priest, and the nephew of a pasha. Unfortunately, the present government of the Sultan is not much inclined to carry out the pledges of religious liberty which have been given to Christendom. New cases of religious persecution have occurred, and Russia has therefore proposed to the great powers which signed the treaty of Paris, to inquire into the way Turkey has fulfilled her promises concerning the rights of her Christian subjects.

The Greek and other Eastern Churches.—THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of the Greek Church, which assembled in 1858 in order to take appropriate measures for a reorganization of the Church, closed its deliberations on February 4th of the present year. The most important points which the majority of the Council agreed upon were, to deprive the Patriarchs and Synods of all secular and judicial power, and especially of the right to levy taxes, to establish a secular board of administration, and to assign fixed salaries to the higher and lower clergy. The Patriarch Kyrillos and a considerable portion of the higher clergy support the reformatory measures, which are principally opposed by the seven chief bishops of the Synod of Constantinople. At the present juncture of circumstances the progressive party feels confident of a victory. The contest between the hierarchical and the progressive parties is not the only question which agitates the Church. THE SLAVONIAN AND ROUMENIAN PROVINCES (Bulgaria, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia) demand more urgently than ever before their entire ecclesiastical independence of Constantinople, the appointment of National Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and the convocation of National Synods. Partial concessions have been already made to them, and it is the general belief that ere long they will form three or more independent Eastern Episcopal Churches. On the other hand it is rumored that the ARMENIAN CHURCH, at the instigation of Russia, seeks a union with the Greek Church, and that the Catholicos Mattheos of Etchmiadzin has already taken initiatory steps to this end. THE JACOBITES have recently lost by death their Maphrian (that is, chief bishop of the Eastern part of the Church in Turkey) Benan, at Mosul, whose sympathy with the Protestants has caused much rejoicing among the Roman Catholics at his death, as an enemy of their Church.

ART. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

I. GERMANY.

1. Exegetical Literature.

Delitzsch, Franz, *Commentar über die Genesis.* 8vo., pp. 648. 3d edit. Leipsic, 1860. The second edition of this commentary appeared about seven years ago, since which time the author has without interruption made preparations for the new edition which has just been issued. Only a few pages have remained unaltered, so that the new edition may almost be regarded as an entirely new work. The introduction treats of the high significance of the Genesis; of the Thora and the post-mosaic history and literature of the Thora regarded as a book of revelation and as a whole; of the Genesis as a part of this whole and of its division; of the authenticity of the Deuteronomium; of the change of the divine names; of the history of the critical attacks on the Genesis, and of the refutations of these attacks; and finally, a survey of the history of its interpretation. Professor Delitzch is well known as ranking among the best commentators of the Bible now living, and this revised edition of one of his best works will therefore be welcomed by all biblical scholars.

Credner, C. A., *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanon.* Herausgegeben von G. Volkmar. 8vo., pp. 424. Berlin, 1860. Professor Credner of Giessen, a chief representative of the rationalistic party of Germany, intended to conclude his literary activity with a comprehensive history of the canon of the New Testament, but death (July 16, 1857) prevented his finishing the work. The manuscript was complete, but it had been written at different periods of his life. It was therefore the task of the editor to compare the literature of the last years, and to bring the whole work up to the present state of theological science. The work is divided into four parts; the first treats of the formation of the canon in the ancient Church, the second of the oldest collections, the third of the final fixation of the canon in the Eastern Church, and the fourth of the final fixation of the canon in the Latin Church. The name of the editor, as well as that of the author, indicates that the book will be full of rationalistic assumptions and speculations.

Of the Commentary on Genesis, by A. Knobel, (Rationalist,) a second edition has been issued. It forms the eleventh volume of the collection of commentaries on the Old Testament, published by various scholars under the name *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament.* (Leipsic, 1860.)

"The Passage of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan" has been made the subject of a special work by G. Unrah. (*Der Zug der Israeliten*, etc. Langensalsa, 1860.) A map illustrating the discussions of the text is added. C. Schulze has published a volume on Biblical Proverbs. (*Die Biblischen Sprichwoerter.* Goettingen, 1860.)

Of the Introduction to the Bible by the late De Wette, (*Lehrbuch der Historisch-kritischon Einleitung in die Bibel.* Berlin, 2 vols., 1860,) the sixth edition has been published. The new editions of the commentaries of the De Wette have been thoroughly revised and greatly altered by young theologians, who reject his rationalistic views. We do not know whether the same is the case with the introduction.

A new Commentary on the Revelation has been published by a Roman Catholic theologian, M. Benno. (*Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes Erklaert.* Munich, 1860.)

2. Historic Theology.

The ter-centenary anniversary of the death-day of Melancthon has called forth an exceedingly numerous Melancthon literature. We have noticed in the last numbers of the German Bibliography more than a dozen different biographies, several of which are only small tracts, while others are in book form. Among the latter are the works of Czerwenka, (Erlangen,) Shultz, (Berlin,) Heppe, (Marburg,) and others.

The work of Rev. C. Strack, "Missionary History of Germany, or, How Germany became a Christian Country," (*Missionsgeschichte von Deutschland.* Leipsic, 1860,) is the first popular Protestant work on the introduction of Christianity into all Germany, and therefore fills a real desideratum. Chapter I describes the pagan

Germans; ch. ii reports on the spreading of Christianity under the dominion of the Romans; chaps. iii, iv, and v are occupied with the conversion of the Franks, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians; ch. vi is devoted to Boniface and his forerunners from England; ch. vii to Charlemagne; ch. viii to Ansgarius, the Apostle of the North; ch. ix treats of the conversion of the Sclavonians in Germany, and ch. x of the conversion of the Prussians. An additional chapter discusses the question, What influence has the introduction of Christianity exercised on Germany?

A curious book, which well characterizes the relation of the European Churches to the state, has been published by Dr. Vilmar, the well-known Romanizing Lutheran, on the history of the denominational character of the Church of the Hessian states, especially of the Electorate of Hesse Kassel. (*Geschichte des confessionstandes der evang. Kirche in Hessen.* Marburg, 1860.) The Church of Hesse-Kassel is a model of all state Churches; it does not know itself whether it is Lutheran and Reformed, and to decide this question, not the personal faith of the clergy and the congregations is consulted, but old parchments, two and three hundred years old. The controversy is carried on between the Lutheran and Reformed theologians with the utmost acrimony.

The Struggle of Luther with the Anti-Christian Principles of the Revolution (*Luthers Ringen mit den Anti-Christlichen Principien der Revolution.* Halle, 1860) is the title of a work by H. Vorrester. The subject is one which has often occupied the attention of Protestant writers of various schools, and has received from them the most diverging answers. The ideas of right, reformation, and resolution; the nature of the Apostolic Church; Christianity and Anti-Christianity in their mutual development; Humanism in general, and German Humanism in particular; the revolutionary knighthood, and, in particular, Ulric von Hutten; Luther's reformatory mission, and his deviations from the purity of this mission, and the lasting influences which the period of this deviation had on the religious and theological position of Luther in the Church, are the attractive headings of the several chapters.

3. Other Branches of Theology.

Ehrenfeuchter. Fr. (Professor of Goettingen) *Practical Theology* (*Practische Theologie*) 1 vol., pp. 460. Goettingen, 1859. The author assigns to practical theology the task to represent the life of the Church, and to show that its existence is intimately connected with the highest aims of man, and that therefore every deviation from the Church is an injury of our best interests. This first volume is divided into two parts. The first part treats of the essence, the appearance and present condition of the Church, of the ministry, and of practical theology as a system. The second book is devoted to the missionary efforts of the Church, and speaks of the pagan world, or the object of the mission; of Christianity, or the principle of the mission; and of the historical law, which is observable in the epochs of the mission. To this is added a chapter on the doctrine of the mission, on missionary preaching, and on the relation of the mission to the Church.

The question of divorce, which is at present agitated in nearly all the Protestant Churches of Europe, has been again treated of in a small work of E. Huschke, Professor of Law at the University of Breslau. (*Was lehrt Gottes Wort von der Ehescheidung.* Leipzic, 1860.) The author is one of the leaders of the Separated Lutherans of Germany, who chose rather to secede from the established Church than to give up any of the doctrinal or ecclesiastical landmarks of their theology. In this question the strict Lutherans have maintained a very honorable contest against the laxity of the Prussian legislation in behalf of what they consider, in common with most evangelical denominations, the true Scriptural doctrine on divorce.

II. FRANCE.

Saint René Taillandier, *Histoire et Philosophie Religieuse.* Paris, 1860.

Mr. Taillandier, Professor in Montpelier, has collected in this volume the frequent contributions which for years he has furnished to the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Though mostly devoted to purely literary questions, his contributions have awakened a great interest also in religious circles, as the author is of a deeply religious turn of mind, and belongs to that school of French scholars who desire and seek to promote the union between faith and science, between Christianity and philosophy. As the number of French Protestants is so small, and their own literary publications cannot, therefore, be numerous, it is a good sign of the times

that so many leading scholars of France proclaim the necessity of a return of the science to faith, and acknowledge at the same time the great merits of Protestantism, and the superiority of the Protestant civilization.

Le R. P. Felix, S. J. *Le Progrès par le Christianisme. Conferences de Notre Dame de Paris.* 4 vols. Paris, 1859.

This volume contains the Lent Sermons, held in the Church of Notre Dame of Paris in 1856, 1857, 1858, and 1859 by Father Felix, who is generally regarded as the best pulpit orator of the Roman Church in France now living. His extraordinary oratorical gifts are attested by the Parisian press of all shades of opinion. The last number of the *Revue Chrétienne* makes the following remarks on the Lent Sermons preached by him in the same church this year : "Father Felix, whose *conférences* are always attended by an immense crowd, treated this year of the family. We shall not repeat what we have said before of his oratorical gifts, of the clearness of his plans, of the lucidity of his conclusions, and of the charm of his delivery. Father Felix has shown himself very strong when stigmatizing the open or secret vices of modern society, but has been less so when pointing out the remedy that can save it. When he rolls up before us the ideal picture of the Catholic world, when he desires to make us admire those times of profound faith when marriage was respected, and disorder appeared but rarely like a monster which chilled the heart, he might have seen a smile steal upon the mouths of many of his hearers, who sought in vain in their historic reminiscences that golden age to which he alluded. Instinctively the hearers of every Catholic sermon now-a-days distinguish two different parts. As long as the orator castigates the evil, they feel that he is right, and his appeals will bear fruit; but when the man of the Church endeavors to bring back his generation to the papal theocracy, modern intelligence recoils and acts on the defensive. We are certain that Father Felix must have observed himself these different impressions succeeding each other in his hearers."

Among the recent Protestant publications the *Revue Chrétienne* mentions the following :

Reuss, (Professor at the Theological Faculty of Strasbourg,) *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au siècle apostolique.*

Schwalb, *Étude comparative des Doctrines de Mélancthon, Zwingle et Calvin.*

La Papauté en présence de l'Evangile et de l'histoire.

E. Casalis (formerly missionary in South Africa, now director of the missionary seminary in Paris) *Les Bassoutos*, ou vingt-trois ans d'expériences et d'observations au sud de l'Afrique.

Among the announcements of Roman Catholic literature we find a complete edition, in 14 vols., of the works of one of the favorite modern saints of the Roman Church, Francis of Sales, Bishop of Geneva. (*Œuvres complètes de St. Francois de Sales.*)

Cretineau Joly, J. (the ultramontane author of a comprehensive history of the Jesuits) *l'Eglise Romaine en face de la Revolution.*

Bautain, L. *Philosophie des lois au point de vue Chretien.* The author is favorably known to Protestants no less than to his coreligionists as a man of profound learning, evangelical views, and deep piety. A work of his on eloquence was published last year in an English translation in New York.

Ponlevoy, le P. A. *Vie du R. P. Xavier de Ravignan.*

Lacordaire, le R. P. *Sainte Marie-Madeleine.*

Nicholas, Auguste. *La Vierge Marie.* The work is now complete in four volumes. The author, one of the most active ultramontanes in France, is a high officer of the government. His son became, at the beginning of the present year, a Dominican friar.

Art. XII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

1.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Christian Review, April, 1860.—1. The Ecclesiastical Miracles: 2. Moral Philosophy: 3. Baden Powell on the Immutability of Physical Laws: 4. Dr. Edward Beecher's "Conflict" and "Concord:" 5. The Doctrine of Romans i, 18–23: 6. The Defense of Socrates: 7. Modern Skepticism and its Refutation.

II. The New Englander, May, 1860.—1. Humboldt, Ritter, and the New Geography: 2. The Power of Contrary Choice: 3. Discourse commemorative of Rev. C. A. Goodrich, D. D.: 4. Hebrew Servitude: 5. Are the Phenomena of Spiritualism Supernatural? 6. Worcester's Dictionary: 7. Common Schools and the English Language: 8. The Marble Faun: 9. The Crime against the Right of Suffrage.

III. Brownson's Quarterly Review, April, 1860.—1. Limits of Religious Thought: 2. Etudes de Theologie: 3. Ventura on Christian Politics. 4. Burnett's Path to the Church: 5. American College at Rome.

IV. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, April, 1860.—1. Who is Responsible for the Present Slavery Agitation: 2. Pythagoras: 3. The American State and Christianity: 4. The Annihilation of the Wicked. 5. The Insurrection of the Paxton Boys.

V. The Theological and Literary Journal, April, 1860.—1. Dr. Fairbairn's Typology: 2. God is Love: 3. Dr. J. F. Berg's False View of the Second Advent: 4. Divine Authority of the Bible, in Review of Rev. A. Barnes: 5. Designation and Exposition of Isaiah, chapters xlix, l, and li.

VI. The American Quarterly Church Review, April, 1860.—1. Philosophy and the Knowledge of God: 2. New Gospel in New England and the Church: 3. Bishop Griswold on the Apostolic Office: 4. The Moravians: 5. English Reformation: The Nag's Head Story: 6. Free Churches.

VII. The Theological and Literary Journal, January, 1860.—1. Dr. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought: 2. Notes on Scripture, Matthew xxiii, xxiv: 3. Christ's Promises, in the Epistles to the Churches, to those who are Victorious: 4. The Indo-Syrian Church: 5. Designation and Exposition of Isaiah, chapters xlix, l, and li: 6. The Book of Judges: 7. Mr. Hequembourg's Plan of Creation.

VIII. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1860.—1. Theories of the Eldership: 2. The Dissolution of Empires: 3. Sir W. Hamilton's Theory of Perception: 4. Man, Moral and Physical: 5. The First and Second Adam.

IX. The United Presbyterian Quarterly Review, April, 1860.—1. Foreign Missions: 2. Letters on Psalmody: 3. The First Adam and the Second: 4. Verity of the Old Testament History: 5. Secondary Uses of the Ceremonial Law: 6. Systematic Beneficence.

X. The Evangelical Review, April, 1860.—1. The Study of the Scriptures: 2. For the Gifts and Calling of God are without Repentance: 3. Language: 4. Baccalaureate Address: 5. Imagination: 6. Christian Instruction in our Colleges: 7. The Field and Harvest of Ministerial Labor: 7. The Lutheran Church in Russia: 9. The Divinity of Christ: 10. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 11. Dorpater Zeitschrift.

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XI. THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW, April, 1860.—1. Constantine the Great: 2. The Old Doctrine of Christian Baptism: 3. The English Language: 4. German Hymnology: 5. Religion and Christianity: 6. What is a Catechumen? 7. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought.

XII. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1860.—1. A Few More Words on the Revised Book of Discipline: 2. The Relation of Organic Science to Sociology: 3. The Supernatural in the Scriptures: 4. Presbyterian Preaching at the South: 5. The Divine Right of Presbyterian Church Government; a Review of Killen's Ancient Church: 6. Baird's Elohim Revealed.

XIII. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, April, 1860.—1. Rothe's Ethics: 2. Comparative Phonology; or, the Phonetic System of the Indo-European Languages: 3. Exegesis of 1 Corinthians xv, 35–44, as Illustrated by Natural History and Chemistry: 4. John George Hamann: 5. Romanism and a Free Bible: 6. Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor on Moral Government in the Abstract.

XIV. AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, May, 1860.—1. New England Theology historically considered: 2. Hickok's Rational Cosmology: 3. Unitarian Tendencies: 4. The Jewish Christian's Notion of a Redeemer: 5. The Alleged Progress in Theology: 6. Denominationalism not Sectarian: 7. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 8. Maine De Biran's Philosophy.

The American Theological Review has been called into existence by the necessities of the elder Calvinism. So rapid and general have been the advances of the more Arminian modifications of that system, and so uniformly have the higher periodicals of that section of the Church in these latitudes marched with those advances, that the more venerable and consistent form has been left, we believe, without a champion. Such a champion, able and scholarly, the present number, under the editorship of Professor H. B. Smith, shows itself; and we doubt not the work will live to do manful battle, not only for its own theological individualisms, but for the general Church of Christ.

The first article, by Professor E. A. Lawrence, of the East Windsor Theological Seminary, purposes to state the true limits and history of New England Calvinism. It is from an able and eloquent pen, which manages its facts with no ordinary skill. Professor Park dates the existence of New England theology from the commencement of Edwards's career. The present Review claims to remove this modern landmark backward, and include within the limits of New England theology the prevalent doctrines of the Congregational Churches generally from near the commencement of their existence. And in its derivative character, as drawn from the apostles, it "takes John Calvin into its genealogical line." The installation of this theology as adjectively "New England," took place in the adoption of the "Westminster Confession of Faith in 1648," which is now "the accredited exponent of New England theology."

Should any uncircumcised Arminian like ourself attempt an interference in this high debate, he may learn what sort of a setdown he will receive from the following passage. The writer is contrasting the *believing* theologian with the *speculative*: "The derivative character of the one leads along the line of an illustrious descent to its origin with the apostles and their Lord. The lineal branches of the other came to an end some centuries this side of the

apostolic age, in Sabellius or Socinus, Arius or Arminius, whose substantive doctrine, so far as not derived from Scripture, was original, and because original, erroneous. A desire to be the originator of essentially new Christian doctrines has ever been a leading cause of corruption in theology. It is the great practical error, the original sin by which the race fell. Hence the propagators of *such* original theology must be reputed as in regular succession from that distinguished preacher whose first converts were made in Eden."

II.—*English Reviews.*

I. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1860.—1. Vedic Religion; 2. Manin, and Venice in 1848–9; 3. The Ethics of War; 4. Plutarch and his Times. 5. Austria and the Government of Hungary; 6. Parliamentary Reform: the Dangers and the Safeguards; 7. Japan; 8. Darwin on the Origin of Species.

II. THE LONDON REVIEW, (WESLEYAN,) April, 1860.—1. Lord Macaulay; 2. Whitby; 3. Ancient Syriac Gospels; 4. Eastern Problems; 5. Frederich Schiller; 6. Morocco; 7. Books and their Bindings; 8. Socrates; 9. Arctic Explorations.

III. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1860.—1. Lord Macaulay; 2. M'Leod's Eastern Africa; 3. Christian Revivals; 4. Belgium and China; 5. Darwin on the Origin of Species; 6. Lord Dundonald; 7. Brown's Sermons; 8. China and Japan; 9. Italian Nationality.

IV. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, April, 1860.—1. Plutarch's Lives: Clough; 2. The Testimony of Geology to the Age of the Human Race; 3. The Budget and the Treaty in their relation to Political Morality; 4. St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers; 5. Madam Récamier; 6. The Acts of the Apostles; how far Historical? 7. The Reform Bill: its real Bearing and Ultimate Results; 8. Christianity in Japan; 9. Papal Rome; 10. Cerebral Psychology: Bain; 11. Mr. Bright, painted by Himself.

V. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1860.—1. Recent Syriac Literature; 2. A Nation's Right to Worship God; 3. Dr. Tyler and his Theology; 4. On the Power of Contrary Choice; 5. The Minister's Wooing; 6. What is Christianity? 7. The Text of Jeremiah; 8. Natural Science and Theology; 9. Principal Tulloch's Leaders of the Reformation.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, April, 1860.—2. Lord Bacon and the Inductive Philosophy; 2. Neale's Commentary on the Psalms; 3. Mr. Mansel and Mr. Maurice; 4. Daniel Wilson; 5. Irish Revivalism in Relation to the Church of England; 6. On the Remains of Old Babylonian Literature; 7. The Bishop of Oxford's Ordination Addresses; 8. The Trial of the Bishop of Brechin; 9. Liturgical Quotations in the Pauline Epistles.

VII. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, April, 1860.—1. Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor; or, a Critical Inquiry into the Route of the Exodus; 2. Nimrod and his Dynasty; 3. George Buchanan; 4. The Sisters of Galilee and Bethany; 5. Pauline Authorship of the Hebrews; 6. Remarks on the Book of Esther; 7. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John, Rev. xiii.

VIII. The North British Review, May, 1860.—1. Redding's Reminiscences—Thomas Campbell: 2. Quakerism—Past and Present: 3. Sir Henry Lawrence: 4. Australian Ethnology: 5. Heine's Poems: 6. Church and State—The Spiritual and the Civil Courts: 7. Origin of Species: 8. The British Lighthouse system: 9. State of Europe.

IX. The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, April, 1860.—1. Commercial Relations of England and France: 2. Youth of Milton: 3. Expense of Public Education in England: 4. English Local Nomenclature: 5. Civil Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington: 6. De Broglie's Church and Roman Empire. 7. The Alleged Shakspeare Forgeries: 8. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 9. France, Savoy, and Switzerland.

X. The North American Review, April, 1860.—1. William Beckford: 2. Money and Credit: 3. Anne Whitney's Poems: 4. The Letters and Times of Basil of Cæsarea: 5. Nichol's Hours with the Evangelists: 6. The Law of Divorce: 7. United States Coast Survey: 8. The Life of John Collins Warren: 9. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 10. Recent French Literature: 11. Isaac Disraeli: 12. Woman's Rights as to Labor and Property.

III.—*French Reviews.*

I. Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, 1860.—1. Les Commentaires d'un Soldat—III.—Les Derniers Jours de la Guerre de Crimée; 2. Le Roman de Femme en Angleterre.—Miss Mulock; 3. Les Terres Noires de la Russie, Souvenirs et Scènes de la Vie Rurale et Serve en Ukraine; 4. Rivalité de Charles—Quint et de Francois I.—Le Connétable de Bourbon.—I.—Sa Conjuration avec Charles—Quint et Henri VIII. Contre la France; 5. Etudes Morales—Le Travail et le Salaire des Femmes—Les Femmes dans la Fabrique Lyonnaise; 6. Le Programme de la Paix; 7. Episode d'un Voyage d'Agrément, Récit de la Vie Anglo-Hindoue.

March 15, 1860.—1. La Jeunesse de Mazarin; 2. L'Homme au Bracelet D'or; 3. La Cavalerie Régulière en Campagne, Souvenirs D'Afrique et de Crimée; 4. Rivalité de Charles—Quint et de Francois I.—Le Connétable de Bourbon—III.—Le Siége de Marseille et la Bataille de Pavie; 5. Un Voyage dans la Nouvelle-Grenade, Paysages de la Nature Tropicale.—III.—Rio-Hacha, les Indiens Goajires et la Sierra-Negra; 6. La Jeunesse de Phidias; 7. Les Statistiques Agricoles de la France; 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire.

April 1, 1860.—1. La Ville Noire; 2. Décadence Morale du XVII Siécle.—La Brinvilliers; 3. Souvenirs d'un Amiral—La Marine de la Restauration—Les Derniéres Années et le Testament d'un Marin; 4. Léonard de Vinci, d'Après de Nouveaux Documens; 5. Une Nouvelle Théorie d'Histoire Naturelle—L'Origine des Espéces; 6. Du Crédit des Chemins de fer at des Moyens d'Achever Le Résau; 7. Les Armes au Feu au xixth Siécle—I.—La Poudre et les Armes Portatives; 8. Le Roman Contemporain—Corruption du Roman de Moeurs.

May 1, 1860.—1. La Ville Noire; 2. Un Voyage dans la Nouvelle-Grenade, Paysages de la Nature Tropicale.—IV.—Les Aruaques et la Sierra-Nevada; 3. Une Reforme Administrative en Afrique.—III.—Des Devoirs Nouveaux du Gouvernement Colonial en Algéire; 4. Le Monde Alpestre et les Hautes Régions du Globe d'Après les Dernières Recherches de la Physique; 5. Guerre de l'Inde.—Episodes Militaires de la vie Anglo-Indienne.—

III.—Fin de la Guerre, Reprise de Lucknow, la Chasse aux Rebelles. 6. La Comédie Anglaise sous la Restauration.—I.—Le Public; 7. De la Renaissance des Lettres Ches les Grecs Modernes.—Les Poètes Zalokostas et Orphanidis.

May 15, 1860.—1. Economistes Contemporains.—Richard Cobden et l'Ecole de Manchester, Histoire de la Liberté Commerciale en Angleterre; 2. La Reine du Sabbat, Scenés de la vie des Landes; 3. De la Situation de la France et de la Papautè en Italie; 4. La Comédie Anglaise sous la Restauration.—II.—Les Poètes; 5. La Turquie, son Gouvernement et ses Armées Pendant La Guerre D'Orient.—I.—La Campagne de Armènie; 6. Les Révolutions et les Dictatures de L'Amèrique du Sud En, 1859; 7. La Saison Dramatique.—Décadence du Théatre.

II. Revue Chretienne, March 15, 1860.—1. La Doctrine Definitive Maine de Biran; 2. Madame Récamier; 3. Les Catacombs de Rome; 4. La Lutte Religieuse in France au Seizième Siécle, à l'Occasion du livre de M. Dargaud.

May 15, 1860.—1. La Question Religieuse in Hollande; 2. Les Cours a la Sorbonne et au College de France; 3. Julian L'Apostat; 4. Bulletin Bibliographique.

Art. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Christ our Life.* The Scriptural Argument for Immortality through Christ alone. By C. F. Hudson, Author of Debt and Grace, as related to the Doctrine of a Future Life." 12mo., pp. 160. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

The present work of Mr. Hudson's embraces a more explicit statement of his system, a completer Scripture exegesis, and a reply by the way to most of his opponents. It exhibits the same constructive skill, sharp dialectics, copious learning, keen criticism, and general good temper as his former work. His views will probably be accepted by not a few individuals who desire a half-way house between the stern eschatology of Protestant orthodoxy, and the utter effeminacy of Universalism.

Mr. Hudson regards man's soul as not necessarily but conditionally immortal. Immortality is its intentional but forfeitable destiny. Yet he evades materialism by asserting the independent existence of soul, its separate intermediate state, and its final reunion with the body at the resurrection. He eludes the charge of destroying the graduation of future penalty to the degrees of individual guilt by affirming that there are different degrees of misery and protraction in the pangs of the second death, through which the nonentity of soul and body is attained in the destiny of the wicked. Viewed, indeed, in a naturalistic light, Mr. Hudson's doctrine of conditional

immortality bears a curious analogy to Darwin's theory of the sole survivorship of individual species by adjustment to the conditions of existence. We will note a few suggestions.

1. Mr. Hudson's theory is constructed by effecting a systematic change in the definition of a number of words in Scripture and established theology. The ideas which, with singular unanimity, the piety and erudition of the Church through ages have found in Scripture terminology, and realized thereby a concord of systematic meaning in the whole, are abolished and replaced by a set of new ideas. By the same method Theism might be systematically eradicated from the Bible, and Pantheism, or absolute materialistic Atheism, be substituted instead. 2. Adopting in the terms significative of *duration* the Universalist modes of argument, Mr. H. incurs, we think, the ultimate consequence of abolishing absolute eternity from the Bible. Not for penalty alone can *αιώνιος* and *ἀΐδιος*, and their equivalent phrases, be made to designate the temporary. From our Bibles we shall be obliged to fall back upon our metaphysics for the immortality of the blessed, the stability of heaven, and the eternity of God. By such exegesis the whole system of existence, natural, supernatural, and divine, is air-hung and periodic. The most expressive dialect ever spoken by man, wielded by inspiration, has failed in the New Testament to give us an unequivocal charter of immortality. 3. Mr. Hudson's theory would give us a theology that shall sit more easily upon our sensibilities. But it is a doubtful gift. Upon its acceptance a vast solemnity goes out from our existence. A free and easy laxity, quite taking to the lazy and the licentious, pervades the air. Awful doom for sin is no more, and sin itself is no more so awful a thing. The diminished sinfulness of sin can dispense with an atonement, quite discards a Divine Mediator, and finds the Trinity decidedly useless. Mr. Hudson himself finds and exemplifies these consequences. His own theology is disorganized. His theory is a stupendous step in the direction of no religion at all.

(2.) "*A General View of the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity.* By the Most Rev. RICHARD WHATELY, Archbishop of Dublin. With a Sketch of the Life of the Author, and a Catalogue of his Writings." 12mo., pp. 288. New York: William Gowans. 1860.

This is a republication of one of the six celebrated "Essays appended to the Encyclopedia Britannica," in the writing of which such men as Mackintosh and Dugald Stewart were engaged. The present work contains a biographical sketch of Whately and a list of his publications.

Preparatory to the immediate analysis of the corruptions of Christianity, Whately traces the nature and the steps of the first gradual apostacy from the primitive worship of the true God in the earliest ages of mankind. This furnishes him with some striking types of the apostacy of the Christian ages, as well as some tests for discriminating the corrupt from the pure. Next he traces the peculiar characteristics of the Jewish dispensation, and ascertains what points exclusively belonged to Judaism as an inferior and preparatory dispensation, and what were to be permanent when the time of reformation should come.

Eliminating from the developing Church the errors exhibited in the Pagan apostacy and the idiosyncracies of Judaism, and taking the positive teachings of the New Testament, we have left us a pure Christianity. The result bears with terrible effect upon the peculiarities of Romanism. The real nature of those boasted "marks of a true Church," spirituality, universality, and unity, appears transparently evident. High-churchism, image and saint worship, Mariolatry, take their ready and settled classification among the corruptions of Christianity.

We cannot quite consent to place Whately in our scanty list of great thinkers and writers. His reputation we have ever considered as quite equal to his value. Yet he is independent and suggestive, and in spite of the plainness of his style and his want of imagination and glow, his writings afford very easy and generally instructive reading. The present is among his best works, and deserves a wide circulation.

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(3.) *Sermons by Rev. William Morley Punshon.* To which is prefixed a Plea for Class-Meetings, and an Introduction by Rev. WILLIAM H. MILBURN. 12mo., pp. 350. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

There is no wondering at the power, nor any dubious searching for its source, in perusing these sermons. Their beauty, force, life, are visible upon the surface of the page, and palpable in any first paragraph you read. Nor are they merely æsthetically excellent. There is the rich evangelic unction, which, while permitting them to stand as grand pulpit orations, secures that they shall reach the recesses of the heart and stir its deepest spiritual emotions. Few original volumes from the press of our day have furnished more admirable specimens of pulpit eloquence.

Mr. Milburn's Introduction furnishes his first impressions of Punshon's preaching, a critique upon his style, and a biography of the preacher from some unmentioned source.

Mr. Punshon was born in 1824, in Doncaster, of a well connected family. He was early placed in a mercantile clerkship; but newspaper politics and parliamentary oratory filled his head. Religious impressions snatched him from a probable political career; and he commenced preaching at eighteen, producing a memorable effect with his first sermon. Describing his pulpit style, Mr. Milburn says:

> "Before he has reached his major 'thirdly,' it is all over with your independent consciousness; you have yielded at discretion, and are the prisoner of his feeling. I am half inclined to believe that his own intellect is in the same plight, and that memory acts as the warder of the brain, under writ from the lordly soul. You have thrown criticism to the dogs; your ear has exchanged itself for an eye; the bone and flesh of your forehead become delicately thin, as the laminæ of the cornea, and your brain seems endowed with the power of the iris. You enjoy the ecstasy of vision, and as the speaker stops you recover yourself enough to feel that you have had an apocalyptic hour."—Page xii.
>
> "He prepares himself for the rostrum and pulpit with the most scrupulous and exhaustive care. I should say that the greater part of his sermons and lectures are committed to memory, and delivered almost word for word, as they were beforehand composed. His recollection is, therefore, at once quick and tenacious. This plan, while it insures a higher average of public performance, and saves him from many mortifying failures, at the same time shuts him out from the ground of highest power."—Page xiii.

(4.) "*Science in Theology.* Sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, before the University. By ADAM FARRAR, A. M., F. G. S., F. R. A. S., Fellow of Queen's College, and Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall." 12mo., pp. 250. Philadelphia: Smith & English; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

The purpose of Mr. Farrar's sermons (which the title but ambiguously indicates) is to show, in some degree, the bearings which modern science possesses upon theology. He justly considers the theology of different ages to be in some degree modified and shaped by existing modes of scientific thought; and, when the scientific modification disappears, great danger arises from the identification of theology with the exploded scientific error. The ever varying relations of the two, arising from the mutabilities of science, are ever requiring new adjustments, and warning us that, even in the adjustments, the distinctive line between the two is to be carefully maintained.

Mr. Farrar proposes in his book to furnish a contribution toward adjusting present science to permanent theology. A firm Churchman, he blends an evangelical orthodoxy, both of doctrine and feeling, with a chastened liberality. He surrenders no principle authorized by the settled interpretations of the word of God, or dear to the heart of the great body of the earnest Christian Church.

His first lecture traces the gradual discovery of the Divine attributes through Scripture and science. Of the attributes of God he considers that science furnishes, in a true sense, an additional revelation, consistent with, confirming and filling out, the revelations of Scripture. Modern astronomy opens a vaster view of God's omnipresence. Geology unfolds his eternity in the past. Mathematics has prophetic demonstrations for the future. And while thus physical science illustrates the infinity of God, psychology, unfolding the instincts of conscience and the laws of right, furnishes revelation of his holiness. There is much value in this lecture.

His further topics are Divine Providence in General Laws, Divine Benevolence in the Economy of Pain, Jewish Interpretation of Prophecy, The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, The Atonement, Laws in Life Spiritual, The Gifts of the Holy Ghost, Providence in Political Revolutions. In illustration of the Trinity, he adopts Professor Mansel's method of admitting the contradiction as arising from human incompetence, which he justly considers as essentially the same as Archbishop King's explanation of the Divine attributes, by analogy: of which, by the way, a brief but excellent statement and refutation may be found in Watson's Institutes. Professor Farrar's book abounds in suggestive passages.

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(5.) "*A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.* Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. WHEDON, D. D." 8vo., pp. 422. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

To write a commentary upon the Scripture text might appear to a novice a matter of small labor and brief time. And so it is, where the work is mainly performed with scissors and mucilage. But where a commentator compares, weighs, and thinks for himself, and runs the whole matter through the filter of his own mind, with a proper solicitude for the public result, he undertakes

a task of anxious years. The present volume is the product of spare hours over and above the performance of duties sufficient alone for the feeble strength of the laborer; and nothing but the sense that the responsibility had been assumed, and that no nobler labor can be performed than the bringing the word of God in contact with the popular mind, could have induced him to prosecute the work. Thus far, by a gracious Providence, it is completed; and the author is encouraged by the opinions of friends to hope that the public will be better satisfied with it than himself. If it meet the wants of the Church, he will be profoundly thankful to Almighty God that the vitality irrecoverably expended has been invested in so noble a department.

To the urgent request of Dr. Stevens it is owing that the writer first committed himself to the undertaking. To the kindness of Dr. True, of Middletown, he is indebted for a considerable amount of revisal and suggestion. And he hereby passes a unanimous vote of thanks to the critical eye of Mr. Wickens, which has aided him in the adjustment of countless minutiæ; to the good taste of Mr. Goodenough; together with the liberality of the Agents of the Book Concern for the new type, the fresh white paper, and the outlay in illustration which has made it one of the costliest books for the price issued from our Rooms. No manual commentary of the day has gone from the American press in a neater style.

(6.) "*Christian Perfection as taught in the Bible.* An Essay containing the substance of Fletcher's Last Check to Antinomianism. With Additions and Appendixes. By the Rev. SAMUEL D. AKIN, A. M." 12mo., pp. 304. Nashville, Tenn.: J. B. M'Ferrin. 1860.

How far it is justly permissible to carve and remodel an author's work, has been often doubted; but our utilitarian age seems deciding that a profitable result justifies the process. In the present volume everything appears well done to adapt to the present age a most important part of our religious literature. The local allusions are removed, the exuberant style is chastened, and some objectionable views are omitted. The standard editions still remain to inform us which are Fletcher's words and which his reviser's. The volume may therefore be safely recommended as an excellent treatise on this important subject.

(7.) "*Illustrations of Scripture.* Suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. New and Revised Edition Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

Professor Hackett surveyed the scenes of the Holy Land with the eye of a true Biblical scholar, who knows what to look for and where to look for it. His work is written in a style which interests the popular reader, and furnishes, as we have had reason to know, valuable matter for the commentator. As the result in part of a second tour through the sacred localities, the work is now rendered still more complete, and more acceptable to the Biblical scholar and popular reader.

(8.) "*The New Discussion of the Trinity;* containing Notices of Professor Huntington's Recent Defense of that Doctrine. Reprinted from the 'Christian Examiner,' 'The Monthly Religious Magazine,' 'The Monthly Journal of the Unitarian Association,' and 'The Christian Register.' Together with Sermons, by Rev. THOMAS STARR KING and Dr. ORVILLE DEWEY." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. For the American Unitarian Association. 1860.

The departure of Professor Huntington has, for a brief period, as this little volume shows, ruffled the usually placid surface of Unitarian Theology. It brought out the leading organs and the star preachers to a revisal yet a new resumption of their old positions. The discussion is sharp, eloquent, and scholarly. The professor is not miserably hacked as with a butcher's cleaver, but cut up with so keen a razor's edge, that the entire slicing and dissection are, it may be, as painless as they are thorough. The desertion of the professor leaves but a single vacancy; the rank closes up, and the phalanx is as compact as ever.

The "later Unitarians," it would seem, object not so much to the Trinity, or to the Divinity of Christ, as to the "tripersonality." A man who, like Whately, wishes that the word *person* had never been adopted, and holds that the Father, Son, and Spirit imply a valid distinction of three "somewhats" in the Divine nature, though we have never heard that he was read out of the Trinitarian ranks, is, it seems, recognized as sound among the "later Unitarians."

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(9.) "*Lectures on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians.* By JOHN LILLIE, D. D." 12mo., pp. 515. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1860.

This is a very scholarly work, the product of a mind well furnished with all the appliances for fundamental investigation. The author has at ready command the whole apparatus of criticism, which he exhibits purely for purpose, and not for display. The translations of both epistles are excellent, so modernizing the texture of the style as to render it the graceful English of the present day, yet strictly preserving the antique spirit that truly belongs to the Scripture style. The commentary possesses something of the disadvantage of popular exposition. We have rhetoric sometimes when we want sharp analysis or rigid logic. The frank and manly Calvinism we like to meet in its proper place. In the present case it is free and outspoken, yet deals in the sort of conventional demonstration habitual with men who have little examined the opposite side, and feel quite sure of their audience.

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(10.) "*The Year of Grace.* A History of the Revival in Ireland, A. D., 1859. By the Rev. WILLIAM GILSON, Professor of Christian Ethics in Queen's College, Belfast, and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. With an Introduction by Rev. BARON STOWE, D. D." 12mo., pp. 464. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

The late arrival of this volume has precluded a full examination, but its contents and pages seem to promise a narrative of extraordinary interest. The author was requested by the American publishers to prepare the work. He was eminently qualified, and has expended abundant labor in obtaining complete details of the facts.

(11.) "*Disquisitions and Notes on the Gospels.* By JOHN H. MORRISON." 12mo., pp. 538. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

Dr. Morrison's volume fills out its title no farther than Matthew alone. As nearly all the difficulties of Mark and Luke are really considered in the present volume, the remainder of the four gospels will be concluded in a second volume, in which John will occupy the main attention. On the other New Testament books a volume is in course of preparation by Dr. A. P. Peabody. Thus there will be a New Testament complete in three volumes.

We have seldom read over a commentary with more pleasure. Our pleasure arose from a special as well as from general reasons. The fact lately brought before us that Hase's "Life of Jesus" is to be "a book for Bible classes and higher classes in Sunday schools," seemed a most disheartening omen. If the lambs of the Unitarian fold are to be fed on such aliment, and by shepherds disposed to such a selection, what awaits their next generation? Very different is the character of the present volume. In a clear simplicity, in a reverent spirit, in a believing but not uncritical tone, it is calculated to strengthen the faith and cherish the piety of its readers. A large share of the work is in the form of free and somewhat extended dissertation. The gospel narrative is told at length, by sections, in the author's own words. Critical and exegetical points are specified and discussed in the notes with learning, ability, and a mastery of the latest contributions. The opinions expressed, in the general, approach very near to the boundary lines of an orthodoxy not Calvinistic.

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(12.) "*The Church of the First Three Centuries;* or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity, illustrating its late Origin and Gradual Formation. By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D." 8vo., pp. 352. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

The fine octavo before us claims to be a re-examination of the question of the faith of the first three centuries in regard to the nature and relations of the Father, Son, and Spirit. The Christian fathers whose works are critically analyzed and characterized are Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Arius. The extended chapters devoted to these characters are learned and positive, as well as rich in matter and entertaining in style. The erudite critic professedly demonstrates from his review that the doctrine of the Trinity was not extant in the time of these writers. The Apostles' Creed, the Hymnology of the ancient Church, and the artistic representations of the Trinity are then adduced, and the conclusion is drawn, and stated with great positiveness, that the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by modern Orthodoxy, takes form and even existence subsequently to the first three centuries. The challenge is fairly and honorably laid down for the ablest champion upon the other side to furnish a fresh examen of the subject.

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(13.) "*The Homilist:* a Series of Sermons for Preachers and Laymen. Original and Selected. By ERWIN HOUSE, A. M." 12mo., pp. 496. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

This is a book of very choice selections of pulpit literature. There is a marked point, evangelical and searching closeness, and piquant force of style

in the specimens of preaching here presented. As aids for the young preacher, and as religious tracts for spiritual edification, they are among the best extant.

(14.) "*Notes on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to Philemon*, as the Basis of a Revision of the Common English Version, and a Revised Version with Notes." 16mo., pp. 90. New York: American Bible Union; Louisville: Bible Revision Association; London: Trübner & Co., No. 60, Paternoster Row. 1860.

This beautiful edition of the single brief Epistle to Philemon, bright with crimson and gilt, is issued for the examination and free criticism of the scholars of our country preparatory to its adoption by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union. It contains, first, a preface, reviewing the history of English Biblical translation; next, an introduction to the epistle; then the Greek text, in a rich black type, exhibiting as fine a specimen of "the swarthy daughters of Cadmus" as often walks abroad. The Greek is furnished with critical notes. Then the new version with notes, succeeded by a copy of the received version. In an appendix we have the letter, original and translated, of Pliny to Sabinianus, being one of the most exquisite specimens of the epistolary left us by classical antiquity, exhibiting all the more clearly, by its striking parallelism, the inferiority of the noblest Paganism to primitive Christianity. The notes and translation are, we understand, by Professor Hackett. Whatever criticisms the volume may meet from our Biblical scholars, we risk nothing in saying that it is in its way a special gem.

(15.) "*The Biblical Reason Why;* a Family Guide to Scripture Reading and a Hand-book for Biblical Students. By the Author of 'The Reason Why,' 'General Science,' etc. Illustrated with numerous engravings." 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald.

A successful attempt to popularize Biblical knowledge. The information is in the form of question and answer. The topics are well selected. The engravings are generally, though not always, illustrations of fact and not of fancy. The ordinary reader, using it in connection with the Scripture perusal or independently, will find himself able to follow many parts of the sacred record more intelligently.

II. *Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(16.) "*How to Enjoy Life;* or, Physical and Mental Hygiene. By WILLIAM M. CORNELL, M. D." 12mo., pp. 360. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co.; Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory, & Co.; Chicago: Griggs & Co. 1860.

Among the many works on Hygiene this is one of the best. It is written with thorough science, great good sense, and freshness of style. Much good advice is given to clergymen, but we find nothing for them more important in our estimation than the following paragraph:

> "Few clergymen there are who cannot call to mind times when they have preached under great oppression. They have felt themselves to be in a torpid

in the specimens of preaching here presented. As aids for the young preacher, and as religious tracts for spiritual edification, they are among the best extant.

(14.) "*Notes on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, as the Basis of a Revision of the Common English Version, and a Revised Version with Notes.*" 16mo., pp. 56. New York: American Bible Union; Louisville: Bible Revision Association; London: Trübner & Co., No. 60, Paternoster Row. 1860.

This beautiful edition of the single brief Epistle to Philemon, bright with crimson and gilt, is issued for the examination and free criticism of the scholars of our country preparatory to its adoption by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union. It contains, first, a preface, reviewing the history of English Biblical translation; next, an introduction to the epistle; then the Greek text, in a rich black type, exhibiting as fine a specimen of "the swarthy daughters of Cadmus" as often walks abroad. The Greek is furnished with critical notes. Then the new version with notes, succeeded by a copy of the received version. In an appendix we have the letter, original and translated, of Pliny to Sabinianus, being one of the most exquisite specimens of the epistolary left us by classical antiquity, exhibiting all the more clearly, by its striking parallelism, the inferiority of the noblest Paganism to primitive Christianity. The notes and translation are, we understand, by Professor Hackett. Whatever criticisms the volume may meet from our Biblical scholars, we risk nothing in saying that it is in its way a special gem.

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"Few clergymen there are who cannot call to mind times when they have preached under great depression. They have felt themselves to be in a languid state, more like sleeping than speaking. They have almost gasped for breath. The reason or cause of all this they have not known at the time, but have at length perceived that they have been preaching in a nearly exhausted air-pump. The house had been closed since the last Sabbath. Not a window had been raised, nor a door opened, but for the ingress or egress of the people. Of what air there was the minister had the worst of it, especially if he was compelled to ascend one of those pulpits which seem designed to raise him as far toward

"That heaven to which he points
And leads the way"

as was at all practicable. The rarified air ascending, he had to take its most deleterious effluvia."

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(17.) "*Forty Years' Familiar Letters of James W. Alexander, D. D.* Constituting, with the Notes, a Memoir of his Life. Edited by the Surviving Correspondent, JOHN HALL, D. D." 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 412, 379. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

A biography so purely epistolary, on so extended a scale, and so complete in its details, was never before published. Perseverance through such a length of time, in so minute a correspondence with a single correspondent, shows both a marked unity of life and an unusual consistency of character. The epistolary series commences with Alexander's entrance into Princeton College, in 1819, and terminates a few days previous to his death, in 1859.

Dr. Alexander was by birth a Virginian, a son of a president of Hampden Sidney College. He filled, in early life, pastorates successively in Virginia and New Jersey, then the editorship of the Presbyterian at Philadelphia, and a professorship at Princeton. Subsequently he was pastor of Duane-street Presbyterian Church in New York, was theological professor at Princeton, and finally pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. The letters are the most perfectly unstudied effusions of the moment, aiming at no arrangement of topic, and running through a rapid change of disconnected subjects, without the formality of paragraphs. Their style is slightly above the conversational, and furnish opinions, feelings, and free remarks on surrounding events or living characters as they occur to the writer's thoughts. The notes of Dr. Hall are far too few and brief. A series of letters may give a very perfect idea of certain phases of a man's character, but there is a vast amount of truth in regard to every character important enough for a biography in two volumes, which it would never occur to him to relate in a haphazard correspondence. The reader to whom Dr. Alexander is not already well known would ask a completer account of his writings, his style as a preacher, his figure as a public man.

The following paragraph shows that Dr. Alexander was one of the rare few out of our own denomination able to appreciate Richard Watson.

"The simple view in which *systems* seem to me valuable, are as indexes to the subjects of Scripture. *Turretine* is in theology *instar omnium;* that is, so far forth as Blackstone is in law. I would not have you concur in all such scholastic

distinctions; but the whole ground is traversed, every question mooted, and even where hairs are split the mental energy and local adroitness with which the feat is achieved present one with an exercise of reasoning equal to anything in Chillingworth. I conscientiously believe I should say all this of him if he were a Socinian. That he is not, but rather an ultra Calvinist, I am pleased, for I find in him, among many that are untenable, triumphant arguments for all our doctrines. Making due allowance for the difference of age, Watson the Methodist is the only systematizer within my knowledge who approaches the same eminence; of whom I may use Addison's words: 'He reasons like Paley, and descants like Hall.' "—Vol. i, p. 181.

"Kidder has put out a valuable translation from the Portuguese on Celibacy: see this week's Observer. I have met him twice. *Me judice*, the Methodists are doing more than all of us in evangelizing this Sodom."—Vol. ii, p. 10.

"Some of the Methodists preach delightfully; and when they all sing together, it leaves the orchestral style far behind."—Vol. ii, p. 12.

Here is an important suggestion for preachers:

"Looking back—for I have passed the XL—I lament many things in my preaching; and among these, that I have not from the beginning aimed at the *greatest subjects*. Two things keep us from this: 1. A diffidence about treating them, because they are great; 2. A dislike to topics which seem so familiar. By the great topics I mean, not the outworks of Christianity, but the citadel; the Fall, the Atonement, Faith, Judgment. The same remark applies to the famous parts of Scripture, the Crucifixion, the Good Samaritan, the Ten Virgins, etc. We are in danger, from a neglect of this, of passing our short lives in frittering away at the appendages of the Gospel."—Vol. ii, pp. 24, 25.

"The very violent attempts at visible unity, as in the Liverpool Convention, savor of an unworthy suspicion that there is no Gospel union but in protocols and in platform *accolades*. The unity (*ni fallor*) which the Bible enjoins is no such thing, and is consistent with great diversity. Push a ritualist, and how little he can show for the unity. A Dominican and a Jesuit are far more asunder than Kidder [Methodist] and I in dress, in creed, and in service. Who authorizes them to say that the unity resides in swearing by one and the same pope?"—Vol. ii, p. 46.

"I think I am not censorious nor chagrined, in judging that religion in New York runs very much toward externals. Fine churches, pews, and music, fine sermons, fine 'enterprises,' viewed in the same light as stock-company concerns, fine collections; such are the stimulating ideas. 'Moderatism' is the *terminus ad quem*. So far as my researches go, Presbyterianism has never and nowhere made striking advances, except when the body of preachers and people has been animated with a zeal for truth and saving souls, such as at the very time has been a little too strong, methodistical, pietistical, enthusiastical, in the eyes even of many sound, good sort of brethren. When we substitute for this secular stimulants, wealth, apparatus, ritual, decorum, letters, or oratory, we find that these (at least in the apprehension of the million) exist in greater force among the Episcopalians. Nor do we mend the matter by fighting these last on questions of difference. Our real aggression has always been by warm pushing of our evangelical tenets. Right or wrong, this has become more and more my theory; I would I could show some corresponding practice: *negatively* I think I can."—Vol. ii, p. 74.

The two following furnish an amusing cluster of name puns:

"*Bush* has preached for *Bellows*; his name will consort with the other fuel—*Greenwood*, *Sparks*, *Burnap*, *Furness*, etc., [all Unitarian preachers."]—Vol. ii, p. 26.

"Old Mr. Scott said in 1849: 'We fare well in our Church; last Sabbath we had *Kittle* and *Potts*; to day *Krebs* (pronounced by him *crabs*) and *Eells*.' Such was literally the fact."—Vol. ii, p. 197.

> "If I were ten years younger I would have a building erected to hold two thousand, and would preach to free seats; not that I think the existing plan ought to be abandoned, but because I think we ought to have several, yea, many plans, yea, many sorts of preachers, 'unlearned deacons' and all."—Vol. ii, p. 206.

Some critics have cut up the editor of the Methodist Quarterly for speaking irreverently of Dr. Cummings. That said editor is not alone, witness the following touches:

> "So many around me are mad with Cumming that I have lately been examining his prophetical volumes, four or five in number. He has a great charm of clear, beautiful, picturesque language; beyond this, he is a cross of —— on ——;[°] superior to either, but as conceited, as shallow, as uncharitable, and as one-sided. Of real original proof—nothing. As to prophecy, he merely hashes up Elliott. His interspersed pious addresses are good."—Vol. ii, p. 222.
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> "The religious romance of early Methodism interests me more than Macaulay, and I think John Wesley's English better than Swift's or Cobbett's."—[Ibid.
>
> "Augustine is the only father of whom I read much; and the more I read the more I perceive that if you leave out predestination and justification by faith, his scheme, and that of the Catholic Church of his day, was just that which Pusey would restore. Nothing can be more garbled and misleading than the centos given by Milner."—Vol. ii, p. 234.

(18.) "*The Pioneers, Preachers, and People of the Mississippi Valley.* By William Henry Milburn, Author of 'The Rifle, Ax, and Saddlebags,' and 'Ten Years of Preacher Life.'" 12mo., pp. 465. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

This elegant volume comprises ten lectures, standing in historical order, and giving a comprehensive view of the past and present of our Mississippian west from the era when first De Soto set forth on his romantic tour of discovery. It is divided into natural chronological periods, comprising the primitive age of French dominion, the anterevolutionary British predominance, the western scenes during the Revolution, the progress of events until the failure of Burr's expedition in 1806, and, finally, the period within the recollection of the writer's cotemporaries.

The fascination of the author's style of feeling, thought, and language pervades the pages in its fullest power. The rich, natural, lucid flow of the periods; the varied yet always vivid, and often luxuriant picture; the selection of event and character so easily allowed by the nature of his well-chosen theme, combine to render this one of the author's best volumes, and one of the most readable volumes of the day. Rich as is the author's imaginative power, he never transcends the limits of fact. It is not his purpose to forge a romance of American history, but to unfold the true element of the romantic in history; and no man need affirm, after the publication of this volume, that our country has no heroic age, or even that its heroic age is past.

Milburn possesses a catholicity which for moments may induce you to imagine that he is at heart an indifferentist; but you soon discover your mistake, and learn that he simply has his own method of blending a liberalizing temper with a firm grasp of essential truth. You may fancy for some pages that he

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[°] Popular Anti-Romanists.

is ready to court a general popularity by sinking his peculiar principles; but you are soon undeceived by his disclosing, in full and frank manifesto, not merely confession of what he is, but aggressive profession. In the high finish of his style of thought and rhetoric you anticipate at times an approaching over delicacy; but never fear; at the proper time you will find that he can call a very "swill-pail" by its right name, and that his genial nature can feel and show the taking side of homeliness.

We could adorn our pages with many a fragment of written eloquence, many a pictorial of rare beauty, many a touch of exquisite sentiment, some trains of lucid and subtle, but not sententious or deep-reaching reflection from Milburn, but the following brave paragraph for Francis Asbury shall suffice:

> "Such a man was Bishop Asbury, to my mind one of the most important, if not the most important personage in the ecclesiastical history of this continent. With all respect to Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Dwight, Dr. Channing, all the other eminent and pre-eminent men of New-England—I have read them, and knew some of them—I think that Francis Asbury, that first superintendent and bishop of our Methodist Church, was the most renowned and redoubtable soldier of the cross that ever advanced the standard of the Lord upon this continent. Yet you will not find his name in a single history of the United States that I know of, and it is a burning shame that it is so. He traveled for fifty years, on horseback, from Maine to Georgia, and from Massachusetts to the far West, as population extended; journeying in that time, as was computed, about three hundred thousand miles. He had the care of all the Churches; was preaching instant in season and out of season; was laboring indefatigably with the young men to inspire and stimulate them; winning back the lost and bringing amorphous elements into harmony, in a Church which, when he began with it in 1771, numbered probably not fifty members; and which, when he was an old man—he died in 1816—numbered, white and black, from Maine to California, and from far northwestern Oregon to sunny southern Florida, nearly a million of members. So vast a Church did Francis Asbury build, almost solely by his own profound wisdom, untiring effort, and ceaseless devotion; and he did as much for building school-houses and colleges, erecting churches, establishing sound views of morality, and lofty purity in the forms of life; for gathering and establishing in doctrine and discipline this immense body of Christians, now the most numerous in the country, having more by one-third of stated ministers, and more colleges than any other two denominations in the land. That one who has done this should not have had his name even so much as named in a single school history in the United States, I say is a shame."

(19.) "*A Year in Europe.* By the Rev. JOSEPH CROSS, D. D. Edited by THOMAS O. SUMMERS, D. D." 12mo., pp. 519. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1859.

Dr. Cross is an Englishman by birth, a Northerner of our American States by education; a Southerner by the seductions upon a genial temperament of the manners and institutions of the sunny clime. Of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, he is a "crack" writer and a "star" preacher. Pure, graceful, eloquent English flows like transparent "writing fluid" from his pen. The Church North should not have lost him; and would not, had his *æsthetik* been a little less keen, or his *ethik* a little more stern.

Dr. Cross is a model traveler, narrator, and picturer. With him you are in gentle sunshine all the way. Not but that plagues and malapropos are not turning up now and then; but they are only frequent enough to show how

dexterously they may be evaded, disregarded, or transformed into aliment for pleasantry.

Our traveler first took England on his way to the continent, and took the continent on his way to Italy. For Italy and England (to which last he subsequently returned) are his two European *native* countries; the former by birth, the latter by his large enthusiastic fancy. How did he enjoy, how does he touch with graphic pencil the queen of the Adriatic, the eternal city, the volcano, the buried cities, the world of ever-varying wonders and memories which unfolds itself in classic and ecclesiastic Italy.

Then, once more in England, Dr. Cross gives us portraits of the great preachers, Raffles, M'Neil, Melvill, Spurgeon, and others. The criticisms are among the best in their class. No writer has given us so distinct a view of the secret of Spurgeon's power. The closing chapters, describing tea-parties in London, from one to five, are entertaining, and not a little suggestive. Chapter the last, in which Dr. C. visits the home of his boyhood, has a power to open the "sympathetic spring of tears."

After describing the difficulties he met in getting a seat in the rush to hear the "finest sermonizer in England," Henry Melvill, he says of the sermon:

"It was a solid mass of thought, squared by the severest logic, and adorned with the noblest rhetoric. It was highly evangelical too; full of the very essence of the Gospel. But a delivery so peculiar, who shall describe? It is wholly unimaginable. The war-steed rushing to the charge; the avalanche thundering down the mountain: the burning ship flying before the tempest, are the best similitudes of his splendid impetuosity and power. His voice is clear but not musical; his enunciation is very distinct and emphatic; his intonations and inflections quite ludicrous to a stranger. Now you have the tone and cadence of rapid, earnest conversation; then the speaker drops into a lower key, husky and guttural, and runs on in a perfect monotone for five minutes or more, till you imagine him quite exhausted for breath; when suddenly he vaults into the lofty sentence which is to conclude the paragraph, and with a mighty 'O!' in the middle, and a spasmodic jerk of the head at the end, he flings out the words in a half scream, which well-nigh electrifies the audience. The Rev. Dr. Ryerson, of Canada, who was present the last Sabbath, assured me that he was much more vehement twenty years ago; and that there is scarcely anything now, in voice or manner, to remind one of the former Melvill. Action, strictly speaking, he has none. He stands as erect and motionless as the Nelson monument, till he comes to the close of an argument, when he slightly elevates his right hand, and gives a nod which threatens the dislocation of his neck. Of slight stature, thin visage, dark complexion, keen black eyes, finely-moulded features, and bushy hair, as white as wool, he is a man of imposing mien, but not half so majestic in the pulpit as M'Niel, nor half so graceful as Cumming. Spurgeon attracts the mob, Melvill draws the intellect of London. The Penny Pulpit, for more than twenty years, has published more of his sermons than of any other living man's, and annually a large volume of them is bound up for the market. His popularity, however, is confined to the pulpit and the manuscript. He makes no platform speeches, nor ever ventures an extemporaneous paragraph.

'’Tis true ’tis pity—pity ’tis ’tis true;

but it must not be denied that he is pretty thoroughly imbued with the sacramentarian theology; and in one of the sermons to which I listened, he taught most distinctly and earnestly the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; that whenever the water of baptism is sprinkled by a consecrated hand upon a child, that child is regenerated, and needs but abide in the grace received in order to eternal salvation."

(20.) "*The History of Herodotus.* A new English Version, with Copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent sources of information; and embodying the Chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by Col. Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K. C. B., and Sir J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. In four volumes. Vol. iii. With Maps and Illustrations." 8vo., pp. 463. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present volume of this great work embraces the fourth, fifth, and sixth books. To the first book there are appended three dissertations; to the fifth, two, and to the sixth, two, and a valuable note on the derivation and meaning of the proper names of the Medes and Persians. There are thirty-two maps and illustrations.

We can perhaps convey to scholars who have not seèn the work a true idea of the value of its contributions to history and ethnology in no better way than to give the contents of the appendices of the fourth book:

"ESSAY I.—*On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race.*—1. Early importance of the Cimmerians—their geographical extent. 2. Identity of the Cimmerii with the *Cymry*—close resemblance of the two names. 3. Historical confirmation of the identity—connecting link in the Cimbri. 4. Comparative philology silent but not adverse. 5. Migrations of the Cimmerians—westward, and then eastward. Existing Cimbric and Celtic races.

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(21.) "*A Voyage down the Amoor*, with a Land Journey through Siberia, and incidental Notices of Manchoorja, Kamschatka, and Japan. By PERRY M'DONOUGH COLLINS." 12mo., pp. 390. New York: Appleton & Co.

The position of Mr. Collins in California awakened his meditations to the future commercial and historical importance of the Pacific Ocean, of the empires upon its opposite shores, and the splendid isles, more noted in romance and poetry than known to history, that stud its bosom. The vast continent of resources and of wants that lie in Asia furnishes material for an incalculable commerce waiting for an outlet and inlet yet to be opened. Patient and searching observation enabled him to fix upon the great river Amoor as the means of furnishing the desideratum.

Furnished with credentials from our government, he embarked for Russia

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Furnished with credentials from our government, he embarked for Russia in April, 1856, and, furnished with credentials from the Russian emperor in December of the same year, he started upon a magnificent sleigh-ride from Moscow eastward, across Central Asia, through the cities of Ekaterenburg, Omsk, and Irkutsk, to the sources of this wonderful river Amoor. At its head waters he arrived on Thursday, June 4, 1857, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, about fifteen thousand miles from his starting-point. Of this day and hour was he proud, as of an epoch memorable in the annals not only of the Amoor and of Mr. Collins, but of Asia, of America, and the rest of mankind.

From the heart of Central and Northern Asia the Amoor flows eastward with a magnificent and navigable current into the Pacific Ocean, near the isles of Japan. The project of Mr. Collins is, by agency of an American company, to place a line of steamers upon the river and connect it by railroad with Irkutsk. For this he has obtained the concurrence of the Russian authorities, and his book presents his enterprise to the notice of the world. His vision of the future results is still more extensive. He affirms "that railroads are quite as practicable in Siberia, and from Europe across the Ural and Altaï Mountains to the head waters of the Amoor as they are from St. Petersburgh to Moscow, or from Moscow to Warsaw." Steam transit, then, from Moscow across the southern margin of Siberia to the Pacific is the really intended ultimatum.

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(22.) "*The Life of Jacob Gruber*. By W. P. STRICKLAND." 12mo., pp. 384. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

Gruber was one of the class of unique characters whom exciting interests and stirring revolutions bring into publicity and sometimes into history. Such men attract attention from their cotemporaries by the perpetual unexpectedness of their sayings and doings. They awaken the interest of the philosopher by showing into what quaint and curious forms human nature may be moulded. When, as in Gruber's case, the occasion that calls them forth is a religious excitement, a sense of incongruity arises in fastidious and conservative minds; but the very unexpectedness of their procedures, especially when resulting not from forced but from natural originality, produces an awakening, and, on the whole, reforming effect. Beyond all doubt Gruber was an original; perhaps the most natural and inimitable original of our American Methodist history.

Dr. Strickland is a veteran biographer. For no one of his books, perhaps, does the Church owe him more thanks than for the volume before us. His Asbury may possess a more standard value, but for that work the materials were safely and permanently extant; but his securement of the evanescent traces of Gruber was a fair rescue.

The trial of Gruber for the utterance of antislavery sentiment, the characters engaged, and the spirit displayed, furnish a marked passage in the biography. We can scarce imagine ourselves, while reading it, to be tracing a series of events occurring in a land boasting its freedom. The voice of Gruber, though perhaps temporarily silenced, can never die. The doctrines he uttered, whether or not he persisted in their proclamation, are destined to a triumph even upon the ground of his fiery trial.

(23.) "*Early Methodism within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference*, from 1788 to 1828, or the first Forty Years of Wesleyan Evangelism in Northern Pennsylvania, Central and Western New York and Canada; containing Sketches of interesting Localities, Exciting Scenes, and Prominent Actors. By GEORGE PECK, D.D." 12mo., pp. 502. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

Perhaps no man living could have been selected more fitted to furnish a survey of the past events of Methodism within the field here defined than the author of the present volume. The localities, the scenes, the characters, the spirit of the times are to a great degree familiar to his memory. To the Methodists of its own section especially the book will be matter of much personal interest. To the future historian it will furnish material not hitherto gathered from the broad field which our work has overspread. More we might say, but it will probably be better said in a full article of a future number.

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(24.) "*Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years* 1857, 1858, 1859. By LAURENCE OLIPHANT, Private Secretary to Lord Elgin, Author of the 'Russian Shores of the Black Sea.'" 8vo., pp. 645. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The opening of the barred gates of the Japanese empire, and the initiation of mutual intercourse between her and Christendom, is one of the triumphs of modern civilization and a parent of future triumphs. To the Christian Church, looking over the vast field of the world, her domains seem whitening to the harvest. The volume before us is full of information for the statesmen both of the Church and nation. The volume will derive additional interest from the interchange of national courtesies, as well as the opening of commercial relations, in which our government has so appropriately and honorably taken the lead.

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(25.) "*The American Ecclesiastical Year-book*. Containing, 1. The Present Religious Statistics of the World. 2. A Brief Religious History of all Denominations in all Countries during the past Year. Vol. I. The Religious Statistics and History of the Year 1859. By ALEXANDER J. SCHEM, Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College." 12mo., pp. 237. New York: H. Dayton. 1860.

We have already announced this work, and testified to the ability and fitness of Professor Schem for its production. We trust that the work will be found by its purchasers worthy of its author. It will be seen that it claims to be volume first; and as each year will add a new volume, it may be found desirable to commence with the series.

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(26.) "*The Life and Times of Herod the Great*, as connected Historically and Prophetically with the Coming of Christ, and Incidental Portraitures of noted Personages of the Age. By WILLIAM M. WILLETT. 12mo., pp. 384. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860.

This volume is an admirable introduction for the young reader to the New Testament. From a diligent investigation of the complex history of the times.

Mr. Willett not only narrates, but delineates with a considerable pictorial power the scenes and characters that prepared the way for the advent. There should be a map or two added to the volume; some inaccuracies of style need revision, and the book might well take its place in the Sunday-school Libraries.

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(27.) "*The History of France.* By PARKE GODWIN. Vol. I. (Ancient Gaul.") 8vo., pp. 495. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Mr. Godwin undertakes the high task of furnishing to the English language what it has not hitherto possessed, a history of France worthy of the subject and worthy of our age. Its research is fundamental, its spirit is philosophical. The abilities of the author will, we think, be found equal to his mission of furnishing a great history of a great people. The present volume is in a great degree archæological. But such is the character of the brilliant race which constitutes its principal figure that the narrations and dissertations are as fascinating as they are instructive.

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(28.) "*History of the Great Reformation in England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, and Italy.* By Rev. THOMAS CARTER." 12mo., pp. 372. New York: Carlton & Porter; Boston: J. P. Magee. 1860.

Everybody has heard of Luther and the Reformation, and nearly everybody would like to read the whole story if it were not so very long. Four or five volumes, like those of D'Aubigné, on the subject are too much, amid so many other demands, for one short life. Here, then, is the story in short compass, written by a countryman of D'Aubigné, in much the same free flowing style, with the same evangelic power. It is not, however, a mere abridgment, a D'Aubigné junior. Mr. Carter thinks and speaks for himself. His volume ought to be, and we trust will be popular.

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(29.) "*A Missionary among Cannibals;* or, The Life of JOHN HUNT, who was eminently successful in converting the People of Fiji from Cannibalism to Christianity. By GEORGE STRINGER ROWE." 16mo., pp. 286. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

Dr. Wise has here adopted, and adapted to American wants, an English publication of great interest and rare power. Who has not heard of the wonders of grace in Fiji? Who has not felt a glow of heart over the triumphs of the blessed Gospel in subduing the fierce cannibals, and transforming them to followers of the meek lamb of God? And the Church reaps a reflex blessing from this field in the lives and inspiring examples of the Christian heroes under whose labors the work is accomplished. Such missionaries, by the history of their labors, create their own successors. Let the Church place their memorials in the hands of her children, and she shall never want a man to stand before the Lord in readiness for the work.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(30.) "*Echoes of Harper's Ferry.* By JAMES REDPATH." 12mo., pp. 513. Boston: Thayer & Eldridge. 1860.

The present volume is a collection of Essays, Sermons, Addresses, and Poems, eulogistic of the heroism of John Brown of Ossawotomie. There is much brave and fiery eloquence in its pages, bearing no little resemblance in its brilliant abandonment to the hero and the exploit under celebration. Thoreau, Wendell Phillips, Emerson, Theodore Tilton, and Victor Hugo are the orators; Cheever, Gilbert Haven, Fales H. Newhall, and Edwin M. Wheelock are the preachers; Whittier and Lydia Maria Child are among the poets. Seldom has any book gone forth from any press, in any age, more rife with burning life.

We do not think that John Brown showed us the way to abolish slavery. We do not think that enterprises like his would generally hasten the approach of emancipation day. We do not think that the crop of heroes of his grain are on the whole an available product of cultivation. We say this without any undervaluation of the intrinsic antique nobleness of the man, or any under estimate of the terrible personal wrongs he had suffered. But the occurrence of his enterprise deeply embittered a controversy which we trust tends to a peaceful termination. The encouragement of outbreaks against established laws upon private and individual impulse is dangerous to all social order. Yet it is possible that on the whole the results have rather advanced than retarded the antislavery sentiment. The momentary check is like that produced by the fall of a feeble water jet flung by an engine upon an extensive conflagration, arresting but a moment, and then feeding the flame with the very element that should extinguish. The antislavery revolution gathers new power from every momentary obstacle, and rushes like a planet in its orbital path to the resistless consummation of its divine destiny.

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(31.) "*Introduction to the Study of International Law.* Designed as an aid in Teaching and in Historical Studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College." 12mo., pp. 486. Boston and Cambridge: Munroe & Co. 1860.

The volume before us is the result of President Woolsey's professional labors. It is shaped for a place which is filled by no work hitherto published, namely, collegiate instruction. The works of Vattel and Wheaton are too voluminous, and the chapters by Kent are embodied in a work of great extent upon a more general subject. The publication of this book is very likely to make the branch of study more customary in our universities. The name of Mr. Woolsey is a guarantee for its standard character.

V. *Educational.*

(32.) "*A Treatise on Elementary and Higher Algebra.* By THEODORE STRONG, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Rutger's College, New Brunswick, N. J., Member of the American Philosophical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences." 8vo., pp. 551. New York: Pratt, Oakley, & Co. 1859.

Two objects appear to have been prominent in the author's mind in the preparation of this work, to attain either of which a high order of mathematical ability was essential. One of these was to give a full view of the present condition of the science of Algebra. Of course, a work written with this object in view cannot be adapted to the wants of as large a class of students as one which is devoted exclusively to the elements of the science, and is not likely to be very generally adopted as a text-book. But we think that those who wish to obtain a better knowledge of the subject than can be obtained from any of the treatises in general use, will find Dr. Strong's book better adapted to their wants than any other American work. Every topic which we expect to find in a treatise on true algebra is discussed with as much fullness as can be desired; and every subject, from the most elementary to the most abstruse, is placed in as clear a light as the nature of the subject would allow.

But this work will be very valuable even to those who are familiar with the science. Dr. Strong has been recognized for many years as one of the ablest mathematicians in our country. He has devoted a large portion of his life to scientific investigations, and his principal object in preparing this treatise was to give the results of his labors, some of which constitute very important additions to the science. The most valuable of these contributions are found in the chapters on equations. Some of the most difficult problems pertaining to equations, whose solution has been obtained hitherto only by the aid of the higher mathematics, are brought within the domain of pure algebra. For example, we notice a purely algebraic and rigorous proof of the well-known theorem, that the number of the roots of an equation is equal to the degree of the equation, which has been assumed or only partially demonstrated in other works on algebra, because a complete demonstration was supposed to require a knowledge of the calculus. In like manner, the solutions of binomial equations of the irreducible cases of cubic. and biquadratic equations are effected without recourse to the principles of trigonometry. A new method is given for the development of the roots of numerical equations, which is much more simple than any of the older methods, and gives the *imaginary* as well as the *real* roots to any degree of accuracy. To those who are not familiar with the extensive application of the theory of equations to other departments of scientific research, such contributions as these will doubtless appear to be of little value. But when it is remembered that most of the difficulties which arrest the progress of the mathematician in the higher fields of speculation, or in those departments of astronomy and physics to which algebraic reasoning is applicable, arise from his imperfect acquaintance with

the theory of equations, we think that it will be conceded that he does not unduly appreciate any additions to his knowledge of the subject.

We have mentioned some of the most important of the author's additions to the science, but there is scarcely a chapter of the work which is not enriched by the results of his own studies. Our limits will permit only a simple reference to some of the less important, such as the appendix to multiplication and division; a new method of solving quadratic equations; a new and complete demonstration of the binomial theorem; the fundamental theorem of the differential calculus. We are especially pleased with the introduction of the last named subject. A judicious use of the doctrine of infinitesimals would remove the difficulty of many propositions which are found in even the elementary works.

We regret to notice a serious defect in the arrangement of the matter. The equations, both important and unimportant, are printed with the text. This gives a heavy appearance to the page, and makes any reference to the important equations very difficult. All of the formulæ of which subsequent use is made should occupy separate lines. V.

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(33.) "*The Elementary Spelling-Book*, being an improvement on the American Spelling-Book. By Noah Webster, LL.D." 12mo., pp. 168. New York: Appleton & Co.

Profound is our respect for the original "Webster's Spelling-Book." Its image and its lessons are among our earliest recollections; dim and semi-mythical shadows in the primitive antiquity of our own little microcosmic history. Innocent but dubious were the days when, in our hopeful developments, we mounted from *ampersand* to *bag*, from *bag* to *baker*, and from *baker* to *crucifix*. Equal achievements, premonitory of the struggle for advancement in life's farther stages, we have perhaps never since accomplished. Our notions about the being, person, reality, corporeity of Noah Webster were very crude. He stood to us in very much the same atmosphere, half way between fact and fiction, with Samson and Santa Claus. It was indeed rumored that he lived in New Haven. But what or where was New Haven? In name it might be confused with *heaven*. In position it might be "on night's Plutonian shore." When, at the rounded age of thirty, an age at which the supposed realties of things are claimed to be more clearly ascertained, we saw—ocularly—with corporeal vision—the veritable and venerable figure of Noah Webster, *ipsissimum;* it strengthened our faith in the historical reality of Adam, and Melchisedek, and the other Noah. And truly venerability more beautiful, age more youthful, seldom or never have we seen than Noah Webster's. The blooming cheek, the clear eye, the fresh, morning-like spirit at near threescore and ten, were a refreshment and a lesson to behold.

And now we would like to see a genuine "Webster's Spelling-Book" in its own primitive purity, just as we would like to see the greensward of our childhood's sports, and the faces familiar to our young vision. But what "Spelling-book" have we here, with its "improvements" and other brags? A figment, a novelty, an imposture! This "Mr. Wm. G. Webster" we do not

know; and as for "Emily W. Ellsworth and Julia W. Goodrich," the very display of their names smacks of the degenerate days of "women's rights" and abolitionism. And the book itself is a mass of confusion. Here is *baker*, but where is *bag?* Where is *crucifix?* Such upturning of fundamentals unsettles all certainty, and tends to Atheism. We are resolved to be uncompromisingly conservative. We would thank things to stay as they are. Otherwise Darwin's theory will prove absolutely true: everything will grow out of itself into something else, and nobody will long know either himself or anything else, or be able to guess into what shape or substance he may finally be transmuted.

(34.) "*Class-Book of Botany.* Being Outlines of the Structure, Physiology, and Classification of Plants. With a Flora of all parts of the United States and Canada. By ALPHONSO WOOD, A. M." 8vo., pp. 174. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860.

Mr. Wood's class-book has been before the public some fifteen years, and this edition aims to embrace the latest fruits of research. It is a model of comprehensive conciseness. Complete clearness with such frugality of words is seldom attained. Its reputation is fully sustained by its merits.

(35.) "*Manual of Geology.* Designed for the Use of Academies and Colleges. By EBENEZER EMMONS, Professor in Williams College. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. Second Edition." 8vo., pp. 297. New York: Barnes & Burr. 1860.

Professor Emmons's work is admirably adapted to its purposes as a manual of instruction. It draws its illustration from facts of American Geology. Its form is well suited for the full exhibition of objects by cuts, which are furnished in copious abundance. This edition embraces the latest phases of the science.

VI.—*Periodicals.*

(36.) "*The American Life Assurance Magazine and Journal of Actuaries.* Edited by G. E. CURRIE. Vol. I." New York: Gilbert E. Currie. 1860.

This magazine is published quarterly at the office designated. The volume before us comprises three numbers of the Magazine, and the proceedings of the "First American Life Underwriters' Convention," held in New York, May, 1859.

The contents of the volume consists of valuable statistics and estimates in connection with the practical operations of life assurance. It contains information enough to acquaint any one sufficiently with this subject. The general principles of the system and the details of operation, with convincing arguments in favor of it, are clearly stated. The contributors evidence an earnest and enthusiastic interest in the subject, which the reader can scarcely fail to participate in.

Life assurance is one of the growing interests in our country, and, we think, deservedly so. Information should be widely circulated in regard to it. For this purpose we commend the "American Life Assurance Magazine."

A second convention of American Life Underwriters has been recently held in New York, May, 1860. From its proceedings we learn that the funds now held in trust by the life assurance companies in this country amount to *twenty-two millions of dollars*, the sums insured are about *one hundred and eighty millions*, and the number of lives assured near *one hundred and sixty thousand.* Over *two millions* of dollars are paid out every year by the falling in of claims, mostly to widows and orphans. The necessity has been felt by American companies for an American table of mortality. This is now in the hands of an able committee for construction, and we learn that the number of lives, their data for the work, is greater than that from which the best English tables were made. It is ascertained that middle-life in America is not subject to as high a rate of mortality as in England, while both ends of life with us are subject to a greater rate.

This system originated in pure benevolence, and benevolence too for widows and clergymen. In England, in 1698, the first society was organized for the benefit of widows of clergymen. In our country it had the same origin. In 1769 "The Protestant Episcopal Corporation for the Benefit of Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" was chartered. And yet we believe no class has shared less in the benefits of assurance than clergymen. Several articles have lately appeared in the Christian Advocate and Journal, New York, calling the attention of Churches to this subject, proposing that they enter upon some arrangement to secure life policies for their pastors. One of these articles suggested an outline of a plan by which the advantages of the system of assurance might be secured to the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, generally, at but little cost, or inconvenience to the Church at large. Some of the Annual Conferences have agitated the subject, and we hope it will receive the attention and action it deserves.

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(37.) "*The University Quarterly.* Conducted by an Association of Collegiate and Professional Students in the United States and Europe. April, 1860." 8vo., pp. 429. Printed for the Association. Thomas H. Pease, New Haven, Conn., General Agent.

The purpose of this stately quarterly is to stand as an organ of our American Colleges, a medium of intercourse and unity, serving to give them in some degree the collective character of a national university. It is a happy conception, and should be realized without failure. It is characterized by a marked catholicity of plan and spirit. It starts indeed from Yale. The present number embodies contributions and statements of collegiate history from New Haven to Beloit, from venerable Columbia to youthful Troy. Every college may associate in the enterprise. We regret to see that as yet Troy alone of our own colleges appears in its pages. Middletown, Dickinson, and the whole corps will, we trust, co-operate.

(38.) "*Annuaire des Deux Mondes Histoire Generale des divers Etats.* Histoire Politique—Relations Internationales et Diplomatic; Administration, Commerce et Finances. Presse Periodique et Litterature. 1858–1859." 8vo., pp. 1044. Paris: Bureau de la Revue des Deux Mondes; New York: Ballière.

This is a year-book of general and secular history for both hemispheres. Such a work affords a very convenient resort for reference. Nearly two hundred pages are devoted to America, North and South.

VII.—*Juvenile.*

"*Little Songs for Little People.* With numerous Illustrations." 16mo, pp. 256. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Little Things for Little Folks.* By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 133. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Young Gold Seeker*, and other Authentic Sketches. A Book for Youth. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 132. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Arthur and his Mother;* or, The Story of a Child that belonged to the Church. A Book for Christian Children. Five Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 106. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Margaret Maxham.* A Book for Young Ladies. By MARIANNA H. BLISS, Author of Little Tiger Lily. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 144. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Sweet Corabelle*, and other Authentic Sketches. A Book for Youth. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 164. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Emigrants*, an Allegory; or, Christianity versus the World. By Rev. WESLEY COCHRAN, A. M." 16mo., pp. 194. New York: Printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street.

"*Happy Mike;* or, How Sam Jones became a Good Boy: and The Little Gardener. By CATHARINE BELL. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 114. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Clara, the Motherless Young Housekeeper;* or, The Life of Faith. By UNA LOCKE. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 122. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Juna Atherton's Year at School.* A Story for Young Ladies. By LOUISA ELLEN ——. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 198. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Pleasant Talks with the Little Folks.* By ROBIN RANGER. Ten Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 154. New York: Carlton & Porter.

"*Little Mabel and her Sunlit Home.* By a Lady. Four Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 164. New York: Carlton & Porter.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1860.

ART. I.—JOHN RUSKIN.

Modern Painters. By a Graduate of Oxford. Vols. I, II, III, IV and V. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

Seven Lamps of Architecture. By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

Stones of Venice: Vol. I. *Foundations.* Vol. II. *Sea Stories.* Vol. III. *The Fall.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

The Two Paths. By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

Pre-Raphaelites. By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds. By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

Economy of Art. By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

Elements of Drawing. By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

IN the year 1843 a work appeared in England entitled "Modern Painters," by a Graduate of Oxford. The title was unattractive, the theme not less so. The apparent vanity of the author, in his *nom de plume*, did not strengthen their weakness. Yet in spite of these defects, which seemed to shut it out alike from the masses and the elect, it ran through four large editions within five years, and was read by every class with equal astonishment, if not with equal admiration. It provoked bitter assaults upon its doctrines and descriptions from the scathed artists, and introduced a new life, with all its fluctuations, into the domain of art.

The secret of its success lay partly in the beauty and vigor of its style, partly in its bold criticisms on the great masters of art, old and new, but chiefly in its new and thrilling descriptions of the phenomena and laws of nature. It has the honor of opening the

world of art to the world of readers. To them this province had been previously closed. Whatever privileges had been accorded to them as admirers of the works of artists, the laws of art, though universal and patent to every eye, had never before been developed. Vitruvius or Fuseli, Reynolds or Angelo, whoever had discoursed upon this theme, had failed to see its high origin in nature, and wide relations to all her offspring of science and letters. The literature of art he must be said to have founded. Whoever now enters this field must learn his tactics and wield his arms, if they would win his honors.

John Ruskin, the author of the work, was the son of a London merchant, in which city he was born in 1819. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1843, when he took the Newdegate prize for English poetry. The same year, when not twenty-five years old, he issued the first volume of the "Modern Painters." It was designed as a defense of Turner, the famous landscape artist, whose works had been the butt of ridicule among artists and connoisseurs. He meant to compass the defense within the little limits and life of a pamphlet, but he soon saw that the only way to carry him triumphantly through the contest was to bring him and all his rivals, cotemporaneous or antecedent, to that nature which they professed to follow, and test their professions in the light of her realities. To do this it was necessary to know what they were set to copy. But when he looked at the canons of the school he found none of her divine decrees recorded there. All was musty, weak, erroneous, human. His paramount duty, therefore, evidently was, to bring the artist home to nature, to show him her whom he must love and worship, must study and obey, if he would have any of the offspring of his own genius adorned and strengthened with her immortal beauty and life.

It is in this department of investigation that he rises from the critic to the seer, from the reformer of art to the revealer of nature, from the transient, if brilliant, fame of the advocate and pamphleteer, to the enduring post of a philosopher and lawgiver. Here, too, is where the students of diviner mysteries find a place for him beside the explorers of the word of God. The book of nature, the elder, but not the better brother of the book of revelation, will be always reverently read by every lover of their Author. And if there is one who has had access to her secret chambers, has grasped her inmost life, or dwelt wisely and reverently upon the loveliness of that "body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part," it is our duty and privilege to follow him on these great paths of thought, to gaze with him on her new revelations of truth and beauty, and to feel with him the fullness of her glory, strength, and joy.

Ruskin has, perhaps unconsciously, shaped himself according to the form and pressure of the age. Its ruling passion has wrought in him, though in a manner and to ends unusual. That passion is to search into nature, to know the knowable in her every part and particle. The rise of many sciences of nature within the past century, the wondrous growth which those have seen that led a feeble and contemptuous existence before, mark the currents on which the present thoughts of the race are swept. Man has at last found the key to these mysteries, and he cannot rest till he explores every private cabinet and gloats over every hidden gem. He maps the surface of earth and ocean, so that the whole globe is as familiar to him as his garden. He drops his plummet among the stars, and draws from those untraveled depths their eternal secrets. He enters the abysses of earth and sea, and drags forth to the garish light of our day the treasures which myriads of ages have there stored up. He weighs the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance. He turns water to fire, fire to ice, rock to air, and all to unseen elements, in whose new combinations he creates new atmospheres, new seas, new worlds. Poetry and philosophy, language and letters, theology and politics, all other modes of mental activity, play a secondary part in the great intellectual drama of to-day. Natural science has the chief *role*. Humboldt is called the greatest man of the age only because he most perfectly plays this part. His associates, Cuvier, Linnæus, La Verrier, Agassiz, hold the supreme rank among men only because they best represent the passion of the hour. They are the kings of the laboratory and the observatory, and these are the thrones of present dominion. But this force, like every other in nature, is one-sided. It cannot truly live without its counterforce. This scrutiny of nature is unnatural. If carried forward without check it would soon slay the form it worships. Its devotion involves the murder of its idol. For natural science as popularly understood is but the dissection of nature. The world without is anatomized by the world within. That lovely, living form is stretched upon the table of the operator. She is flayed, her flesh is stripped from her bones, her nerves are laid bare, her throbbing heart and brain are coolly taken from their living couches, and cleft in a spirit that is usually utterly careless, if not ignorant, of their real life, and is only anxious to learn their material constitution. She is perfect only when she hangs, a skeleton, in her idolater's cabinet. This ceaseless contemplation of nature in her unnatural forms is apt to breed in the student a contempt for the exquisite and wondrous life that she really possesses, as the physician, by his constant study of the dissevered body, is tempted to despise that body

and deny its glory and immortality. It goes farther, and breeds in him a contempt for the Creator of that unfathomable beauty.

But no great force works without its fellow. The centrifugal generates the centripetal. The progress, popularity, and power of this school of culture is attended by a corresponding progress, popularity, and power in its cognate, yet hostile school. Against these lovers of her rent robes and elemental forms are set those who detect and declare her perfection of beauty. These draw all hearts to worship her living, those to study her dead. Poets and artists are the chief ministers at this altar. They hold the mirror up to visible nature. Hence, as one class are casting her into the retort and calcining her in the crucible, the other are prostrating themselves in her sublime temple before her unchanged though everchanging beauty. The last century witnessed the beginning of this revival. Burns and Cowper were its forerunners in poetry, Reynolds and Gainsborough in art. Wordsworth and Turner, the greatest seers of nature, with attendant suns, soon followed. In all culture, European and American, this spirit soon revealed itself, until finally the masses caught the flame, and to-day, journeys for the observation of her scenic forms, and imaginative portrayals of them in poetry and painting, are only equaled by explorations of her elemental secrets.

Ruskin is therefore a child of the age. The spirit that rules others rules him. But, unlike others, he unites these hostile opposites. He is at once the chemist and the artist. His eye is both that of the poet and the anatomist, now in fine phrensy rolling, and now coolly searching through all the living fibers of the spirit it adores; enraptured with

> "The light that never was on sea or land,
> The inspiration and the poet's dream,"

and never losing that lesser light of scientific statement which this must obey if it would flow into forms and colors, on canvas, in stone. In him, more than in any other man of the age, these two contraries are balanced, and the resultant force sweeps his soul along the perfect orbit.

Two questions we shall try to answer: What are his contributions to the stock of human knowledge? and, What is the spirit in which he has made them?

This limitation will necessarily exclude much that he has written. The burning wrath wherewith he consumes all baseless pretensions and pretenders, the process of refining the great names of art in his critical crucible, whereby he either melts them into nothing, or separates from them the false and meretricious, and replaces them on their shrines, lesser yet greater men, for the higher, because wiser,

reverence of their worshipers; the vivid descriptions of great paintings and buildings, which almost recompense us, in their splendor of word-painting, for the absence of the objects themselves; these and other admirable thoughts that flood his works must pass unnoticed. If what we restrain ourselves to will but inspire any one to go and drink at these sweet, full fountains, our work is accomplished.

We shall follow somewhat the order of his publications, and glance at a few of the new facts and laws he has uttered in each. The first volume of "Modern Painters" opens with a discourse on the nature of Ideas conveyable by art. After a preliminary statement in what greatness of art consists, he says:

> "I think that all the sources of pleasure, or of any other good to be derived from works of art, may be referred to five distinct heads:
>
> "I. Ideas of Power. The perception or conception of the mental or bodily powers by which the work has been produced.
>
> "II. Ideas of Imitation. The perception that the thing produced resembles something else.
>
> "III. Ideas of Truth. The perception of faithfulness in a statement of facts by the thing produced.
>
> "IV. Ideas of Beauty. The perception of beauty, either in the thing produced or in what it suggests or resembles.
>
> "V. Ideas of Relation. The perception of intellectual relations in the thing produced, or in what it suggests or resembles."—Vol. i, p. 13.

Of these the three last are dwelt upon with especial fullness, as being the centers of life to all the rest. Each is nothing without Truth. They are not artistic nor natural without Beauty. They have no real greatness without great intellectual Relations, that is, unless they *mean* something great, and show forth their meaning.

He plunges almost instantly into the thick of the conflict, laying down in these strong words the absolute necessity of truth:

> "Nothing can atone for the want of truth; not the most brilliant imagination, the most playful fancy, the most pure feeling, (supposing that feeling *could* be pure and false at the same time,) not the most exalted conception, nor the most comprehensive grasp of intellect, can make amends for the want of truth, and that for two reasons: first, because falsehood is in itself revolting and degrading; and secondly, because nature is so immeasurably superior to all that the human mind can conceive, that every departure from her is a fall beneath her, so that there can be no such thing as an ornamental falsehood. All falsehood must be a blot as well as a sin, an injury as well as a deception." —Vol. i, p. 47.

The rest of the volume is devoted to a discussion of ideas of truth, first considering those general truths common to all objects of nature which are productive of what is usually called in the language of art, "effect;" that is to say, "truths of tone, general color, space, and light; and then investigating the truths of specific form and color in the four great component parts of landscape: sky, earth, water, and vegetation."

We have no space for a multitude of the largest thoughts, clothed in the richest language with which the general truths are discussed. We must confine ourselves to meager selections from the chapters on the four great component parts of landscape. Here is the field where he won his first and, in the judgment of many admirers, his greatest victories. He opens a new world in his discussion of these four old-fashioned elements, declared to be no elements by the naturalist of to-day. The merely scientific eye cleaves their glory as the telescope does that enshrouding the sun, and like it, only dwells on the dull, black molecules within. Ruskin denies the right to destroy by the torture of fire these living organisms, and dwells with a penetrative, but not destructive analysis upon their varied yet perfect expression.

Our selections will be made partly in view of the truths unfolded, and partly in view of the pomp of the language in which they are arrayed. As Columbus dressed himself in extremest splendor when taking possession of the worlds he had discovered, so Ruskin delights to take possession of his new ideas in the ravishments of musical discourse, while he loses nothing of clearness and solidity.

The following description of the effect of color on the highest clouds is a good example of the exactness and minuteness of his statements, as well as the glow and rush of his style:

> "Incomparably the noblest manifestations of nature's capability of color are in these sunsets among the high clouds. I speak especially of the moment before the sun sinks, when his light turns pure rose-color, and when this light falls upon a zenith covered with countless cloud-forms of inconceivable delicacy, threads and flakes of vapor which would in common daylight be pure snow white, and which give, therefore, a fair field to the tone of light. There is then no limit to the multitude, and no check to the intensity of the hues assumed. The whole sky, from the zenith to the horizon, becomes one molten, mantling sea of color and fire; every black bar turns into massy gold, every ripple and wave into unsullied, shadowless crimson and purple and scarlet; and colors for which there are no words in language, and no ideas in the mind—things which can only be conceived while they are visible—the intense hollow blue of the upper sky melting through it all, showing here deep and pure and lightless, there modulated by the filmy, formless body of the transparent vapor, till it is lost imperceptibly in its crimson and gold."—Vol. i, p. 158.

His careful and exhaustive examination of the truth of skies and clouds, more scientific than any treatise we are aware of on this subject, and more poetic than any poem, is introduced with the following brilliant and truthful passage:

> "It is a strange thing how little in general people know about the sky. It is the part of creation in which nature has done more for the sake of pleasing man, more for the sole and evident purpose of talking to him and teaching him, than in any other of her works, and it is just the part in which we least attend to her. There is not a moment of any day of our lives when she is not producing scene after scene, picture after picture, glory after glory, and working still upon such exquisite and constant principles of the most perfect

beauty, that it is quite certain it is all done for us and intended for our perpetual pleasure. And yet we never attend to it, we never make it a subject of thought, but as it has to do with our animal sensations. If in our moments of utter idleness and insipidity we turn to the sky as a last resource, which of its phenomena do we speak of? One says it has been wet, and another that it has been windy, and another it has been warm. Who among the whole chattering crowd can tell me of the forms and precipices of the chain of tall white mountains that girded the horizon at noon yesterday? Who saw the narrow sunbeams that came out of the south, and smote upon their summits until they melted and mouldered away in a dust of blue rain? Who saw the dance of dead clouds when the sunlight left them last night, and the west wind blew them before it like withered leaves? All has passed away unregretted as unseen."—Vol. i, pp. 201, 202.

He divides the clouds into three strata or regions, according to their height and density: the region of the cirrus, the central cloud region, and that of the rain cloud. In discussing these he gives us many novel and admirable views of this great department of nature, and closes with a wonderful picture of cloud scenery among the mountains from dawn to sunrise, asking at every grand pause in his painting, "Has Claude given this?" and ending with this sublime description of the effect of light on clouds:

"And then wait yet one hour until the east becomes purple, and the heaving mountains of clouds, rolling against it in the darkness like waves of a wild sea, are drowned one by one in the glory of its burning. Watch the white glaciers blaze in their winding paths about the mountains like mighty serpents with scales of fire. Watch the columnar peaks of solitary snow kindling downward chasm by chasm, each in itself a new morning, their long avalanches cast down in keen streams brighter than the lightning, sending each his tribute of driven snow like altar smoke up to heaven; the rose light of their silent domes flushing that heaven about them and above them, piercing with purer light through its purple lines of lifted cloud, casting a new glory on every wreath as it passes by, until the whole heaven—one scarlet canopy—is interwoven with a roof of waving flame, and tossing, vault beyond vault, as with the drifted wings of many companies of angels; and then, when you can look no more for gladness, and when you are bowed down with fear and love of the Maker and Doer of this, tell me who has best delivered this His message unto men!"—Vol. i, p. 261.

He next considers the truth of earth, which he declares to mean

"The faithful representation of the facts and forms of the bare ground considered as entirely divested of vegetation. Ground is to the landscape painter what the naked human body is to the historical."—Vol. i, p. 266.

Examining the laws of earth under this principle, he says:

"Mountains are to the rest of the body of earth what violent muscular action is to the body of man. The muscles and tendons of its anatomy are, in the mountain, brought out with fierce and convulsive energy, full of expression, passion, and strength; the plains and the lower hills are the repose and effortless motion of the frame when its muscles lie dormant and concealed beneath the lines of its beauty, yet ruling these lines in their every undulation. This is the first grand principle of the truth of earth. The spirit of the hills is action, that of the lowlands repose; and between these is to be found every variety of motion and of rest, from the inactive plain, sleeping like the firmament with cities for stars, to the fiery peaks which, with heaving bosoms and

exulting limbs, with the clouds drifting like hair from their bright foreheads, lift up their Titan hands to heaven and say, 'I live forever.'" —Vol. i, p. 267.

He closes this division in his usual spirit of reverential awe:

> "One lesson we are invariably taught: that the work of the great Spirit of nature is as deep and unapproachable in the lowest as in the noblest objects; that the Divine Mind is as visible in its full energy of operation on every lowly bank and mouldering stone, as in the lifting of the pillars of heaven and settling the foundations of the earth; and that, to the rightly perceiving mind, there is the same infinity, the same majesty, the same power, the same unity, and the same perfection manifest in the casting of the clay as in the scattering of the cloud, in the mouldering of the dust as in the kindling of the day-star." —Vol. i, p. 319.

He is not satisfied with this brief chapter, but devotes a whole volume, the fourth, to the ideas of truth of mountains, which contains such an exhaustive statement of their structure and uses, practical and poetical, and above all, of their religious teachings, filled with such a muse of fire and such vailed and bowed humility, as never yet was uttered by scholar, poet, painter, or preacher. Only the book of God easily and infinitely transcends this speech of man.

His description of water is what we might expect of such a man, being also an Englishman. He opens his discourse in his usual brilliant and fluent manner:

> "Of all inorganic substances, acting in their own proper nature and without assistance or combination, water is the most wonderful. If we think of it as the source of all the changefulness and beauty which we have seen in the clouds; then as the instrument by which the earth we have contemplated was modeled into symmetry, and its crags chiseled into grace; then as in the form of snow it robes the mountain it has made with that transcendent light which we could not have conceived if we had not seen; then as it exists in the form of the torrent, in the iris which spans it, in the morning mist that rises from it, in the deep crystalline pools which mirror its hanging shore, in the broad lake and glancing river; finally, in that which is to all human minds the best emblem of unwearied, unconquerable power, the wild, various, fantastic, tameless unity of the sea; what shall we compare to this mighty, this universal element for glory and for beauty? or how shall we follow its eternal changefulness of feeling? It is like trying to paint a soul."—Vol. i, p. 320.

Nevertheless he does try to paint it, and gives us in soberest scientific statement many new ideas concerning water and its relations to color, intermingled with keenest satire on the old masters' ignorance, and grandest eulogies on Turner's apprehension and reproduction of it, these also intermingled with descriptions of natural objects—here a waterfall so marvelously portrayed as to make us hope he will some time see and paint Niagara, and there a stream as it runs, rippling or ringing, from its birthplace among the clouds to its grave in the ocean. He closes the volume with a similar exquisite essay on the truths of vegetation, in which the laws of the construction of trunk, branch, leaf, and flower are set forth with equal fullness, beauty, and originality.

Perhaps we ought not to leave this volume without giving an illustration of that burning satire in which it abounds, which consumes its object in a blaze of wrath. No writer of the age, not Macaulay in his Barrere, nor Carlyle in all his onslaughts, leaps upon his victim with a fiercer or a deadlier spring Take the following as a specimen at once of this power and of the manner of its execution, the object being here as elsewhere, to contrast the feebleness of the artist with the vigor of that which he pretends to copy:

> "It appears strange to me that any one familiar with nature and fond of her, should not grow weary and sick at heart, among the melancholy and monotonous transcripts of her which alone can be received from the old school of art. A man accustomed to the broad wild seashore, with its bright breakers and free winds and sounding rocks and eternal sensation of tameless power, can scarcely but be angered when Claude bids him stand still on some paltry, chipped and chiseled quay, with porters and wheelbarrows running against him, to watch a weak, rippling, bound and barriered water that has not strength enough in one of its waves to upset the flowerpots on the wall, or even to fling one jet of spray over the confining stone. A man accustomed to the strength and glory of God's mountains, with their soaring and radiant pinnacles and surging sweeps of measureless distance, kingdoms in their valleys and climates upon their crests, can scarcely but be angered when Salvator bids him stand still under some contemptible fragment of splintery crag which an Alpine snowwreath would smother in its first swell, with a bush or two growing out of it, and a volume of manufactory smoke for a sky. A man accustomed to the grace and infinity of nature's foliage, with every vista a cathedral and every bough a revelation, can scarcely but be angered when Poussin mocks him with a black round mass of impenetrable paint diverging into feathers instead of leaves, and supported on a stick instead of a trunk."
> —Vol. i, p. 75.

The second volume is devoted to ideas of beauty. It is by far the most profound and religious essay on this attractive yet indescribable theme that our language possesses. It has but little of the sarcastic and descriptive with which the first volume abounds, and is evidently written apart from man, with the eye fixed on the extremest abstractions, which only imagination or faith can perceive, and God create.

He defines the sense of beauty to be neither sensual nor intellectual, but moral. He divides this "Theoria," as he calls the capacity for beauty, into two classes, typical and vital, or that which is mere material loveliness, though representative of the highest attributes of God, and that which is originally endowed with the superior quality of life.

His classification of typical beauty shows the spirituality of his conceptions. It combines in itself "infinity, or the type of divine incomprehensibility; unity, or the type of divine comprehensiveness; repose, or the type of divine permanence; symmetry, or the type of divine justice; purity, or the type of divine energy; and moderation, or the type of divine law." These qualities he elaborates in his usual sharpness and swiftness of style, though imbued with more

than his usual humility and devotion, as one who feels that he stands, unsandaled from earthly passions and prejudices, on the holy ground of the Divine Presence.

He closes the volume with a portrayal of the differences between heathen and Christian schools of art in respect to beauty; and strange as it may seem to the devotees of Greece, he sets it far below the Italy of the middle ages in its perception of this divine idea, because Italy was Christian, and Greece, heathen. We have no space for the discussion, but cannot withhold a brief extract from the conclusion:

> "The Greek could not conceive a spirit; he could do nothing without limbs; his god is a finite god, talking, pursuing, and going journeys. I know not anything in the range of art more unspiritual than the Apollo Belvidere; the raising of the fingers in surprise at the truth of the arrow would be vulgar in a prince, much more in a deity. The sandals destroy the divinity of the foot, and the lip is curled with mortal passion. . . . Gather what we may of great from pagan chisel and pagan dream, and set it beside the orderer of Christian warfare, Michael the Archangel: not Milton's 'with hostile brow and visage all inflamed;' not even Milton's in the kingly treading of the hills of Paradise; not Raffaele's with the expanded wings and brandished spear; but Perugino's with his triple crest of traceless plume unshaken in heaven, his hand fallen on his crossleted sword, the truth-girdle binding his undinted armor. God has put his power upon him, resistless radiance is on his limbs, no lines are there of earthly strength, no trace on the divine features of earthly anger; trustful and thoughtful, fearless but full of love, incapable except of the repose of eternal conquest, vessel and instrument of omnipotence filled like a cloud with the victor light, the dust of principalities and powers beneath his feet, the murmur of hell against him heard by his spiritual ear like the winding of a shell on the far off seashore.
>
> "It is in vain to attempt to pursue the comparison; the two orders of art have in them nothing common, and the field of sacred history, the intent and scope of Christian feeling, are too wide and exalted to admit of the juxtaposition of any other sphere or order of conception; they embrace all other fields like the dome of heaven."—Vol. ii, p. 217.

In the three remaining volumes we had marked scores of passages for quotation, glowing with the celestial fire of original thought and magnificent expression. But our limits forbid. We shall refer to them again in considering the spirit which animates him in all his inquiries, but so far as their subject-matter is concerned must refer the student to their crowded pages.

The third volume dwells on the whole scope of landscape painting, and shows how far its devotees have fallen short of, or approached to, its lofty ideal. The fourth volume, as we have remarked, dwells on mountain forms and influences; and while its accuracy of scientific statement is remarkable, this sober mood no more conflicts with the vehemence and delicacy of his imagination than the rugged rocks mar the loveliness of the glory that stoops upon them from the heights of heaven.

The fifth volume, which closes the work, develops the Ideas of truth in the Leaf and the Cloud, as well as those of intellectual relation. In discussing the latter, he gives many admirable reviews of the artistic masters of these ideas, closing in his usual grand strain of deepest devotion.

While everybody was wondering after him as he thus leveled the old, and set up the new gods in this temple of genius, he published a brief treatise bearing the expressive title, " The Seven Lamps of Architecture." Like Michael Angelo, he sought for distinction in the building of the temple as well as in the adorning of it, and like him he won it.

The seven lamps are the seven golden candlesticks, set apart chiefly for the service of God. Some of them are only kindled, and none of them shine with their perfect luster, except when burning on his altar. These lamps he calls the Lamp of Sacrifice, of Truth, of Power, of Beauty, of Life, of Memory, of Obedience. Each of these is made of the pure gold of the sanctuary, and filled with its beaten oil. Within the compass of no human book are there more fervent prayers, more earnest sermons, more wailing *misereres*, or more exultant halleluiahs. Its every page is full of genius and of piety. Here too is found that practical mind, sober and mathematical, which weighs and measures every stone that goes into the temple, and does not hesitate to drop to these duties from the loftiest flights of lyric praise. Like the angel whom the revelator would worship, while opening our ravished eyes upon divine glories hitherto hidden, he has also the "surveyor's reed" wherewith to measure "the city." Nowhere is the lash of satire more terribly or more justly applied. All the falsehoods that are told in brick and mortar, in paint and wood, are denounced by him with a vigor that is healthful to witness. There is no subject of taste that deserves equal attention with this. The arts of painting and sculpture are only for ornament, and come within the reach of the rich alone. They are not converted into "human nature's daily food." But architectural duties and delights press upon every community and congregation. No subject is of more importance to all classes of our land to day than this.

As a nation we are emerging from poverty, and the contempt that usually accompanies it for all adornings of our outward estate. We are in danger of the opposite extreme. Poverty rightly endeavors to reconcile our mind to our state, but wrongly strives to subdue it to its condition. It sometimes succeeds in this wrong doing. It has so succeeded here, as has been shown in our general want of taste, and especially in the deformities of what should

be the type of perfect beauty—the *House* of God. God did not let the wandering fugitives, thousands of years ago, fall into such barbarities as we have long indulged in. They fashioned their tabernacle after patterns made in heaven; we, ours, after models that are not worthy to claim even earth as their origin. All denominations have plunged into these tasteless absurdities. The bad example was set at the beginning of our history. Puritanism not only stripped the creed of all qualifying and comforting language, it stripped the service of its memories and tendernesses, and the structure of all comeliness of form or adorning. The baldest, nakedest conception of God and man, of Church and ceremony, were the manifestations of its piety. Here and there, minds adorned like Milton's would revolt from them, and amid their comfortless conventicles cry out:

> "But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloister's pale,
> And love the high-embowered roof,
> With antique pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows, richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.
> Then let the pealing organ blow
> To the full-voiced quire below,
> In service high and anthems clear,
> As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
> *Dissolve me into ecstasies,*
> *And bring all heaven before mine eyes."*

This nakedness of worship and temple was transferred to our country and became a part of our national religion, so that when Methodism arose, it could not rise superior to this prejudice. It poured its affluent life through these rude and narrow channels. With everything else of the most liberal character; with a system of faith, free and full as the needs and nature of man, as the infinitude of God; with hymns which range on mighty wings through the whole heaven of divine love and terror, of human penitence and joy, with a style of life co-ordinate to these, lofty, free, spacious—a singing, shouting, exulting life, it needed perhaps some narrow walls to keep its vigor from excess, to buckle what might otherwise have proved,

> "A distempered cause
> Within the belt of rule."

These walls must be strong to keep the mighty tide in due restraint, to make the spirits of the prophets subject to the prophets. Hence, no Church in many of its forms, and especially in its edifices, has been more stringent than ours. The plainest of dresses, no aid to the voice in singing, separation of men and women in the congre-

gation, buildings barren of beauty; these were its methods, stiff and ugly, wherewith it restrained its divine beauty and life of doctrine and feeling within the narrow bounds of human prejudice. It put the new wine of the kingdom in strong but shapeless bottles, its sound mind in a sound but ungainly body. Thus prejudice or poverty has compelled all Churches to put their divine ideas into unworthy forms.

But with an increase of wealth, of communication with the Old World, and especially of growth in religious experience, a change of sentiment on this subject has been going on in all denominations, and we are in danger of swinging to the other extreme. Wealth is often tasteless, and more frequently devotionless. Vanity, in its efforts to cope with wealth, shows its inherent baseness and falsehood. These are tempting us to adopt ridiculous and lying counterfeits.

A thin coat of stone is pasted on the front of a city church, while coarse cheap brick make up the real wall and stand forth in all their meanness on the other sides. A yet greater departure from truth and righteousness is seen in the more popular, and we trust, more transient, abomination of covering the cheap brick with cheaper mortar, streaking this into lines like stone, and mounting its cornices and steeples with ornaments of *papier maché*, or something equally false and perishable. This deceit is more perfect in intention, and hence more wicked. There is a reality about the stone front though of a thin and unsubstantial sort. There is only fiction in the striped mortar and *papier maché.* The plain, wooden, misshapen churches of our fathers were greatly superior to these in truthfulness, and even in sacrifice; for they gave the best they had, and out of their poverty of sentiment as well as purse, reared poor but honest temples to God. We out of our abundance offer these shams. Well does Ruskin consume with burning wrath all such pretentious efforts to cheat the Lord:

> "Exactly as a woman of feeling would not wear false jewels, so would a builder of honor disdain false ornaments. The using of them is just as downright and inexcusable a lie. You use that which pretends to a worth it has not, which pretends to cost and to be what it did not and is not; it is an imposition, a vulgarity, an impertinence, and a sin. Down with it to the ground, grind it to powder, leave its ragged place upon the wall rather. You have not paid for it, you have no business with it, you do not want it. Nobody wants ornaments in this world, but everybody wants integrity. All the fair devices that ever were fancied are not worth a lie. Leave your walls as bare as a planed board, or build them of baked mud and chopped straw if need be, but do not roughcast them with falsehood."—P. 44.

We know of no matter, not purely devotional, more important than this: the true idea of the building which is to be given to God and occupied only in his worship. We are constantly erecting them, and are as constantly tempted to violate the great principles

of the *beauty of holiness* in the discharge of this duty. If Moses and Solomon, eminent as they were for natural gifts, were both aided, not only by architects of great genius, but by the Divine Architect, in the construction of the tabernacle and temple, we certainly ought not to engage in this costly, solemn, and excellent service without a faithful and prayerful seeking for all the light He will grant us. And we know of no treatise on church building, no costly collection of plates and diagrams, that for real value compares with this brief essay. Portions of it that dwell on some of the more recondite principles of the art, and their application in some of the great structures of antiquity, may be beyond the range of ordinary clerical scholarship; but its general principles are so simple and grand, its illustrations drawn from the richest stores of religious architecture, and its whole scope and tone so reverent and devotional, that no man can rise from its perusal without being conscious of great increase of light on this common, but generally misunderstood duty.

We proposed a second question of no slight importance: What was the spirit in which these researches had been made and announced? It has been partially answered in the selections we have made, and in our reflections upon them. Yet one peculiarity of his spiritual nature deserves a more emphatic statement; a peculiarity, we regret to say, that belongs almost to him alone of all the eminent litterateurs of the age. We rejoice to add that it is a prophecy also of what shall shine forth in a coming, we trust not far distant, period, as the central glory of literature no less than of art. It is the evangelical sentiment with which his writings are imbued. Hardly one of the great writers of the past or present generation can be called in any thorough sense, Christian. With the exception of Cowper, among the eminent poets, not one of all that wondrous galaxy that "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky" of this century reflected his glory on the "bright and morning Star," from whose golden urn they all drew the light of genius in which they shone. Not one advocated the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel. Wordsworth obscurely hints at them in one or two indifferent sentences. His mighty flights are not to this empyrean. Campbell, Scott, Keats, Moore, Shelley, Byron, Burns, and Coleridge, in all their burning pages there are no burning seraphim, prostrate and praising. Some of them, and they the most dissolute, did write a few hymns the Church condescends to sing. In maudlin moments of recovery from debauch, Burns and Moore and Byron sang of God and Christ in tender, though to them powerless words. They usually took their vast treasures of God-given genius and cast them at the feet of Satan. The others, if less wicked, were not more holy. They and their songs

were of the earth, earthy. Equally alien are the living magnates of this realm. Truly does Ruskin say of these and other cotemporaries:

> "Nearly all our powerful men in this age of the world are unbelievers; the best of them in doubt and misery, the worst in reckless defiance; the plurality in plodding hesitation, doing as well as they can what practical work lies ready to their hands. Most of our scientific men are of this last class. Our popular authors either set themselves definitely against all religious form, pleading for simple truth and benevolence, (Thackeray, Dickens,) or give themselves up to bitter and fruitless statement of facts, (De Balzac,) or surface painting, (Scott,) or careless blasphemy, sad or smiling, (Byron, Beranger.) Our earnest poets and deepest thinkers are doubtful and indignant, (Tennyson, Carlyle,) one or two anchored, indeed, but anxious or weeping, (Wordsworth, Mrs. Browning,) and of these two the first is not so sure of his anchor but that now and then it drags with him, even to make him cry out:
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> 'Great God! I had rather be
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> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn.'
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> "In politics religion is now a name, in art a hypocrisy or affectation. Over German religious pictures, the inscription 'See how pious I am' can be read at a glance by any clear-sighted person; over French and English religious pictures, the inscription 'See how impious I am' is equally legible. All sincere and modest art is, among us, profane."—*Modern Painters*, vol. iii, p. 259.

The like painful truth must be told of American literature. From Washington Irving, its father, to the latest of his sons, no great genius has yet shone forth "appareled in celestial light." None of them drink of

> "Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God."

They seek their inspiration in lower fountains. Excepting Whittier, our few famous poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Poe, never cast their crowns at the feet of Christ. A most dismal and infidel vision of death is in the stately Thanatopsis. It has no hint that Christ is its victor, or of the corresponding victory in and through him. Its last lines might have been written by Sophocles or Seneca, for all they contain of the light and immortality that is brought to life in the Gospel. So the Hymn to Death, the Future State, and whatever other of his pieces that are of a religious tone, are but the mournful breathings of an Æolian harp, the singings and sighings of an earth-bound soul.

From Longfellow's Psalm of Life to his Rhyme of Miles Standish there is the same insensibility to the glory of God and of man that shines in the face of Jesus Christ. He often gilds his numbers with a devotional tinge, but never does one gushing verse leap forth from that full fountain to its Lord and Saviour. Compare his first hymn, which he dares to call a *Psalm* of LIFE, and which he says is what the heart of the young man says to the Psalmist, with that were of the earth, earthy. Equally alien are the living magnates of this realm. Truly does Ruskin say of these and other contemporaries:

"Nearly all our powerful men in this age of the world are unbelievers; the best of them in doubt and misery, the worst in reckless defiance; the plurality in plodding hesitation, doing, as well as they can what practical work lies ready to their hands. Most of our scientific men are of this last class. Our popular authors either set themselves definitely against all religious form, pleading for simple truth and benevolence, (Thackeray, Dickens,) or give themselves up to bitter and fruitless statement of facts, (De Balzac,) or surface painting, (Scott,) or careless blasphemy, sad or smiling, (Byron, Beranger.) Our earnest poets and deepest thinkers are doubtful and indignant, (Tennyson, Carlyle,) one or two anchored, indeed, but anxious or weeping, (Wordsworth, Mrs. Browning,) and of these two the first is not so sure of his anchor but that now and then it drags with him, even to make him cry out:

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Fast by the oracle of God."

They seek their inspirations in lower fountains. Excepting Whittier, our four famous poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Poe, never cast their crowns at the feet of Christ. A most dismal and infidel vision of death is in the stately Thanatopsis. It has no hint that Christ is its victor, or of the corresponding victory in and through him. Its last lines might have been written by Sophocles or Seneca, for all they contain of the light and immortality that is brought to life in the Gospel. So the Hymn to Death, the Future State, and whatever other of his pieces that are of a religious tone, are but the mournful breathings of an Æolian harp, the singings and sighings of an earth-bound soul.

From Longfellow's Psalm of Life to his Rhyme of Miles Standish there is the same insensibility to the glory of God and of man that shines in the face of Jesus Christ. He often gilds his numbers with a devotional tinge, but never does one gushing verse leap forth from that full fountain to its Lord and Saviour. Compare his first hymn, which he dares to call a *Psalm of Life*, and which, he says is what the heart of the young man says to the Psalmist, with that hymn with which David begins his odes, and which is what the heart of God through that Psalmist says to all young men. How cold, how worldly, how unbelieving is the one; how warm, holy, heavenly the other. The Rhyme of Miles Standish afforded an admirable opportunity to utter these feelings, and had he been a real Christian poet he could not have kept silence. That great pilgrimage, its greater incentives and supports, the heroic faith, the serene patience, the triumphant deaths in that terrible winter, have they found expression in this beautiful chronicle? Not a word of real praise or prayer, not a word of the Christ they loved and had followed into this wilderness, not even a hint, is found in all these lines. Once Priscilla is represented as singing sweet tunes out of the old Dutch psalm-book, but this remote allusion to the piety of the heroine is only introduced for the sake of uttering a conceit on the appearance of the tunes. The conversation of the lovers, of the friends at the sailing of the Mayflower, of the captain and his clerk, even of the elder and his parishioners, is empty of the intense and almost exclusive life which they really lived. So is it with all his rich verses. There is a show of religious sentiment in some of them, but not one pulsation of Christian life.

Lowell and Holmes are imitators of Burns and Byron, not only in their democratic and reformatory proclivities, but in blasphemy and in wit, without the penitence of the one or the remorse of the other to redeem their pages. They toy with the religious sentiment. They never feel its humiliating, elevating power. No Cotter's Saturday Night shows that the sorrow is as deep as the scorn, that a godly fear sometimes replaces the godless scurrility. Holmes, in prose and poetry, is but a cold-blooded dissectionist of a life he never lived. He cuts and carves the body of Christ professedly in the cause of science. He never reaches, he never beholds, the divinity that dwells within it. Our prose writers are equally secular. Bancroft can describe the sufferings of the pilgrims, Prescott those of the Protestants of Holland, without any such throbbings of indignant sympathy as Milton felt when he bled and suffered with the Albigenses. Emerson is a brilliant but Christless heathen. Their followers keep equal pace in these respects, however far they may fail in others. We have no great literary writers, save, perhaps, Mrs. Stowe, who are wreathing with their genius the cross of Christ. Tennyson's painful confession leaps unwittingly from all their lips:

> "But what am I?
> An infant crying in the night;
> An infant crying for the light;
> And with no language but a cry!"

We wait for our Dante and our Milton, who shall pour their alabaster box of ointment, very costly, on the feet of the blessed Redeemer, and feel that in so doing they have done the greatest deed permitted to man, and gained their greatest glory when this deed shall be told for a memorial of them through the races and ages. They will arise, for Christ must be crowned king of letters, as he now is king of saints.

To this end Ruskin will be no small contributor. It is refreshing for a Christian mind to open his pages. No darkness, no weakness of faith, no slurs at piety, no ignoring of divine justice and holiness, no emasculation of the word of God, but a full, hearty, living flow of Christian faith and hope and joy.

It crops out naturally, as if this primitive bed held all the superincumbent strata in its arms. It leaps up easily and instantly wherever a fissure occurs, as if fountains of the living water pervaded his whole nature. It crowns unconsciously the swell of his grandest sentences. Except Jeremy Taylor, he is the first great prose writer since Milton that has risen to the height of this great argument.

Hundreds of paragraphs attest the sincerity of his devotion. His descriptions of great religious paintings are imbued with a reverence equaling if not surpassing the artist's; his scorn of all pretensions to piety which popularity demanded but the heart did not feel; the proud superiority which he accords to those who, inferior in art, were superiors in godliness; his assertion that landscape painting is a religious art, and that its want of real success arises from its want of real religion; especially his discourses on Christ, his forerunners and successors, in connection with the nature that He consecrated, these abundantly prove that whatever be his private life, his published one is Christian. If he is not orthodox his writings are. If he is a man of the world his works are those of a man of God.

Thus touchingly and religiously he turns away from the Seven Lamps that he has set in the temple of the Lord. Where can you find its like among his associate writers?

> "I have paused, not once nor twice, as I wrote, and often have checked the course of what might otherwise have been importunate persuasion, as the thought has crossed me, how soon all architecture may be vain except that which is not made with hands. There is something ominous in the light which has enabled us to look back with disdain upon the ages, among whose lovely vestiges we have been wandering. I could smile when I hear the hopeful exultation of many at the new reach of worldly science and vigor of worldly effort, as if we were at the beginning of days. *There is thunder on the horizon as well as dawn. The sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered Zoar.*"
> —*Seven Lamps of Architecture*, p. 177.

In the "Stones of Venice" he thus dwells on the necessity of holiness in man, showing that without it we are nothing:

> "All the divisions of humanity are noble or brutal, immortal or mortal, according to the degree of their sanctification; and there is no part of man which is not immortal and divine when it is once given to God, and no part of him which is not mortal by the second death, and brutal before the first, when it is withdrawn from God. For to what shall we trust for our distinction from the beasts that perish? To our higher intellect? Yet are we not bidden to be as wise as the serpent, and to consider the ways of the ant? or to our affections? Nay! these are more shared by the lower animals than our intelligence! Hamlet leaps into the grave of his beloved, and leaves it—a dog had stayed. Humanity and immortality consist neither in reason nor in love, not in the body nor in the animation of the heart of it, nor in the thoughts and stirrings of the brain of it, but in the dedication of them all to Him who will raise them up at the last day."—Vol. i, p. 43.

The "Modern Painters," as we cannot fail to have noticed in what we have selected, is full of such religious reflections. In the first volume he scarcely touches a painting, religious or not, that he does gild with the nimbus of Christ.

The second volume, as we have seen, makes all typical beauty representative of the attributes of God, and all vital beauty centre in Him who is life, and in whom all things live and move and have their being.

The third volume is written in the same key, and its music fails not to sweep high as heaven on solemn wing.

But the fourth, contains his fullest and noblest declarations of this sentiment. As in all the others, it is not introduced theologically or sermonically, but under the natural law of his theme and its befitting treatment. As in Milton and Dante, these sacred themes arise legitimately, and ascend their supreme throne amid the prostration of those who have ministered to their advent, so is it in Ruskin. He does not shut them out; he reverently welcomes them, and ushers them to their shining seats.

In the chapter on the firmament, he has the following exigesis on this word as used in Genesis, saying:

> "I imagine that the unscientific reader of this book could hardly glance at the sky when the rain was falling in the distance and see the level line of the bases of the clouds from which the shower descended, without being able to attach an instant and easy meaning to the words, 'expansion in the midst of the waters;' and if, having once seized this idea, he proceeded to examine it more accurately, he would perceive at once, if he had ever noticed *anything* of the nature of clouds, that the level line of their bases did indeed most severely and stringently divide 'waters from waters,' that is to say, divide water in its collective and tangible state from water in its divided and aerial state, or the waters which *fall* and *flow*, from those which *rise* and *float*." P. 81.

After showing how this view comports with other passages in the Bible, and how they all are intended to teach us the nearness of God, he says, with a humility rarely seen in a student of nature:

> "In order to render this communion [with man] possible, the Deity has stooped from his throne and has not only, in the person of the Son, taken upon him the

> vail of our human flesh, but, in the person of the Father, taken upon him the vail of our human *thoughts*, and permitted us by his own spoken authority to conceive him simply and clearly as a loving father and friend, a being to be walked with and reasoned with, to be moved by our entreaties, angered by our rebellion, alienated by our coldness, pleased by our love, and glorified by our labor, and finally, to be beheld in immediate and active presence in all the powers and changes of creation. This conception of God, which is the child's, is evidently the only one that can be universal, and therefore the only one which, *for us*, can be true. The moment that, in our pride of heart, we refuse to accept the condescension of the Almighty, and desire him, instead of stooping to hold our hands, to rise up before us into his glory; we hoping that, by standing on a grain of dust or two of human knowledge higher than our fellows we may behold the Creator as he rises, God takes us at our word; he rises into his own inconceivable majesty, he goes forth upon the ways that are not our ways, and retires into the thoughts which are not our thoughts, and we are left alone. And presently we say in our vain thoughts, 'There is no God.'"—P. 83.

Let us close our liberal quotations with the sublime ending of the chapter on mountain glory, with which this volume concludes. He had been describing in great splendor of diction the deaths of Aaron and Moses as glorifying the mountains, and then turns to the transfiguration of Christ, upon which he pours a flood of reverent and radiant thought, closing thus:

> "We shall not have unprofitably entered into the mind of the earlier ages, if among our other thoughts, as we watch the chains of snowy mountains rise on the horizon, we should sometimes admit the memory of the hour in which their *Creator*, *among the solitudes*, *entered on his travail for the salvation of our race;* and indulge the dream, that as the flaming and trembling mountains of the earth seem to be the monuments of the manifesting of his terror on Sinai, these pure and white hills, near to the heaven and sources of all good to the earth, are the appointed memorials of that light of his mercy that fell, snowlike, on the mount of transfiguration."—P. 375.

It ought not to be unnoticed,[*] in connection with this frankness and fullness of Christian utterance, as a painful proof of the timidity and unbelief of others, that a work just issued from the American press describing the White Mountains, though written by a clergy-

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[*] The last volume was published since this essay was prepared. We find in it no shrinking from the truths with which the others are adorned and supported. Its closing pages dwell exclusively on religious duty and its rewards. Thus plainly does he declare the whole counsel of God in his final sentence:

> "High on the desert mountain, full descried, sits throned the tempter, with his old promise—the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them. He still calls you to your labor, as Christ to your rest: labor and sorrow, base desire and cruel hope. So far as you desire to possess, rather than to give; so far as you look forward to command, instead of to bless; so long as you seek to be greatest instead of least, first instead of last; so long you are serving the lord of all that is last and least, the last enemy that shall be destroyed—Death; and you shall have death's crown with the worm coiled in it, and death's wages with the worm feeding on them; kindred of the earth shall you yourself become, saying to the grave, 'Thou art my father,' and to the worm, 'Thou art my mother and my sister.'
>
> "I leave you to judge and to choose between this labor and this bequeathed peace, this wages and the gift of the Morning Star, this obedience and the doing of the will which shall enable you to claim another kindred than of earth, and to hear another voice than that of the grave, saying, 'My brother and sister and mother.'"

man, and abounding in beautiful quotations and reflections, has no hint of the Christian lessons taught by the everlasting hills; and while it quotes freely from this volume, Ruskin's grand and scientific portraitures of mountain forms, carefully ignores those sublimer passages in which the whole work culminates, and which alone bring before us the true conception of their value as connected with Him who, ages before his incarnation, rejoiced in the creation of these highest parts of the dust of the world. If professed ministers of Jesus Christ are so afraid to give him his rightful seat in literature and nature, what must we expect of the unrobed worshipers?

We have endeavored to present some of the more salient excellences of this famous writer. A multitude of lesser thoughts flash beneath his feet as he rushes on in his vehement course to his lofty goal, thoughts full of suggestion to every class of writers. His style, like that of all the masters of speech, is his own, and is admirably fitted to the peculiarities of his thought. It is picturesque and glowing as the most brilliant landscape. Like the mighty river of the west, with its spring floods in its channels, its spring flowers on its banks, its proud fleet on its bosom, winding, swift, long, graceful, odorous, magnificent, so flows the river of his speech. Not the short, sharp musketry of Macaulay, always the same, whether fired in single shots or in deadly platoons; not the tangled torrid forests of Carlyle, full of wondrous life but impassible to human steps; not "the gulfs of sweetness without bound" in which Tennyson swims, nor the cold, curt crystalline of Emerson, glittering with the frozen beauty of Arctic ice; but like that nature whom he, the most intelligently and piously, loves of all her worshipers. It is now gorgeous as a sunset, now simple as a daisy; now flashing in annihilating lightning, and drowning with overwhelming deluge the doomed subjects of its wrath, and now gathering up its thick folds and burning arrows, it glides away into the June morning full of music, fragrance, and calm.

Like nature, too, it has characteristics not so pleasing. Its cloudiness is not always transparent or golden. It is sometimes either incomprehensible for want of clearness in himself, or, what is full as likely, for want of comprehensibility in the reader. It is also like nature in its apparent versatility of opinion. The winds blow with great rapidity of change from all points of the compass. He has been condemned for this trait more than for any other. But it arises naturally from the different aspects in which every great man can be viewed,and he is as severe in denouncing that which they lack as he is in praising that in which they abound. For instance, Titian is commended as a colorist, but denounced as sketcher of forms of vege-

tation. Hence in the chapter of truths of color he might be lauded, in that of truths of vegetation scourged. He also declares it to be necessary thus to seemingly deny yourself if you would be true to truth. In his lecture before the Cambridge school of art he playfully says:

> "Perhaps some of my hearers may have heard that I am rather apt to contradict myself. I hope I am exceedingly apt to do so. I never met with a question yet of any importance that did not need for the right solution of it at least one positive and one negative answer, like an equation of the second degree. Most matters of any importance are three-sided or four-sided or polygonal, and the trotting round a polygon is severe work for people any way stiff in their opinions. For myself, I am never satisfied that I have handled a subject properly till I have contradicted myself three times."

In spite of these defects, if defects they be, that inhere in all human things, his works are a still lesson if not a law to artists. To him more than to any other man do they owe the lesson of humble faithful obedience of nature. Before he arose they esteemed their genius as greater than that which poured through her. He taught them that all art was the feeblest shadowing forth of her supernal grandeur; that a little pigment, ranging from black paint to white, and a bit of canvas, would fall infinitely short of reproducing those spectacles that have the scope of heaven for their canvas, and the colors of heaven, from the sun shining in his strength to midnight clad in thunder robes, on their palette, with infinite genius to mingle and arrange them. He taught them more than this: that nature is animate with Deity, even with the Deity of Christ. Him he beholds not only coming, but dwelling in the clouds of heaven. He yet walks the waves not only of Galilee but of all seas. He cleaves the skies that glow forever under his burning feet. He transfigures the mountains with the perpetual overflowing of his uncreated glory. Thus art becomes the handmaid of religion, and may be permitted to serve her in the adorning of the temple where God in Christ is seen and worshiped.

She has felt his influence. A new school acknowledges him as its founder. Architecture is feeling it. The Church cannot "grow as grows the grass" unless its architects have "visitations from the living God," who alone can give them types of those perfections which flashed before the eyes of Moses in the mount.

Not only should the student of art make him his companion, but the student of nature will also find him a guide both in the insight which he seeks, and in keeping himself from the perils of irreverence and unbelief to which his studies will tempt him. Above all, the minister at the altar should read him, for he who enters the holy of holies ought to be conversant with the forms and meanings of lesser ceremonies. He who offers the life of God to the soul of man, should

know that life in its weaker yet divine force that flows through the inferior creation. He will find the other book of God of which he is the appointed interpreter is in closest sympathy with this earlier but lesser revelation. That begins with a description of nature as it emerged from nothing by the voice of God, and as it assumed form and comeliness in the heavens and on the earth under his creative guidance. It closes with a description of the same nature as it shall re-emerge from a new chaos of fire under the decree of the same Son of God, and shall be fashioned into new heavens and new earth. It is full of descriptions of her loveliest aspects—the primeval perfect garden, the garden of Canaan, and "the statelier Eden come again." The highest notes of the Psalmist's harp ring with praises of nature; the grandest visions of the prophets are painted with its scenery; the sweetest sayings of the Saviour are full of its fragrance.

Thus discerning the unity of the kingdoms of nature and grace, and "the fullness of Him that filleth all in all" pervading both systems with his ineffable infinitude, he will be able to say with far more profound and spiritual significance than he felt who first uttered it:

> "Be mute who will, who can,
> Yet I will praise Thee with impassioned voice;
> Me did'st thou consecrate a priest of thine,
> In such a temple as surrounds my soul,
> Reared for thy presence; therefore, am I bound
> To worship here and everywhere, as one,
> From unreflecting ignorance preserved,
> And from debasement rescued."

ART. II.—THE FLORIDA MAROONS.

The Exiles of Florida; or, The Crimes committed by our Government against the Maroons, who fled from South Carolina and other Slave States, seeking Protection under Spanish Laws. By JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. Columbus, Ohio: Follett, Foster, & Co. 1858.

MR. GIDDINGS'S book has had a large sale, and its well-authenticated narrative has made a strong impression on the public mind. Its simple story makes it abundantly evident that slavery is not only a stupendous wrong in itself, but that it clouds the sense of justice in the state, corrupts the judiciary, paralyzes the arm of the executive officer, and retards the development of the nation. It may be true that the story is marred by the idiosyncrasies of its venerable author: but, on the other hand, his habits of research,

his long familiarity, as a member of Congress, with the documentary history of the nation, and his liberal quotations from official letters, reports, and state papers, have enabled him so to fortify his statements as to put them beyond reasonable question.

It will be remembered that Florida, down to 1819, was under the dominion of Spain. The settlements were small, and on the coast or the larger rivers; while the interior was a vast wilderness, known only to the Indians. Slavery was then the universal usage of the emigrants, and many attempts were made to enslave the Indians as well as the negroes. But, accustomed as they were to a wild, roving life, these efforts were attended with indifferent success, as they could easily fly from their masters to the forest, where they were always at home and where they found a secure refuge.

In the Carolinas the attempts to enslave the Indians were not only a failure, but rendered more insecure the bondage of the negroes. The ease with which they escaped to the shelter of the Georgia forests encouraged the negroes to undertake similar enterprises; and as the Indian country, as Georgia was then called, presented only a partial protection against the slave hunter, they pursued their way south into Florida, where they were cordially welcomed, permitted to occupy lands on the same condition as other citizens, and soon became a free and flourishing community.

As early as 1738 these refugees had become so numerous that the authorities of South Carolina sent a messenger to the Governor of St. Augustine, with a demand that they should be surrendered to their former owners. The refusal of this demand was the cause of much complaint; and Florida thenceforward became an asylum for the more enterprising sons of bondage in the border states.

In 1750 a quarrel occurred among the Creek Indians, inhabiting the Indian country in Georgia, and a large body, under a distinguished chief, left the tribe and went south into Florida, where they were well received, and had lands assigned them in the vicinity of the negroes. Here they had an organization entirely distinct from the Creeks, elected their own chiefs, and bore the name of Seminoles, which is the Indian word for runaways.

The Indians and negroes fraternized, and lived together in peace on the rich bottoms of the Appalachicola and Sewanee rivers, where they grew in numbers and wealth, and had large flocks and herds. The negroes increased, not only by natural production, but by accessions from the border states, and nothing occurred to disturb them in the "even tenor" of their security till subsequent to the revolutionary war.

Georgia had now become a state, and her people were large slave-

holders. The white population encroached steadily on the Creek reservations, producing frequent disputes and collisions, which were generally compromised to the disadvantage of the Indians. In that early period of our history one uniform source of trouble between the Indians and the whites was as to runaway slaves. All along the Indian border, and far up in the interior states, there were frequent escapes of slaves from their masters, who were supposed to find homes and shelter among the Indians; and in all the treaties made between the whites and the Indians, there was sure to be inserted some stipulation in reference to the payment for escaped slaves, the harboring of slaves, the return of slaves, etc., etc.

The Maroon settlements in Florida were objects of particular dislike, for the reason that they were originally made up of escaped slaves, and were still supposed to be a shelter for such as succeeded in getting safely through the Indian country. But, being under Spanish rule, no practical method of breaking them up seemed to present itself, short of an acquisition of the territory, which, for this reason, became a favorite idea in all the border states, and in 1811 was agitated in Congress, and a law actually passed in secret session for taking forcible possession of the country. This gave rise to several military expeditions from Georgia into Florida, one of which penetrated as far as the Maroon settlements, burned the Indian villages, destroyed the cornfields of the negroes, and drove off large herds of cattle.

This unjustifiable conduct naturally engendered a bitter feeling toward the United States, then at war with Great Britain; and the English, to avail themselves of some advantage from it, sent Lieutenant Colonel Nichols up the Appalachicola River to defend the settlements, and probably with the expectation of enlisting the negroes and Indians in the service of the king. He built a fort on the river, mounted on it eight pieces of artillery, furnished it with small arms and ammunition, and drew around him a large force, which he was preparing for active service, when peace was proclaimed and he was recalled. Colonel Nichols, on evacuating the fort in the spring of 1815, left it, with its cannon, arms, and stores, to the allies, whose lands lay along the river, above and below the fort, making it an important acquisition to them, and greatly increasing their means of security against further incursions from the states.

But what appeared to be so much for their security proved to be a cruel instrument of destruction. The fort was regarded as a depot for runaway slaves, and became at once an object of suspicion. General Gaines, who was in command on the border, wrote to the

War Department in May that "certain negroes and outlaws have taken possession of a fort on the Appalachicola River," and that their movements should be carefully watched. From that time his correspondence makes frequent mention of the Maroons as "runaways," "outlaws," "pirates," "murderers," etc.; but no specific charges of wrong were made against them, and especially no acts of hostility against the United States. The weight of evidence seems to be that they were pursuing their occupations in a peaceful spirit, with no thought beyond the incoming crops.

The Secretary of War, having his attention so frequently called to the "Negro Fort," wrote to General Jackson, then in command of the Southern Division, on the subject; and General Jackson (in May, 1816) wrote to General Gaines, saying: "I have little doubt that this fort has been established by some villains for the purpose of rapine and plunder, and that it ought to be blown up, regardless of the ground on which it stands; and if your mind shall have formed the same conclusion, destroy it and *return the stolen negroes to their rightful owners.*" The mind of General Gaines was of the same opinion, and he only needed this order to impel him to immediate action. He at once secured the aid of five hundred friendly Creeks, under their chief, M'Intosh, detailed Colonel Clinch and his regiment, with two pieces of artillery, and two gun-boats under the orders of Sailing-master Loomis, who in due time reached the spot marked for vengeance. The Maroons, and a few of their Indian allies, had taken refuge in the fort, and were prepared to defend it to the last. But General Clinch, finding that he made no impression upon it with his batteries, prepared hot shot, and threw them in upon the magazine, which exploded with a most awful devastation.

The fort was small and the people gathered in it numerous, and death, in its most horrid form, awaited the innocent victims. Some were buried in the ruins, some torn from limb to limb, some thrown high into the air, and some crushed by falling timbers. Of three hundred and thirty-four souls who had sought the protection of its walls, two hundred and seventy were instantly killed; and of the remaining sixty-four only *three* were without injury. Two of these were given over to the Creeks for slaughter, and were massacred on the spot as chiefs. The wounded were put on the gun-boats, and such as recovered were given over to pretended claimants as slaves. *The dead were forever free.**

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* Twenty-two years subsequent to the capture of this property and the massacre of those who were in possession of it, a bill was reported in the House of Representatives, and passed, granting five thousand dollars to the officers, ma-

This act of wanton aggression and wholesale murder may be set down as the beginning of that long and bloody struggle, of which the world has heard so much, under the name of the Florida War. The Seminoles, who had freely intermarried with the Maroons, lost about thirty of their number by the explosion, and General Gaines was not mistaken in supposing that they would soon be on the alert for vengeance.

Early in 1817 the Maroons and Seminoles were reported to be gathering in bodies, as if for war; and in November a boat's company, ascending the Appalachicola, with women and children, under the escort of Lieutenant Scott and forty men, were attacked by a band of Indians and Maroons, and the whole party massacred, with the exception of six soldiers, who made good their escape. This severe retaliation for the wanton destruction at "Blount's Fort" struck the nation with horror, and the President alluded to it in his message to Congress, declaring that the hostilities of the Indians were *unprovoked*, and that "Spain was bound by treaty to restrain them from committing depredations against the United States." Orders were issued to carry the war into Florida, and to call on the neighboring states for troops; and General Jackson, with his accustomed energy, put himself at the head of a large force, and crossed the boundaries of the United States, penetrated far into the Indian country, burned the settlements of the Maroons, beat the allies in several hotly contested battles, laid waste their fields, took some Indian women and children prisoners, and returned, declaring the war at an end and the Indians conquered.

The general had thinned the ranks of the Maroons, but he had left them free. He carried away a few Indians, but *no negroes;* and as soon as the troops were withdrawn the unsubdued allies crept from their hiding places, rebuilt their ruined dwellings, collected their scattered families, and resumed their peaceful occupations.

In 1819 Florida was purchased of Spain and became the property of the United States. This was a sorrowful day for the Maroons, who were thus brought within the grasp of the slave power, and became more than ever the object of its hatred and persecution. The Georgians immediately set about breaking up the Maroon settlements; and to this end claimed that the Seminoles were still a part of the Creek nation, and that the Creeks, being bound by their treaty stipulations to surrender all escaped negroes, were under obligations to surrender the Maroons.

rines, and sailors who constituted the crews of those gun-boats, as compensation for their gallant services. (Page 43.)

This claim was the subject of a long and bitter controversy between the Georgians and the Creeks, which for some time threatened the peace of the country. It was finally settled by one of those compromises by which slavery has so much profited. The Indians wanted money, the Georgians wanted land, and the United States government wanted peace. So it was agreed at the Indian Spring treaty that the Indians should make over to Georgia five million acres of land, for which the government should pay two hundred thousand dollars, and that a further sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be set apart to pay the Georgia claimants for all the slaves that had escaped into the Creek country prior to 1802, since which time all claims had been provided for.

This adjustment seemed to be pleasing to all parties, and the Georgia Commissioners executed a written satisfaction, in which they "release, exonerate, and discharge the said Creek Nation from all and every claim and claims of whatever description, nature, or kind the same may be, which the citizens of Georgia now have or may have had prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and two against the said nation." Subsequently a commission decided that the Georgia claimants were entitled, under the treaty, to pay for ninety-two slaves which had escaped to the Creeks, and one hundred and nine thousand dollars was appropriated, and the whole matter settled.[*]

This was intended to be a final settlement of the long controversy about the Maroons, and we naturally expect to see them, henceforward, live on their lands in peace. Not so, however. The annoyance of a free colony of blacks was just as great now as before, and the slaveholders were constantly pouring out complaints and denunciations to the government, and the government was making new treaties, new compromises, and new appropriations of money to pacify them.

In 1822 President Monroe called the attention of Congress to these frequent complaints, and that body raised a special committee to inquire into the facts and report some plan for obviating the difficulties. The committee consulted with a large number of prom-

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[*] In 1834 the claimants petitioned Congress for the remainder of this appropriation, amounting to one hundred and forty-one thousand dollars, and a bill was actually reported and passed, giving them this money as an indemnity "*for the loss of the offspring which the slaves would have borne to their masters had they remained in bondage.*" Again, thirteen years later, Mr. Giddings, then on the Indian Committee, feeling that this money justly belonged to the Creeks, for whose benefit it was appropriated, reported a bill for paying to them that sum out of the treasury, and the case was made to appear so plain that the bill was passed and the money paid.

inent persons, and, among the rest, with General Jackson, who declared that the only remedy was to remove the negroes. Mr. Penieres, a sub-agent of the Indians, said that "it was difficult to form a prudent determination with respect to the Maroon negroes who live among the Indians on the other side of the little mountain of Latchiouc. *They fear being again made slaves, under the American government,* and will omit nothing to increase or keep alive mistrust among the Indians, *whom they in fact govern.* If it should become necessary to use force with them, it is to be feared that the Indians will take their part."

The deliberations of this committee led to a treaty directly with the Seminoles, who could now be regarded as an independent tribe since the Georgia claimants were paid, and there was no further motive for holding them under Creek jurisdiction. By this treaty the Seminoles were to be paid six thousand dollars, in cattle and hogs, to be taken under the protection of the United States, to be defended against all encroachments from white settlers, and, in return, were to be "active and vigilant in preventing the retreating to or passing through the district or country assigned them of any absconding slave or fugitive from justice."

This agreement seems to have worked better than the others, and during that and the subsequent administration (that of J. Q. Adams) the Maroons seem to have lived in comparative peace. But General Jackson succeeded to the presidency in 1829, and it had been a favorite idea with him that there could be no peace for the slaveholders till the Maroons were expelled from the country. In his reply to the questions of the committee raised under Monroe's administration, he said: "These runaway slaves *must be removed* from the Floridas, or scenes of murder and confusion will exist." He was now president, and the frequent complaints which reached him from the border determined him in favor of the entire removal of both Indians and negroes.

The Creeks had already been partly removed, and the president desired that the Seminoles should occupy a part of their territory, and be united with them, as formerly, under one government. Accordingly the treaty negotiated by Colonel Gadsden, in 1832, provided that six Seminole chiefs should repair to the Creek country west of Arkansas, accompanied by Abraham, the Maroon interpreter, for the purpose of viewing the country, and ascertaining what was the disposition of the Creeks toward the project for a reunion of the tribes; and if they were satisfied, then the stipulations of the treaty, providing for their removal, were to go into effect.

The chiefs made the proposed journey, and the agents who ac-

companied them obtained their approval before they returned. It was in the form of a supplemental treaty, in which they stated that they were satisfied with the country and prepared to emigrate thither; and it also set apart a certain tract of country, giving the boundaries, "*to the separate use of the Seminoles forever.*"

This supplemental treaty was subsequently repudiated by the government as without authority, and hence the country set apart by it *to their separate use* was never given them; but it was held that, inasmuch as the Indians were satisfied, they had consented to the terms of removal. The chiefs, however, understood that it was the *tribe* that was to be satisfied, and that the word *they* in the treaty did not refer to the exploring party, but to the Indians, after they had reported. These differences retarded the proposed removal, and the Florida settlers, impatient of the delay, were very bitter against both the Indians and the Maroons. They charged that the Indians did not fulfill their treaty stipulations in returning runaway negroes, and in preventing them from passing through their country, and represented to the government that so long as they remained no slaveholder could enjoy his property in peace.

The President, on receiving one of these written missives, sent it to the Secretary of War with his accustomed promptness, and indorsed on it an order "to inquire into the alleged facts, and if found to be true to direct the Seminoles to prepare to remove west and join the Creeks." Jackson was a man whose orders were apt to be promptly obeyed, and General Cass, then Secretary of War, immediately appointed General Clinch to the command of the troops with direction to prosecute the removal at once. But it was much easier to issue orders than it was to carry them into effect. The Indians had become suspicious, and the Maroons, fearful of the power of the Creeks, preferred their chances in Florida, where they knew their means of defense, to the fate which they believed awaited them in the West. Whichever way they turned they saw slavery staring them in the face, and the swamps and everglades of Florida seemed their best means of security.

In 1835 one Milton, a negro trader, went down from Columbus, Georgia, with a company of retainers fully armed, and having also chains and ropes and dogs, for the purpose of seizing some negroes on a pretended claim which the courts had declared to be fraudulent; but finding the people armed, and ready to resist their preposterous demands, they turned back without their booty. They were, however, practiced in the arts of border and slaveholding life, and so spread an alarm over the country that the Indians had armed and were preparing for war. This called out a company of troops, who

marched down on the Indian and Maroon settlements, and sending in a messenger under the protection of a white flag, he demanded why the Indians had armed. The proper explanation having been given, the officer in command stated that the inhabitants were alarmed, and that the best way to pacify them was to surrender their arms, and if they would do so he pledged himself that no one should be allowed to molest them. After a long parley they finally assented to this course, and the military force retired. The next day the trader, knowing that the Indians were now defenseless, returned with his party and seized every negro in the settlement, numbering about *forty*, and making a coffle with their chains and ropes hurried them off to Georgia, where they were sold to the planters.

A considerable number of the negroes were nominally the slaves of E-con-chattimico, an old Indian chief, and were registered as under his protection; but he afterward petitioned Congress in vain for redress, and finally went, broken in spirit, to the West, where his remaining days were spent in great poverty.* Another chief by the name of Blunt suffered in the same way; and still another by the name of Walker only saved his Maroon dependents from a similar fate by a prompt resort to arms.

The government was then under treaty stipulations to protect these people against "*all persons whatsoever;*" but their complaints were utterly unheeded, and many of the officers seem to have connived at the outrages thus perpetrated.

Meantime the policy of removal progressed badly, and the agents began to fear that it would be a failure. The Maroons threw all the weight of their influence against it, and the Indians generally refused to come in. The reluctance of the Indians was distinctly traced to the influence of the Maroons, which still farther embittered the settlers against them. The condition of these people was indeed desperate, and Wiley Thompson, the Indian agent, stated it fairly when, in writing to the government he said, that if the Seminoles were compelled to remove west the *negroes would be enslaved by the Creeks, and if they remained in Florida they would be enslaved by the whites.*†

The Indians and their "negro allies" were, however, still unde-

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* Mr. Giddings states that in 1841, while a member of Congress, he denounced these traders as *pirates;* whereupon Hon. Mark A. Cooper, a representative from Georgia, waxed very indignant, and declared that he was well acquainted with them, that they were his neighbors, and all *honorable men.* It would be interesting to get at Mr. Cooper's exact idea of an *honorable man.*

† See Ex. Doc., 1st Sess. xxiv Congress, page 104.

cided as to their future course, when a further outrage set on fire the train which was ready for the explosion. Osceola, a young Indian brave, and a few friends visited Fort King on a trading expedition. The young brave, since become famous, had a handsome half-breed for his wife, who had accompanied him to the fort. While her husband was engaged about his purchases, some enterprising trader, seeing that she had negro blood in her veins, seized her and claimed her as his slave. Osceola, on being informed of the incident, was frantic with rage, and so violent that Thompson, the agent, ordered him to be seized and put in irons. Meantime his wife was hurried off and sold. He remained a close prisoner at the fort for six days, when, according to General Thompson, he became penitent and was released. He immediately swore vengeance against General Thompson and the whites, and soon imbued the allies with his spirit.

General Cass, the Secretary of War, learning that the Indians were committing the usual depredations preparatory to open warfare, sent them a speech, in which he urged upon them the policy of removing to the West and reuniting with the Creeks. Young Osceola, at a council called to talk over the recommendations of this speech, drew his knife and thrust it violently into the table, saying: "*This is the only treaty I will ever make with the whites.*" A grand council was held, and a decree passed, not only against consenting to a removal, but punishing with death any one who should by his conduct favor that policy. Mather, a worthy chief, who had sold his cattle to the whites and received his pay in gold, was put to death under this severe decree, and Osceola took the gold from his pocket and sowed it broadcast in the forest, declaring that it was the *price of the red man's blood.*

The whole soul of this young warrior was now bent on revenge; and for several weeks, while his partisans were maturing enterprises in other quarters, he hung around Fort King with a party of faithful followers, in the hope of surprising General Thompson.

Meantime General Clinch, conscious that the Indians were in a bitter mood, determined to strengthen his troops at Fort King by ordering on the detachment of Major Dade from Tampa Bay. The distance was one hundred and thirty miles, mostly through forests and everglades, and favorable to the designs of the Indians, who had their spies out and were apprized of the movement. His guide was Louis, a slave in one of the old Spanish families, who was employed on the recommendation of his master as *faithful, intelligent, and trustworthy.* He was, besides, a learned and accomplished gentleman, speaking the French, English, and Spanish languages

fluently, and equally familiar with the Indian tongue; but his sympathies were with his people, and he found means to communicate with them respecting the route that he should take.

Near the close of December, 1835, word came to Osceola, still watching for Thompson at Fort King, that he must join his friends at the Great Wahoo Swamp on the 27th, if he desired to participate in the attack on the detachment of Major Dade. But the young warrior was too intent on his revenge to heed the message. He continued in his lurking place on the road which led from the fort to the quarters of the sutler until the 28th, when General Thompson and Lieutenant Smith came out of the fort together for a walk, and took the road where the Indians were secreted. When they came fairly within the range of the Indian guns the sharp twang of a dozen rifles was heard at the fort, and then the Indian whoop, causing the most intense alarm. General Thompson and his companion fell pierced with many bullets, and the Indians sprang from their hiding places and took the scalps of their victims. They then hurried to the house of the sutler, where Mr. Rogers and his two clerks were at dinner. They were instantly massacred and scalped, and then the Indians, having loaded themselves with as much plunder from the store as they could carry, sped their way to the Wahoo swamp, where they still hoped to be in time for the proposed assault.

Major Dade, all unconscious of the terrible fate which awaited him, had arisen on the morning of the 28th with the expectation of reaching Fort King before nightfall, and was pressing onward, under the direction of his guide, along the edge of the swamp, when without a moment's warning a hundred rifles were suddenly discharged from behind as many trees, and more than half of the one hundred and ten persons comprising his company fell to rise no more. Among the number was the gallant commander himself, and most of his officers. The confusion that followed was that of men fully conscious of the most imminent and impending danger, but with no well-defined idea of defense against it; and before any rally could be effected a second deadly fire thinned still further the ranks of those that remained. The survivors fled in the direction of the night's encampment, and the allies pursued and finished the work of death with the tomahawk and scalping knife. Of all that gallant and hopeful company *two* only, besides Louis the treacherous guide, escaped to spread the alarm and tell the sad tale of that day of horrors.

The night was yet fresh, and the bloody work scarce completed, when Osceola and his companions, gloating over their too complete

revenge, and with the bloody scalps of their victims hanging to their belts, entered the camp and participated in the carnival which made all that night hideous with the song and the dance over the terrible retribution which had fallen on their foes. All the murders had been committed on the same day, and the intelligence sped rapidly over the country, creating a deep sensation wherever it came. But not one in ten thousand knew aught of the long catalogue of grievances which had occasioned it, or the terrible alternatives which had driven a handful of men, made desperate by cruel wrongs, to make war on a great and powerful nation.

The number of Maroons in Florida at this renewal of the war, as carefully estimated by those best informed on the subject, was about one thousand two hundred, including women and children, and excluding some two hundred slaves in the possession of the Indians. The condition of the slaves was very little different from that of the Maroons. They mostly lived in the Maroon villages, and paid a small compensation in vegetables to their nominal owners for their partial freedom. The Maroons and slaves alike intermarried with the Indians, and what affected the one was felt more or less by the other. In their military operations they were organized separately, each party having its own leaders, but always co-operating cordially with the general plan.

The war now commanded the attention of the nation. The southern states were called on for troops. General Scott, our most distinguished military leader, was ordered to the command, and the Creeks, a portion of whom were still in Georgia, were induced to enter the service; and to make that service the more effective against the Maroons, an agreement was made with them by which they were to have, besides the ordinary pay, "such *plunder* as they may take from the Seminoles." The significance of this agreement will be better understood in the sequel. It was expected to make them particularly enterprising in capturing negroes who, by the authority of the United States, thus became, not prisoners of war, but *plunder* to be appropriated or sold.

But although the resources of the nation were poured out in the greatest profusion, no sensible impression was made against the Indians and their negro allies. The reports of the officers gave information of no decisive successes, no important battles, no captures of "men at arms." In one case "several hundred *head of cattle* were obtained;" in another "horses and baggage" were taken "with twenty-five Indians and negroes, principally *women and children;*" in another one hundred and nine *women and children* of the negroes, and nine *women and children* of the Indians; in

still another the prowess of General Gaines, who had penetrated to the Wahoo Swamp, was rewarded by the narrowest possible escape from the fate of poor Dade; and President Jackson, on going out of office in 1837, left the "runaway slaves" still in Florida, and bequeathed to his successor the most unprofitable and inglorious war that had as yet tasked the energies of the nation.

But the Indians and their allies were not so much averse to emigration as they were distrustful of the government; and General Jessup, who was now in command, and at the head of eight thousand troops, used every effort to convince them that the promises of the government would be faithfully kept, and finally induced them to enter on new negotiations. The first attempts failed, for the reason that the terms did not include the Maroons; but finally, some time in March, a treaty was agreed upon, one of the articles of which reads as follows: "Major General Jessup, on behalf of the United States, agrees that the Seminoles *and their allies*, who come in and emigrate west, *shall be secure in their lives and property*; that their negroes, their bona fide property, shall also accompany them West, and that their cattle and ponies shall be paid for by the United States."

The peace attained after this long struggle had been negotiated by the officers of the army under a vivid sense of the great difficulty of conquering the allies, and the importance of treating them fairly and removing them as speedily as possible to their new homes. But the slaveholders along the border began immediately to set up "a howl" because the treaty contained no stipulations for the surrender of slaves; and a number of the planters, high in favor at Washington, wrote to the secretary of war on this point, and brought down on General Jessup complaints from quarters that made them particularly disagreeable. The officers found themselves between two fires. If they carried out the plan of removal peacefully they must deal fairly with the Indians and their allies; but if they thus dealt with them they must be subject to the censures of the planters, and to rebuke and perhaps disgrace from the government.

General Jessup stood out for a while, and refused to allow the slave owners to search among the Indians for runaway slaves, and on application of one of these slave catchers for leave to pass into the Indian country to hunt for his "property," Colonel Chambers wrote by authority of General Jessup as follows: "I am instructed by the commanding general to say that Colonel Dill, the person whom you report having detained at Fort Armstrong, must not be permitted to pass, but be required to return whence he came with

all convenient dispatch. . . . If persons come forward to urge their claims to negroes it will evidently prevent the negroes from coming in, and if they do not come in the commanding general is decidedly of the opinion that the Indians themselves will be greatly delayed, if not entirely prevented from compliance with the terms of capitulation."

But the storm raised about the ears of the commanding general soon induced him to retreat from this straightforward and manly position. He first yielded to the importunities of individuals who wished to search for runaway slaves under his protection; he next sought to make an arrangement by which the allies should give up the "negroes taken from citizens during the war;" and finally, on the 26th of April, he wrote to Colonel Harney that "they *must and shall* give up those taken during the war."

The result was, that the Indians and Maroons who had delivered themselves up were exposed to the searches of the slaveholders, and many of the negroes carried away into slavery instead of "being *protected in their persons*" and sent west according to the treaty. The effect General Jessup describes in a letter to J. J. Smith, a planter of Florida, who seems to have been one of those who was engaged in a "premature attempt" to obtain possession of slaves. He says: "The negroes generally have taken the alarm, and but few of them come in; and those who remain out prevent the Indians from coming in. But for the premature attempt of some citizens of Florida to obtain possession of their slaves, a majority of those taken during the war, as well as those who absconded previous to it, *would have been secured before this time.*"

Secured for what? to be sent west according to the treaty, or to be delivered up to claimants in Florida? Alas, for poor human nature! General Jessup seems to have thoroughly surrendered, and surrendered at the expense of another bloody war. He was evidently greatly exasperated, too, because he could not succeed in carrying "water on both shoulders," and in his wrath he sent an insolent message, through Colonel Harney, to Osceola, as follows: "Tell him that I intend to send out exploring parties and take all the negroes who belong to the white people, and he must not allow the Indians and Indian negroes (Maroons) to mix with them. Tell him I am sending to Cuba for bloodhounds to trail them, and I intend to *hang every one of them who does not come in.*" *

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* To show what was the feeling in Florida in regard to the rights of these negroes, Mr. Giddings states that General Call, then governor, recommended to the secretary of war that military expeditions should be fitted out to capture the negroes, and that when taken they should be sold to pay the expenses of the

One wrong was naturally followed by another; and General Jessup, finding that the negroes who had come in and delivered themselves up for emigration were suspicious and dissatisfied, and that no others arrived, seized them by force and sent ninety of them, against whom were some sort of claims, to St. Marks to be delivered over to the slave hunters; and the rest, amounting to about the same number, to Tampa Bay, to be taken west. This conduct brought matters to a crisis, and General Jessup chronicles the result in a letter to General Gadsden on the 14th of June, as follows: "All is lost! and principally, I fear, by the influence of the negroes."

He was no doubt right. The "negroes" preferred their chances in the swamps of Florida to their chances with the Jessups, and Harneys, and Van Burens, who then wielded the power of the government, and so moved their allies to appeal once more to arms. Twenty-six vessels were then lying at Tampa Bay to carry the Indians to New Orleans on their way westward, and seven hundred had come in and were ready to depart; but the vessels left empty, and the Indians took to the woods, determined once more to defy the whole power of the government.

The war was renewed, and for four or five years more the murderous work went on. The resources of the country were poured out like water, and some $40,000,000 were expended without, at last, fully accomplishing the objects of the planters. There was much suffering, much loss of property, and many lives sacrificed on both sides. The Indians and their allies defended their homes with wonderful heroism and tenacity, and for a long time with almost uniform success; but their numbers gradually melted away before the powerful armies which were constantly on their trails; and what with the decoy of white flags, forfeited pledges, and the sharp scent of Cuba bloodhounds, large numbers of them were at length hunted from their fastnesses, and such of the negroes as were not sent directly into slavery under the pretense of some claimant, were forwarded to Fort Gibson to occupy lands assigned them beyond Arkansas.

But their wrongs did not end even yet. The object of their removal was not to better their condition, but to break up the depot in Florida for runaway slaves. They were not regarded as having any rights, although, as a people, they had been more than a century in freedom. But although hunted down by bloodhounds, given over to the tender mercies of the slave trader, and regarded as the "plunder" of the Creeks, many of them finally found their way to

war. Horrible as this now seems, it was exactly what was meant by giving to the Creeks all the "plunder" which they might capture.

Fort Gibson, and some who had been set apart to quite a different fate.

The Creeks were to have as "plunder" all the negroes that they could capture, but fortunately they had not proved to be very nimble kidnappers. The bloody work which the allies gave them was not at all encouraging to the enterprise which they had taken in hand. Some ninety negroes had been captured in one way or other by troops and Indians together, and of these General Jessup conceded thirty-five to the Creeks, which as "plunder," under his arrangement with them, they were entitled to claim as their property. But he made an arrangement with them by which government was to pay them $8,000 in full discharge of their rights in the negroes, and thus, as he supposed, released the Maroons from their piratical grasp. Several years afterward, when a large company of the Maroons were at New Orleans on their way west, it struck some of the leading slaveholders as a mistake to send so many able-bodied laborers out of the country, and a plan was devised to arrest their farther progress. It was discovered that the Creeks had never been paid the $8,000 awarded them by General Jessup for their "plunder," and consequently that their rights in the "plunder" still held good. On learning this fact, a slave-dealer named Watson was induced to purchase the rights of the Indians, and obtaining an order from the Indian department to have thirty-five of the negroes delivered to him, he sent his agent, Collins, to New Orleans after the property.

Fortunately, however, Lieutenant Reynolds, who had them in charge, had gone on up the river, and Collins did not overtake the party till they reached Vicksburgh. Here it was not convenient to deliver the negroes. They were men of energy, accustomed to war, and utterly refused to go with Collins; and as there was not force enough with Reynolds to compel them, Collins followed on to Fort Gibson. Here, after a long consultation, he was repulsed by the commanding general, and returned without his "plunder." Fourteen years afterward he petitioned Congress for a large sum to repay him and make good his damages, and a bill was passed for his relief.

But when the Seminoles and their Maroon allies were at last in the Indian country, they found that no "separate lands," according to tho agreement, had been provided for them, and consequently they must either pass under Creek jurisdiction, according to the original design of the government, or remain without any lands whatever. In this unpleasant dilemma the Cherokees kindly invited them to occupy, temporarily, their lands, which they did; but in course of time dissatisfaction arose, and complaints went up to

Washington from all parties, and a treaty was finally effected in 1845, by which it was agreed that the Seminoles and their dependents, the Maroons, should remove to the Creek lands, and that if any differences arose they should be referred to the President for settlement.

The Creeks and Seminoles had been separated for about a century, had often been at war, were exceedingly jealous of each other, and still had unsettled disputes, so that the arrangement did not promise much for their future harmony; but to the Maroons this arrangement was still more repulsive, and they looked forward to it with the greatest apprehension. The government, however, insisted, and under the pledges made it was thought best to remove, according to the stipulations.

But hardly had the Maroons got fairly settled in their new territory when the apprehended mischiefs ensued. The Creeks looked wistfully toward them, and soon began to assert their former claims. Living in freedom in their own villages, they naturally excited discontent among the slaves held by the Creeks, and thus excited their hatred, and they greatly desired to have them in their power. The Maroons, alarmed, went in a body to Fort Gibson and claimed the protection of General Arbuckle, who was in command. He treated them kindly, and allowed them to occupy lands near the fort, and supplied their wants from the public stores till he could lay the matter before the President.

Mr. Polk, a slaveholder, was then invested with the executive authority, and he at once consulted with General Jessup as to the terms of his agreement with the negroes. The general, freed from the influence of the Florida planters, did not hesitate to declare that they were to remain in a state of freedom. He says: "The question is whether they shall be separated from the Seminoles and removed to another country, or be allowed to occupy, as they did in Florida, separate villages in the Seminole country, west of Arkansas. *The latter is what I promised them.*" In a subsequent statement made to the Secretary of War, he adds: "I, as commander of the army, and in the capacity of representative of my country, solemnly pledged the national faith that they should not be separated from the Seminoles, nor any of them sold to the white men or others, but be allowed to settle and remain, in separate villages, *under the protection of the United States.*"

But even this explicit statement of the pledges made to the Maroons did not satisfy the President, and he asked counsel of the Attorney General *ad interim*, Hon. John Y. Mason, of Virginia. Mr. Mason gave a very elaborate opinion on the subject, and came

to the conclusion that the Executive could not interfere in any manner to protect them, but must leave them to return to the towns in the Indian country, where *they had a right to remain.*

This seems to have been a crude view of the more recent doctrine of "non-intervention," and the results were quite in harmony with the workings of the same principle in Kansas. The Maroons returned to their villages, *where they had a right to remain;* but not long after a slave dealer appeared in the Creek country, and offered to pay the Creeks $100 for every negro that they would seize and deliver to him properly secured.

This offer was too much for Creek virtue. They secretly assembled two hundred warriors, who made a descent on the Maroon settlements at a time when they suspected no danger. They were taken unawares, and before they could arm themselves seventy of their number, mostly women and children, were seized and secured. The Seminole agent interposed, and had the matter brought before the nearest court in Arkansas, a slave state, and the judge decided that the Indians had a rightful claim to the Maroons under their agreement with General Jessup, and they were thereupon released to the trader, and the whole seventy hurried off to New Orleans and sold into slavery.

It was now clear that there was no protection for the Maroons within the boundaries of the United States, so they held a council to consider what was best to be done. Some of them were connected by marriage with leading Seminole families, and felt so secure in the protection which this advantage gave them, as to feel it safe to remain; but about three hundred of them resolved to sunder their connection with their old friends, the Seminoles, and take up their line of March for Mexico. Accordingly, on the 10th of September, 1850, after the sun had sunk below the horizon, and their patrols had ascertained that no enemy was at hand, they bade farewell to their old friends and started for the Rio Grande. The Creeks were at that time in negotiation with other slave dealers, and waiting their opportunity to make more reprisals. When, therefore, they found that they had gone, they sent a war party in pursuit, which came up with them on the third day. But the Indians found them well armed and prepared for battle, and they did not venture to attack them. They continued their journey safely, crossed the Rio Grande, and settled down at Santa Rosa, where they still remain, and are said to be in circumstances of great prosperity.

ART. III.—PARTY POLITICS.

SINCE the hour when man in Eden threw off the government of God, one of the darkest problems which he has been compelled to work at, is how he shall govern himself. That some mode of government is necessary in communities, is clear from the testimony of all human history. Whether king or president, chief or tycoon, be the head, it is conceded that every community must have an acknowledged leader, and that there must be some way provided for settling regularly the great questions which concern public welfare. There must be law more or less definite and formal, and consequently there must be framers and executors of law, clothed with powers of greater or less extent. Revelation, too, has declared government needful, saying that the powers are "ordained of God," and that he who resisteth them "resisteth the ordinance of God."

But while revelation, history, and reason agree in affirming the necessity of governments among men, no political forms are set forth in God's word as the best; and in their efforts to reason out the question, the wisest men have reached different results. History, ancient and modern, testifies that however perfect theories may be, no practical perfection has yet been attained. Under king and president, chief and tycoon, the rights of the citizen are imperfectly guarded, and the public good is only partially secured. A despotism, provided the right man is always upon the throne, is as good a political structure as any other. But those who have founded dynasties in the past were generally far from being the right men. And if one of the world's model rulers were to reign to-day, he would soon be gathered to his fathers, and the responsibility of determining his successor must rest somewhere. Shall the scepter be hereditary or elective? Shall the whole power descend from father to son? Or shall there be two lines of hereditary power, an aristocracy as well as royalty? Or shall all citizens be equal, and power in all its forms be the creation of the popular voice? The nations, by choice, accident, or the will of God, have tried these various modes of solving the great problem, and found them all practically more or less defective. Man is fallen, and to attempt political perfection is to try to "bring a clean thing out of an unclean."

In these United States we are trying the popular principle. The corner-stone of our system is that governments are instituted solely

for the benefit of the governed, and that the will of the people is the only legitimate source of power. We are trying what the rest of the world declares to be a doubtful experiment. Among our own people, there are those who feel that we are not succeeding so triumphantly as to warrant us in laying aside care and caution, or in forgetting that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." No one dreams that a change of form would be beneficial, or that an emperor or a dictator would better secure the public weal than a president. There is universal confidence in the principle upon which our system is based; and if any man should set himself up as a political reformer, and advocate a monarchy or a hereditary aristocracy, he would encounter more ridicule than either persecution or argument.

Still, no intelligent American is wholly satisfied with the political state of the country, or believes that we are working our beautiful theory as well as we might. Practically, there are defects and abuses which are annoying, and which threaten to become grievous, if they are not so already. In the general politics of the world, there is no complaint that we lack energy or courage in asserting our national rights. We feel that we are powerful. The Americans, from their intelligence, their physical strength, their activity, their quickness to see and to do, as well as their native valor, are probably the best material in the world for soldiers and sailors, and our resources for resistance to invasion are boundless. Our commercial value to the rest of the world secures for us more deference than might otherwise be paid us, and our people go abroad among the nations with heads erect, knowing that our flag is the symbol of courage and power, and that a vigorous hand will be laid upon those who disregard its claims to respect.

Nor has the American much to complain of at home in regard to his own personal rights. He enjoys the largest liberty possible in an organized community. Speech is as free as the atmosphere that bears its utterances. In religion he may be Christian, Jew, deist, or atheist, as conviction or folly prompts, and the state lays no penalty on him for the style of his own belief, nor taxes him to support any other. His share of the expense of government, levied directly or indirectly, when compared with that paid by the citizens of almost every other civilized land, is small and insignificant. The demand for mental and manual laborers is so great that men escape the despotism of capital. In mind, body, and estate, the American is the freest civilized man that treads the earth.

And yet the American complains, and has reason to complain, of the defective workings of the government which is his pride. One valid complaint which may be uttered against it is that it costs more

than it should. It is true the eighty millions annually expended by the general government appear small beside the annual expenditure of England or France. Still, we have a right to object if the citizen is taxed, directly or indirectly, two dollars when one would suffice. And who, that has caught a glimpse of the inner wheels and bands of our political machine, doubts that one dollar, honestly and judiciously managed, would do as much as two now accomplish?

Again, our high offices are not as invariably filled by our best men, as the good of the people demands. It is a hard saying, yet it is asserted, with some seeming of truth, that men of the high morals and inflexible integrity which Christianity inculcates are really unpopular as candidates, and that, in some localities, they are as carefully excluded from official station as if there was some constitutional bar to their election. The genius of our institutions demands that the best citizens be the leaders of the people, and the republican theory presumes this to be the fact. Yet the first men of the nation have more than once been set aside for men comparatively unknown. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster stand forth as a great triumvirate of genius, eloquence, and patriotism. They were the "three mighties" of their day, and yet the highest office in the gift of the people was beyond their grasp, while men of less ability as statesmen, and less known, were elevated to the presidency. There may be a reason, such as it is, for this. Men of great power, who act as leaders of parties for years, provoke personal hostility in their various intellectual encounters; they are regarded with jealousy by the little men, who can attain in their shadow only a pale and spindling growth. Or they may be so identified with sectional strifes that their election would be humiliating to their opponents, and consequently their nomination would call forth a degree of resistance which another man, equally sound in the political faith, would not elicit. When circumstances of this nature prompt the thinkers of a party to place before the people some comparatively unknown candidate, we confess that, after the fashion of the children of this world, they are wise in their generation, and may sometimes even claim that their policy is magnanimous. But when political operators select some obscure man, who has never done anything of importance, nor even said anything of significance, because they wish to vary their representations of his principles to suit the local tastes, prejudices, and interests of different sections, the scheme is false, fraudulent, treacherous. Both the great parties have, at times, adopted the policy of nominating for high office men of a secondary degree of publicity; and as there may have been a plausible reason for adopting this plan, we will not charge it upon them

as a crime. Nor will we find fault if, now and then, a man not of the very purest morals is elected to fill some responsible place—for instance, a seat in the national or state legislature. It certainly is not practicable, and it may not be wise, to fill up the legislative ranks with men who are greatly above the moral average of the community. Civil laws must be adapted to the condition of the governed. If the law-makers are too far above the level of those for whom they act, there will be a liability to run into legislation which, in the abstract, is wise and right, yet really impracticable and useless. What kind of a legislature would the Pilgrim Fathers have made for a community of common sinners? We are not prepared, therefore, to insist upon it that all high offices must be filled with the strictest and sternest of Christian men.

In our excessive desire to be politically amiable and accommodating, we are prepared to go a step beyond this, and say that we will not complain if here and there a bad man is found in office. What if a gambler, a swindler, or a grogbruiser be found sitting among law-makers, do not gamblers, swindlers, and grogbruisers dwell in this goodly land? And we ask, triumphantly, Is not ours a representative government? Let us be calm and philosophical. When we see, by the legislative reports, that there is a professor of the "manly art" in the state capitol, sent thither by the votes of the enlightened citizens of the Five Points in New York, or Bedford-street in Philadelphia, we feel that there is some plausibility in his claim to a place in Albany or Harrisburgh, inasmuch as he represents well, luminously, beautifully, the chivalry of his locality. And so we reason when another makes his appearance in our halls of national legislation with a revolver or two in his pocket, and a bowie-knife tucked daintily inside his vest. There is a class of which each is the exponent, and the fitting representative. And since these classes really exist, why should not good citizens be reminded of the fact, especially while they are engaged in framing criminal law? These "Honorables" will of course resist the passage of any statute that threatens to interfere with their peculiar "rights," or in any way cramp their genius; and perhaps, owing to the animated style of their elocution, they will brandish fists or bowie-knives in debate, or possibly enliven the dull monotony of routine deliberation by a rough-and-tumble fight on the floor; but, in all this, they merely represent their faction. Good and right law will encounter opposition; and since it must come, is it not well to be warned of it beforehand, to know what passions it will rouse, what sophistries it will bring to the surface, what resistance it must overcome?

But then comes the question, whether our public offices are filled by men of average virtue and integrity. We are not at all disposed to make sweeping accusations against the morals of those in authority. No one will deny that men of the purest integrity, men of the highest Christian character, may be found in public places. But where is the average? How do our public men compare in morals with our citizens in general? To take what we hear and know of their conduct at the various seats of government may be fallacious, since many a tolerably good citizen at home conducts himself rather indifferently away from home. But if this is a fair criterion, we are inclined to draw the conclusion that our public men are not, in the mass, of average virtue, are not up to the general moral level of the nation.

Unless the city of Washington is grievously slandered, gambling dens are not unknown there, nor are members of Congress exempt from the charge of visiting them. Dram shops of various grades are common there; and the basement of the Capitol itself has not always been innocent of participation in the murderous traffic, and in the deeds which it is its province to produce. Furious language in debate, fierce altercations on the floor of Congress, and even gross outrage committed within those sacred walls, exemplify the violence and brutality of which bad men may be guilty when under the double intoxication of alcohol and passion. It is scarcely worth while now to allude to the bloody violence inflicted upon a senator, some four years ago, by a member of the House of Representatives, while a twin assassin stood by, holding a pistol to prevent interference, and a prominent candidate for the presidency coolly witnessed the revolting scene, declining to interpose with hand or voice "lest he should be misunderstood." It is said, on what authority we know not, but are ready to believe it without inquiry, that the author of this evil deed afterward regretted it as the great error of his life, an error into which he would never have fallen but for brandy and bad counselors. This, indeed, is a poor apology for an act which has shocked the moral sense of the nation, and rung throughout the civilized world to the dishonor of the American name; but it was the only reparation which the offender, however penitent, could offer. We need not review the catalogue of similar occurrences, more or less remote, the menaces, the challenges, the duels, the outrages of greater or less enormity which stain our national name, and fill every patriot heart with shame and indignation. If the doers of these things fancy that by a few hypocritical words of regret, or a little newspaper notice to the effect that "all personal difficulties have been

honorably adjusted," they satisfy the reason and the conscience of an insulted community, either they or we mistake the temper, and miscalculate the intelligence of the American people.

It is true, when politics assume a sectional aspect, and men's passions are roused, it is quite natural that things should be said and done which all parties unite in condemning when the excitement begins to subside. Moreover, we must not forget that in our national legislature there is a little faction of agitators, who aim at the dismemberment of the Union. They are not numerous, nor influential, nor do they represent any important division of the nation, yet they are men of good lungs and vast assurance. The sundering of the states, they fancy, would bring them personal gain. The division of one county, or township, into two others, is always popular with the small political mousers of the locality, because it will double the number of officers to be elected, and consequently multiply by two each man's chances. There are ambitious men, aspirants after national honors, who fancy that their chances of rising would be increased if there were both a Northern and a Southern confederacy. These disunionists employ fierce language and insulting manners, not exactly because they mean it, but from set purpose and deliberate design. Their object is to set the different parts of the nation at variance, and to force on a deep, bitter, implacable, sectional strife, which must of necessity end in disunion.

When these men, therefore, use all the arts of annoyance and provocation, they must not be understood as expressing their own genuine feelings, much less those of their constituents, but rather as employing what seems to them the surest means of producing a desired result. Besides this, as the tadpole has but one fin, some men have but one way to try to influence those around them. One will argue, another coax, a third bully. Cut off this one fin and they lie helpless in the dirty pool in which they now swim so triumphantly their six-inch voyages.

Still, after allowing what we reasonably may for excitement, intoxication, hypocrisy, and folly, there yet remains a mass of evil words and deeds, which can only be accounted for on the ground that many radically bad men occupy public places, men who are not only morally weak, but capable of deliberate and strenuous wickedness. At Washington, and at least some of the state capitals, men of a low moral grade are numerous, and legislative action is often imperfect or vicious because they are numerous. The proceedings of Congress, and of the state legislatures, are sometimes careless, sometimes weak, sometimes wicked, because careless, weak,

and wicked men have so large a hand in them. Because of this, the whole machinery of government is practically defective, costing more and accomplishing less than it should. The laws of the land are not as accurately just and right, and are not executed as promptly and rigidly as the public good requires. Good laws fail to be passed, or fail in the execution, because there is a positive lack of virtue among those who should enact them or faithfully apply them. We know of no other nation whose system of law and administration we would prefer, as a whole, to our own. Nevertheless, with all our progress, real and imaginary, we have not yet attained political perfection; and there is no reason why we, as American citizens, may not complain of existing evils, and demand a remedy wherever a remedy is possible.

But before we inquire after the remedy, it will be well to glance at the sources of the evil.

First of all, government, even in its best forms, is not perfect in its workings, because man himself is essentially imperfect. If the infinite wisdom of God should devise for us a system of government, and a full and minute code of civil and criminal law, human hands would not be able to apply the divine statutes, and work the divine system in a perfect manner. If all men were truly Christian, scanty knowledge and a fallible judgment would render error possible. But "all men have not faith." The nation is composed of men of all grades of intellect, from the loftiest wisdom down to idiocy; and of all grades of virtue, from the most devoted piety down to the most daring wickedness and the meanest villainy. And every man, whether good or evil, whether Solomon or sot, whether he possesses a vote or not, must be taken into the political calculation and recognized as one of the dwellers in the land, for whom it is necessary to legislate, and with whom it may be needful for the law to deal. Here, as in every civilized community, there are two classes arrayed against each other in eternal antagonism. They are the advocates and the opponents of right law. The convictions of the one class are on the side of justice, humanity, and virtue, and against violence, oppression, and wrong. They wish the law of the land to be a clear exponent of these principles, and a strong auxiliary in the moral contest. They desire to see wrong in all its phases, and fraud in all its forms, laid hold of with a strong hand, and repressed promptly and effectually, that our persons and our good names, our homes, our merchandize, our crops growing in the field or stored in the granary, may be safe. They wish for universal education, and quiet Sabbaths, and streets free from midnight riot. In their theory the magistrate is "not to bear the sword in vain," but to be a "terror to evil doers."

They labor to banish from the land all that despoils men of their manhood, or mars the purity of home, or spreads dangers in the path of youth.

And there is another class who advocate "liberal" ideas on all moral questions; who desire to have as little law as possible, and no stringent statutes rigidly enforced. To a corrupt heart, surrendered to the sway of the devil, resistance to all right law, human or divine, is instinctive. The wicked may be ready to appeal to the public authority, when it suits their purposes so to do; but a bad man can have no cordial respect for the law, and is ever ready to trample upon it when it stands in the way of his sins. From the peculiar nature of our institutions, these two classes are brought into perpetual collision. They take opposite sides in public discussions; they meet face to face at the polls; and yet their strife is scarce ever open and avowed. The good and the evil uplift no appropriate banners, nor adopt party names significant of the real contest between them, nor imbody in "platforms" precisely what they think and what they want. To borrow an old expression in regard to the real Church, we may designate these classes as "invisible parties." They are drawn toward the regular organizations, or repelled from them, according to the character of the men and measures advocated by those organizations. When a question which connects with morals and religion is agitated, and the people are called upon to decide, the good and the evil tend to go to the one side or the other by affinity, as the different elements of a chemical solution leave each other, and gather to the opposite poles of a galvanic battery. A question, for example, in regard to restricting the common sale of intoxicating drinks, or closing places of public amusement on the Sabbath, will stir the elements of a city as deeply as the slavery issue stirs the nation; and parties earnest, active, and resolute, will find their leaders, their newspaper organs, and their candidates.

There is, then, in every community an undefined party, opposed to salutary legislation, and an obstacle in the way of those who would maintain public order. We would not style this a "dangerous class" in the European sense of the phrase. To become fiercely antagonistic, classes must be separated by visible and permanent lines of distinction, like the castes of India, or the nobles and the peasantry of France before the Revolution. The parties of which we speak are not thus bounded and distinguished. The thoughtful statesman and the pious pauper may be alike interested on the one side, while the "rough" keeper of a low dram shop, and the pompous millionaire of whom he rents his premises,

may be equally fervent in the advocacy of their peculiar "rights."

Nor can we say that either nativity or creeds, as publicly proclaimed and recognized, designate these parties. Some will have it that the foreign born element of our population is the chief obstacle in the way of law and order, while the native element is wholly conservative; but such classifications are too sweeping. The Catholic portion of our nation has been charged with having aims which are at variance with our liberties; but we object to these indiscriminate accusations. There are certain personages who would rejoice to have these and similar charges made, and urged, and repeated pertinaciously and fiercely. These are the Romish priests themselves, who wish to keep their people isolated from the Protestants, that they may the more securely hold them in spiritual bondage. They dread the effects of free speech and a free press. They dread the influence of American modes of thought and American freedom of expression. They fear the influence of Americans upon those in their employ. Against these dangers their weapons of defense are fear, distrust, bigotry, hatred. They labor to keep alive in their people the old enmity which too many of them have unfortunately imported from their native lands. Thus they seek to keep their flocks together, by assuring them that outside of the narrow circle over which the priestly crook casts its shadow every living thing is a wolf. The "Know Nothing" and "American" movements were, in their day, a great help to the priests in counteracting the effects which were produced in the Catholic mind by our free institutions, and the Christian example of Protestants. We do not desire to help the priests by any careless expression which might be construed into dislike of Catholics or of foreigners, and ostentatiously quoted from the Review as the opinion of the entire Church. Nor will we cite their opposition to the use of God's word in the common school as a proof, or an illustration, of the existence of a class opposed to right law. We suspect that there is a little priestly play-acting in this matter, and that the real object of their dread is the familiar, daily commingling of their children with those of Protestants. They fear the effect of childish intimacy and converse, in wearing away the dislike and dread which they are so careful to cultivate, and upon which, in their estimation, so much depends. It is safe to hazard the conjecture, that if the Bible were removed from the schools, they would allow their children to attend only in those localities where the numerical strength and the preponderating social influence among the children are in their favor.

We say, therefore, that we do not deem it either fair or wise to

stigmatize the Catholics as the dangerous element. All who hate the Ten Commandments and the human laws which are based upon them; all who dislike pure morals, truth, temperance, industry, honesty; all who desire to live by the labor of others, and to make merchandize of their weakness, their folly, or their wickedness; all who favor a licentious press and riotous Sabbaths, belong to the lawless portion of the people, whether they are of foreign birth or native, whether Catholic or Protestant, Infidel or Jew; and if there be a class dangerous to our institutions these are they. Whether dangerous or not, they are certainly an expensive class. For their sole accommodation prisons are erected, and criminal courts and officers ordained, and mainly for them the almshouse opens its doors.

This class of citizens exert an important influence in political affairs. They have votes as well as others, and when a candidate of their own sort is set up, a fellow feeling prompts them to support him irrespective of party lines. It is a harder matter than it would otherwise be, to fill any office with a good man, because bad men of all parties prefer to see those elected who will not be dangerous to them. Free and easy citizens do not admire stern disciplinarians.

> "No thief e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law."

And if thieves have the privilege of aiding in the selection of the man who is to manage the rope, they will be careful to vote for the candidate who, in their estimation, will be least likely to slip the fatal noose over their heads. The proprietors of grog shops, dance houses, and Sunday theaters, as well as the patrons of dog fights, rat matches, "the ring," and other elegant amusements to which gentlemen of a certain sort addict themselves, have votes, and in cases of doubt stand long with the ballots in their dirty fingers, meditating on the transitory nature of sublunary things, and considering which of the aspirants for municipal honors will be least likely to raise a legal dust about their places of resort. Certainly this is natural, and in its way rational. If the mice in a granary were to be called together to nominate a cat to preside over the premises, they would be unanimously in favor of the tabby with the dullest eye and the bluntest claws. The five of points and the fifth of avenues will come to the polls as Noah's antediluvian collection of animals came up into the ark, each "after its kind." When the thorn produces grapes, and the thistle figs, we may expect bad men to favor the election of good officers, and grow enthusiastic for right law and a stringent executive.

The character of the men who are generally most ambitious for office is another obstacle in the way of a rigidly honest and just

administration of public affairs. After having rebuked sweeping accusations elsewhere, it would not be seemly for us to fall into them ourselves; still, we must be permitted to say that office-seekers, as a class, are not in very high repute, and that, as a general thing, the men who are mentally and morally best qualified to manage public affairs have little desire for office. Few are willing to engage in the strife of an ordinary political contest. It seems to them very much like scrambling in the gutter for pennies with a company of chimney-sweeps in their working clothes. There are few offices which an able, prosperous business man can accept without pecuniary loss. There are many offices which a man of cultivation cannot fill without repugnance. A good man can scarce occupy public office without becoming of necessity the daily associate of men whom, because of their character, he does not care to know, and without being compelled either to make for himself bitter enemies, or wink at things which his conscience cannot approve. We hazard nothing in saying that, as a class, the office *seekers* (mind, we do not say office *holders*) are rather an indifferently good kind of men, or, in phrase commercial, only of "middling" quality.

The character of the men who gather about office seekers, and make politics their trade, increases the evil. There are those who "by this craft have their wealth." They work for the success of their patrons. They are the political jackals who assist the lion in the chase, and, when the game is secured, have each a bone to gnaw as their reward. The theory of ideal republicans is that the free and intelligent people assemble at the polls, and elect the man best prepared to do the country honor, the candidates meanwhile modestly and meekly remaining at home, awaiting the popular decision. And what is seen by the half-opened eye favors this view. Still the initiated understand the matter somewhat differently. They know that somebody works, and expects to be paid for the work. When the national heart feels the presence of great questions, we admit that men are ready to labor, even with the certainty of pecuniary loss, for the success of the principles or the men that they espouse. Still, it is not to be disguised that the men who, in an ordinary election, are most noisy and active, are, with few exceptions, those who expect to gain by the success of the party which they advocate. In the country village the party editor is subsidized with a new suit of type to begin with, perhaps, and is promised the public printing of the locality to quicken his zeal. Those who are employed to canvass the precinct, and look after the lukewarm and the doubtful, are sometimes paid in cash for their services, sometimes are rewarded with petty office, sometimes are kept to the work by indefinite prom-

ises. In the city the spoils are larger. Lucrative situations, fat contracts, the erection of a public building, the grading of an avenue, the adornment of a park, or even the sweeping of the streets, set in motion those who have no thought of anything beyond these rewards. They receive these contracts, sometimes, on terms known to be unfair and dishonest, and the recipient perhaps at once sells out the job, or contracts with new parties to do the work for one half or two thirds the amount paid him, and gives himself no further trouble with it. In national politics, the spoils are places in the custom-house, or in the government offices at Washington, the public printing, army and navy contracts, foreign missions and consulships, some with liberal outfit and salary, others to powers and places of no importance, and involving nothing beyond a little foreign travel at the public expense. And cases are not wholly unknown where a sinecure office has been devised with the understanding that the holder thereof shall earn his salary after a fashion, by electioneering labors and general management in behalf of those who bestow the favor. Thus each political faction is surrounded by a guard of janizaries, a body of mercenaries, who operate for their employers, and expect their pay—men who, as one has well expressed it, are bound to their party by the principle that "the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." These party workers vary in the fields of labor assigned them, from the platform of a "mass meeting," down to the earthen floor of an underground grog-shop. The existence of such men makes it more difficult for their own party to nominate and elect a rigidly honest man to office, because they know that when an honest man, even of their own party, is elected, they will not be allowed to plunder the public treasury. When a candidate really fit for a high place is nominated, the party Swiss take it as a personal affront and injury. They feel very much as the rats do when they peer cautiously out of their hiding-places and see the farmer preparing to nail a piece of tin over the only hole that leads into the bin of grain. On the other hand, the men whom the new officer would be likely to select to aid him in the performance of his public duties are busy with their own affairs, and are not anxious for patronage. Thus a good nominee often fails because the regular party workers will do little or nothing to bring out the party strength; and a bad one often succeeds because there are so many who in secret hope for dishonest gain from his election. The whole machinery of party is liable to work feebly when a man of unbending integrity is the nominee, because the ardor and enthusiasm of the party mercenaries depend upon their hope of plunder.

Party spirit is sometimes found in the way of a wise termination of our political contests.

There is no valid objection to the institution of parties for the fair and honest defense of great principles. When rival systems of political action and economy come in collision, the adherents of each will naturally be drawn together, and seek so to arrange their action that their principle may be represented aright at the polls. Nor do we complain that men are attached to their party, and that the party name, when it is the symbol of great truths, or supposed truths, should be a word of power. But when designing men seize hold upon the party organization, and turn it into a mere lever for their own elevation, or an instrument of personal profit, and the party name is only a charm to conjure with, and lead men into doubtful ways, when principles are either lost sight of altogether, or else made the stalking horse, by which the game is secured; when "platforms" become grandiloquent commonplaces, which nobody denies, while the real plans and aims upon which the whole party strength is to be brought to bear are plotted in secret, and whispered over in secret among a select few of the party engineers, then parties are no longer good, but an evil and a public curse, more dangerous to the community than any organized gang of counterfeiters, or any band of common robbers.

Yet this is precisely the abuse to which parties are liable. Corrupt men gain control of the party to which they belong, and turn the whole tide of influence possessed by it upon the wheel which grinds their own personal grist. It is a matter of rejoicing that in these latter days party ties are not as strong, nor are political contests in general as fierce as they were thirty or forty years ago, and men are less led by names. The rise of new parties, and the occurrence of schisms and disintegration in the old ones, have also aided in setting men free from party slavery, and making them independent in the bestowment of their votes. Still party names have power, and the old watchwords have a charming sound in many ears. And the tendency of partisanship is to blind the eyes of the citizen to the evil existing in his own faction, and the good that may exist outside of it. Political plotters carefully foster it. They pursue precisely the course which the Romish priest adopts in the management of his flock. They cultivate a blind admiration of their own men and ostensible measures, and an equally blind fear and distrust of the opposition. The object of each party is to destroy public confidence in the others. Of course all imaginable pleas are employed for this purpose—acute and plausible ones when such are needed, and monstrous and absurdly false ones where such

will better answer the purpose. "Platforms" are contrived in language susceptible of various interpretations, to suit the varying views and interests of the people; and in many cases none but the most sagacious can tell what is the real aim of the party leaders.

The press is the principal weapon employed in this warfare. The press is free, and ought to be free. Every man is at liberty to advocate any theory he chooses in philosophy, religion, or politics. The most obscure citizen may discuss public measures and public men, approving and condemning what or whom he will. And what he may do orally in private, he may also do publicly and through the press. That which, under a despotism, is whispered in the ear, may here be proclaimed upon the housetops. This is one of the elements of genuine liberty. Yet this freedom of speech and of the press is practically of little value to many who make it their boast. When a king establishes a censorship of the press, suppressing information which the people ought to have, and making it say only what he wishes to have said and believed, we declare it tyranny of so malignant a type as to warrant the stern remedy of revolution. But many a man who scorns submission to a tyrant without, has a tyrant within. What matters it that the press is free, if the mind is in the bondage of insane prejudice? If blind attachment to party has given the mind so fatal a wrench that it can see, and understand, and believe only what comes to it through a certain channel, does it not voluntarily put on the shackles of servitude, and plunge into a dungeon of its own building? To be unable to look with open, candid eye upon anything which lacks the impress of the party signet, is one of the worst of stamp acts. The partisan press has succeeded in nothing else so well as in the creation of mutual distrust and disbelief. Who has faith in the papers of the other party?

We have no disposition to advocate universal credence, though that were a safer rule to follow than to reserve all faith for one side and all disbelief for the other. Every editor of a political paper should be heard with the caution needful when a witness, interested in the result of the suit, is upon the stand. The very existence of some papers depends upon collections made in their behalf among office-holders and office-seekers. Others are kept alive by public printing. The organ of a party is rewarded with patronage of various descriptions. It is to the editor a serious matter to quarrel with the party leaders, and a party defeat is a loss of personal dollars and cents. An editor that has stamina enough to go against party when party goes against right, will not be a favorite with the leaders whose projects he insists on testing in his private crucible;

nor will he be likely to secure a very large share of the spoils. The vast majority of political papers are wholly one-sided, and no man can make the statements of any one of them the basis of opinion and action, save at the risk, if not the certainty, of being altogether deluded and misled. The vast majority of party journals absolutely betray their readers. Party editors refuse to publish what they know to be true, whenever the effect of publication will be unfavorable to their side. Many will go further, and deny the truth. Many will quote, if they do not coin, what they know to be false, if it promises to help "the party." Men otherwise respectable and truthful will do this. By some unaccountable hallucination they seem to think that with the types and "for the cause" they may say what they would scorn to say, and do what they would scorn to do in private life for themselves.

Partisan papers not only deal largely in general falsehood, but remorselessly assail private character. Unless a man is too strong to be safely attacked, long and faithful public service, the most generous public spirit, and the purest private morals will not save him from villainous abuse when he becomes a candidate for office. Some of the readers of the Review will remember the malignant accusations made against the public acts and the private morals of Andrew Jackson when he was a candidate for the presidency, and how the charges of murder and assassination were enforced by pictures of coffins on the cover of the electioneering pamphlets with which the land was flooded. They will also recollect that when the hero was actually in his grave, all parties united to honor his patriotism, and to place him in the list of great Americans. The history of his political rival is in substance the same. Accused of almost every crime forbidden in the decalogue, branded as a gambler and a political trickster without honor or principle, ready to sell his country for gold while he was a nominee for the presidency, he was no sooner gone from earth than his old opponents became almost fulsome in their eulogies. General Cass, in the senate chamber, chastening his language, as he said, to "the severity of truth," declared that he believed that Henry Clay "was as pure a patriot as ever participated in the councils of a nation, anxious for the public good, and seeking to promote it during all the vicissitudes of a long and eventful life." And the very party organs that had heaped up detraction without limit, were loud in their praises of the deceased orator and statesman. We are aware that the men of real power, the great leaders of all parties, generally leave this base work of political slander for others to perform. Still the work is done, to the shame and the disgrace of the nation, and the injury of private character and the public good.

However enormous and absurd the falsehoods uttered, they are uttered with the hope that somebody will believe them, and they are believed. The intelligent may read with discriminating eyes, detecting, through all the fog thrown around the subject, the good and the evil in public men and public measures; and many become puzzled and confounded, not knowing what to believe or whom to trust. But many receive with immeasurable faith all that comes from their own side, and reject, without inquiry, all that comes from the other. The lagging reparation that never comes till the death of the slandered man has rendered further lying politically useless, is merely a confession of the former crime, and has no value. It is a poor consolation to a true patriot and statesman to know that the curs which now snap their rabid teeth at his heels will slaver his tombstone with their false tongues, and howl their simulated woe over his grave.

The apathy of the better classes of citizens is another prominent cause of the foulness of the political pool. It may be to the credit of our government that men have so little fear of oppressive legislation that they become careless of exercising the elective franchise. Still this carelessness is not a good thing, especially when those most prone to neglect their duty are the very men whose influence is needed on the side of law and order. This neglect is an error, and almost, if not quite, a sin. There sits by our side, as we ponder these things, one of the purest of patriots and of men, a native citizen of these United States, who has been for sixty years a legal voter, and yet during that long period has never voted once. There may not be another case like this in the land; but all who know the facts are aware that many good citizens are lacking in the sense of obligation in regard to their duty as citizens. The national statistics show that when the most momentous questions are to be decided, and the popular excitement is greatest, hundreds of thousands entitled to vote do not present themselves at the polls. We count this an evil of colossal magnitude. Our people are not all friends of law, nor lovers of order. Some honor, others decry and hate. Some uphold right law, others would dethrone it and trample it under their feet. It is a dangerous thing for good citizens to be negligent. Our experiment of free government is not such a triumphant success as warrants the conclusion that good men are no longer needed at the ballot-box. Nor are we impressed with the idea that all will go right if piety goes into the closet to pray, leaving the ballot-box to "the world, the flesh, and the devil." We need works as well as faith. Religion must vote as well as pray.

Those who are guilty of this neglect apologize for it on certain

grounds, which are insufficient for their purpose. They say that the whole thing is not in the best odor among respectable people; that the polls are located generally at some place where good men do not care to be seen, and that brutal men hang about in crowds to swear, and push, and poison the air with alcoholic breath. Brutal men will swear harder, and drink more, if this will give them the entire control of the land. The falsehood and chicanery of the men who work the party wires produce deep disgust, but what then? If good men, for that reason, give up their rights as citizens, and leave the corrupt and the self-seeking to govern the country, it will be only the result for which these very men are laboring. To inquire and investigate, carefully, resolutely, and fearlessly, to act independently, to make these little sacrifices of ease and mental quiet, and encounter, one or two days in the year, that which reputable men would gladly avoid forever, is the price which intelligent patriotism must pay for liberty.

Thus we have attempted to point out some of the practical defects of our political life as they seem to an outside observer. We have also tried to search out the origin of these defects. In regard to the remedy, a sentence or two must suffice. The evil has a double source, ignorance and wickedness; and we have no faith in any remedy except one that aims to lessen ignorance and wickedness. When there is more intelligence among the people, and the fear and the love of God have greater power over the popular mind, the evil will begin to decrease. We need more spelling-books and more Bibles, more school-houses and more churches, more truth and more love of the truth. The wrong will be rebuked, and the right will be vindicated, just in proportion as the popular heart beats with a wise love of the right and an intelligent hatred of the wrong. The word of God, read, understood, believed, alone furnishes a firm foundation for free institutions. None else will stand when the winds blow and the waves beat.

We subjoin, as an appropriate conclusion, the most excellent passage in the Pastoral Address of the late General Conference, referring to this subject:

"6. The political influence of the Church cannot be profitably exerted by the Church as a body, but only by individuals as citizens. But in using their rights and influence as citizens, we have occasion to admonish all to let their *manner* of using be marked with moderation, preserving constantly the dignity and sobriety of the Christian; and let your influence as individual Christians be exerted with wisdom; and we cannot refrain from saying that one of the wisest ways of exerting your influence is, to attend the pri-

mary political meetings, and give your voice for good and true citizens to hold the places of public interest and trust. We add, that as the pastors of the Churches are "separated unto the Gospel of God," as says St. Paul, while they ought to exercise their individual rights as citizens in voting, it is not meet or profitable to the pastor, or the Church in which he serves, to stand forth in a political canvass, so as to make the impression that he has given himself unduly to worldly affairs, and to this extent failed to devote himself to the holy ministry unto which God has separated and consecrated him."

ART. IV.—EARLY METHODISM IN THE BOUNDS OF THE OLD GENESEE CONFERENCE.

Early Methodism within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference, from 1788 to 1828; or, the First Forty Years of Wesleyan Evangelism in Northern Pennsylvania, Central and Western New York, and Canada. Containing Sketches of interesting Localities, exciting Scenes, and prominent Actors. By GEORGE PECK, D. D. 12mo., pp. 512. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

THE history of Methodism the world over is most extraordinary. It abounds in incident unequaled in the annals of any other period or portion of the Christian Church. It is, indeed, a history of marvels almost from beginning to end. The youngest of all the evangelical Churches, the Wesleyan body, is now much the largest. Though less than a century old in America, and not much more than a fourth older in Europe, it numbers its millions of adherents. Wherever the Protestant religion has found lodgment, or has been able to command patronage, there Methodism is now exerting its saving agency. It is felt indeed to be a power in the earth.

Its greatest triumphs have, however, been achieved in the New World. The state of society here has been found, from the very beginning, to be well suited to the aggressive character of Wesleyanism. The popular mind has been taken by it on the very wing. Where all has been excitement and activity, expansion and enterprise, the masses have been compelled to pause and listen. The voice of one crying in the wilderness has been heard, and the wanderer called back to his father's house.

Nor is there any other portion of the American continent from which more striking examples of the truth of what has been said can be selected, than that covered by the history named at the head of this article. "Old Genesee" may well challenge a com-

parison, so far as the success of Methodism is concerned, with any other portion of the nation—one might almost say, any other portion of the globe. The moral and relative changes affected by it can hardly be appreciated by the present generation. Fifty years since, in all these regions, Methodism was deemed either contemptible, or utterly beneath contempt. Wherever its heralds went, they were sure to be regarded and treated, with here and there an honorable exception, as the filth and offscouring of all things. They were saluted with gibes, and groans, and derisive songs, and in some instances with foul-mouthed blasphemies, nay, with even personal violence.

But how great is the change! Those whose memories enable them to compare that time with the present can hardly imagine themselves in the same world. Contempt has given place to respect, prejudice to candor, neglect to deeply interested attention. So complete has been the revolution, that a Methodist preacher of respectable talents and attainments, would now find a cordial welcome and a comfortable support in almost any neighborhood within the geographical area comprehended by the history before us. The actual increase in the number of ministerial laborers is wonderful. Some idea may be formed of the rapid extension of the work, when it is stated that what Dr. Peck denominates "The Old Genesee Conference" comprehended the whole of the two Canadas, and the territory now included in the Black River, the Oneida, the Wyoming, the East Genesee, and the Genesee Conferences, together with considerable fractions of the present Erie, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Conferences. Where less than fifty ministers were employed half a century since, there are now from nine hundred to one thousand: and yet the actual demand is far from being supplied. Nor is this increase in the number of laborers wholly attributable, by any means, to the increase of population, great as this unquestionably is; but quite as much, perhaps even more, to the change in public sentiment touching Methodism and its authorized teachers. The latter are no longer regarded as a set of ignorant and fanatical propagandists, but as men capable of instructing and blessing the public. They have been found not only honest and pious, but competent and eminently effective. And considering what, as instruments in the hands of God, they have actually accomplished for this part of the country, it would be strange indeed, if candid and discriminating men did not award to them a high character both for talent and moral goodness.

Nor is the salutary influence they have exerted to be seen in the moral history of the country merely: they have contributed

essentially to its *general* elevation. Its material wealth should be largely credited to them. No community, at least in our country, has ever been prosperous, even in temporal things, where the religion of the cross has not been a pervading and controlling element. Habits of vice are always expensive. Sin is not only a reproach to any people, but is ever a clog upon their prosperity. In all its relations and bearings moral evil has uniformly been found, in its final summing up, to be an unprofitable concern. On the contrary, godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. The man who forms his character upon the model of a pure and elevated religion is necessarily industrious, temperate, frugal, economical, and hence must be more or less prosperous. And what is true of individuals is equally true of communities. Facts abundantly demonstrate it. One of the most palpable results of Wesleyan Methodism has ever been the material thrift of those who have been subdued by it to the obedience of the faith. Just as soon as they have found pardon and salvation, everything in relation to their fortune has taken an upward direction. This was particularly observed in the days of the Wesleys, and has been equally apparent in our own country and times. Nor need we suppose any preternatural interpositions of Providence to account for the fact. The philosophy of it lies upon the very surface. The essential elements and graces of the Christian religion, as has already been shown, tend directly to the specified result. That portion of country included in "Old Genesee" furnishes a triumphant demonstration. Methodism has carried a simple Gospel to its every neighborhood, has permeated the masses with its blessed spirit, and has thus counteracted the groveling and dissipating tendencies of vice.

Mark the result. The wilderness and solitary place are made glad, and the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose. A more prosperous population can scarcely be found on the face of the globe. Agriculture, commerce, and the arts are beautifying and enriching the land, and consequently every material interest of the community is in the ascendant. Doubtless this picture has its shades, but is, on the whole, by no means overdrawn. Central and Western New York may be viewed as the garden of the continent, while Northern Pennsylvania and the Canadas furnish the proof of what can be accomplished by pious and intelligent industry. Very possibly what is here said of Old Genesee would be equally true if said of other portions of our common country which have been brought under the same general influences, but a more ample survey would hardly fall within the legitimate range of the present article.

Nor should we lose sight of the mental elevation consequent upon the spread of Methodism through this portion of country. The Gospel itself acts directly upon the intellect. When God would save a man, he always begins by pouring light into his mind. He shows him what he is. The mind thus illuminated at once takes an upward direction. What surprising developments of intellectual character not unfrequently follow the triumphs of the cross. A sparkling genius has started up where we had looked for nothing but downright stupidity. Many a man is now exerting a wide and salutary influence upon the world of mind around him, who, but for his religion, would never have reached a state of mental mediocrity. Illustrative facts might be multiplied to almost any extent. Such facts, indeed, always teem in the wake of successful Methodism. Stimulated and elevated in its aims, the mind at once demands educational facilities. Schools of course become a public necessity, and multiply with the increasing demand. This is not presumption; it is the dictate of experience. In all this region we see it exemplified. Wherever the itinerant has gone, and societies have been formed, food has, immediately thereafter, been demanded for the mind; not only for the minds of those who have become subjects of converting grace, but of others. The whole community has felt the impulse. Hence, not only common schools have been called for, but higher institutions—academies, seminaries, colleges, universities. And being demanded, they have been supplied. How strange that those very men who were supposed to be not only unlearned themselves, but the real patrons of ignorance, should have been, as they really have, the pioneers of education in all this region. Their descendants are now the educators of the land?

To aver that all the moral teaching and moral influence which may be regarded as the basis of this extraordinary prosperity, as well material as intellectual, should be credited to Methodistic agencies, would be the sheerest bigotry. Others have toiled nobly, and are entitled to a large share of honor. But that the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church has opened the way, and laid the foundation for those other workmen, will probably be questioned by few who know anything about the facts in the case. Settled pastors could do nothing till the country was somewhat opened and populated, and the means of supporting them had been accumulated. Methodism was under no necessity of waiting for either. Her economy enabled her to occupy the very outposts. Ere the cabin was completed, or the first acre inclosed, the itinerant was on hand. He could lodge in the loft, and subsist upon the cheapest fare. In quest of souls, he thought little of anything else. No

matter what were his privations or sufferings so long as his chief objects were being accomplished. Living among the people, a very small salary would suffice for him. A single man thought himself amply supported if he obtained his disciplinary allowance—from eighty to a hundred dollars per annum—a thing that rarely occurred. More frequently he had to live on a moiety of that sum. Nor did the man of family get much more. The people gave what they *could,* and upon that the preacher had to subsist, whether married or otherwise. But they were glorious men, and their memorial shall not perish. Indeed, the time will probably come when the historian will award to them a higher niche in the temple of fame than that assigned to the heroes of the American Revolution.

Some of the men of that day did, however, faint and quit the field. Reduced to absolute poverty, with families calling for their protection and care, they thought themselves justified in leaving the itineracy—perhaps, indeed, in a sense, *compelled* to do so. Some such, after recruiting themselves, and making more ample provisions for those dependent upon them, returned to their work again, while others never did. The history of the Church shows that the number of those who, under the operation of these or similar causes, have left our Conferences is truly appalling. There were still others who left the communion entirely, and attached themselves to other ecclesiastical bodies. These, however, we are sorry to say, seldom prospered. Sometimes they did, but not often. For the most part they either totally backslid, or lived deeply to regret the step they had taken. An instance may not be out of place.

Dr. Peck, speaking of one of the preachers who traveled the Otsego circuit in 1811, says, p. 374: "The news that R. was college bred came on in advance of him, and great expectations were raised. He made his first debut at the house of Luther Peck on a week-day evening. A full house was gathered at a short notice, but some one else preached. R. was well dressed; his jet black hair hung in curls on his shoulders; he was tall, his figure was imposing and his countenance benignant, but his manner was singular. While the preacher proceeded with his discourse R. held his face in his hands, and often sighed and groaned. All that was well enough, as it was common, but scarcely met the idea of a man from college. The sermon concluded, R. arose, and before he was fairly up began,

"Soon as from earth I go,
What will become of me?"

Mr. Peck, the old chorister, led off, and all the congregation as usual sang. The new preacher then poured forth a torrent of fire and brimstone upon us, which made the outsiders writhe and dodge as if the house was being shaken down by an earthquake," etc., describing a scene not unfrequent in those early days.

The writer has a distinct recollection of the preacher in question, for he too heard him in the days of his boyhood. For a long time, however, he entirely lost sight of him, understanding simply that, lured by the example or influenced by the persuasions of the Rev. W. B. Lacy, he had gone to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Some forty years afterward he saw him again, and learned from him that, though still a member of that communion, he did not preach. The interview was transient, and made no very deep impression, though it was then thought that Mr. R. still retained a very tender recollection of those early days. A few years subsequently the writer was on board the cars, returning from an official excursion, when he noticed a venerable and kindly looking old gentleman, who seemed to be eyeing him closely, and of whose general appearance he thought he had some recollection. After a little the old gentleman came and seated himself by the side of the writer, and said: "I am not mistaken; this *is* Dr. ——. I am glad to see you, and feel that I must not let this opportunity pass without saying to you what I purposely called on you to say at O., but what I could not then, somehow, get courage to say. I am fearful that I am ruined forever by having forsaken the post of duty in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Tears running down his cheeks, he continued: "I would give worlds, had I them at command, could I be assured that the Sovereign Judge will excuse me in the last day for my delinquency. The years I spent in the itinerancy, though years of persecution, privation, and suffering, were the happiest years of my life. Now that I am getting near the close of my earthly pilgrimage, I look back upon them with a degree of pleasure equaled only by the regret I feel in view of my subsequent defection. I often feel that I would like to raise a note of warning in the ear of every member of your connection, and beseech him not to do as I have done. O do tell them from me," he added with great emphasis, "to toil on, and not to think of abandoning the field, if they would avoid the heart-breaking regrets I now feel." This is but a part of what was said by this venerable old gentleman during an interview that can never be forgotten. Neither the object of the present paper nor its necessary limits will, however, admit of a more extended report.

Dr. Peck's history contains many graphic and accurately drawn

portraitures of the more noticeable men of those early times. Besides those thrown upon the canvas incidentally, in connection with scenes and incidents which the author knows how so well to delineate, he gives, in a more distinct and formal way, the character of the Revs. Anning Owen, Valentine Cook, Anthony Turck, William Colbert, Benoni Harris, Jonathan Newman, Timothy Dewey, Benjamin Bidlack, Josiah Keyes, George Evans, Horace Agard, Marmaduke Pearce, George Gary, Elisha Bibbins, and George Lane, all of whom labored zealously and extensively, and some of them very successfully, in cultivating this portion of Immanuel's land. Other actors of equal prominence might have been noticed, and doubtless would have been, had the author been supplied with the requisite data. A few additional names and characters may not, therefore, be either uninteresting to the reader, or out of place in the present article.

Of this class was ISAAC PUFFER. Though his origin was humble, and his early advantages inconsiderable, he became one of the most useful preachers of his time. His great strength lay in the ease and skill with which he quoted and applied the Sacred Text. In this respect he probably had no compeer in the whole connection. Of philosophy he had no more knowledge than he had of polite literature, and certainly had very little of either; but everything in "the book divine" was at his tongue's end. And one peculiarity in his preaching was, he always gave book, chapter, and verse.

In the early part of his ministry the Calvinistic controversy largely engrossed public attention. The Calvinism of that day was of the pure, unmixed kind. So extreme was it, that it would now be called Antinomianism even by the Calvinists themselves. The proper moral agency of man was practically ignored, if not theoretically and verbally denied. Sinners were treated as if they could do nothing, and therefore really had nothing to do; while saints were safe any how, as they could not do otherwise than persevere. Men were mere passive agents in the hands of God, if indeed agents at all, and acted only as they were acted on. When the writer was a boy, a grave old divine, who was very anxious to keep "the poison of Arminianism," as he called it, out of his father's house, spent long hours there in debate with a member of the family who was avowedly inclined to the heresy in question. In one instance, to illustrate the "divine sovereignty," he took the fire-shovel in his hand and said: "There, the sinner is in God's hand just as this shovel is in mine. Now he is moving him right on toward hell, (suiting the action to the teaching,) and now (reversing the movement,) toward heaven."

So long as views like these were prevalent among the masses, early Methodist preachers felt that they could do little in leading men to repentance and Christian activity. Hence a preliminary work, almost everywhere to be done, was to dislodge these errors from the popular mind. Controversial preaching was therefore, in a sense, quite unavoidable. However averse to it, either from temperament or otherwise, every itinerant was obliged to take the attitude of a polemic. Those of the present day, when there is such a practical convergency in the current theological systems, can have little idea of the difficulties then to be overcome. But while *all* had then, in a peculiar sense, "to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," *some* seemed to have a singular talent for the controversy, and therefore a special call to it. Such was Isaac Puffer. Generous and tender-hearted as he was, almost to a fault, the violent peculiarities of the Genevan creed received no mercy at his hand. His onslaughts were terrible. When he opened his scriptural battery, the enemy must either retreat or capitulate, or, at least, disguise himself. Two or three hundred proof-texts, by no means an unusual number in one single discourse, wrought into a chain by his masterly hand, speedily did the work. Probably, indeed, no other man of his day contributed anything like as much as he did to disabuse the popular mind of these paralyzing errors. During the latter part of his public life, however, he had little occasion to preach in this strain, and really seemed to enjoy exceedingly the most intimate relations and tender communions with those very people whose doctrinal creed he had demolished with such an unsparing hand. His was, indeed, a war of love.

Another form of error against which he aimed, if possible, a still more effective blow, was Universalism. This, as a kind of offshoot of hyper-Calvinism, had almost everywhere diffused itself. Receiving the dogma that "God hath unchangeably foreordained whatsoever comes to pass," it maintained that man could not be justly punished in a future state. Why send him to perdition for doing just what God eternally designed he should do? The logic was simple, and people who had been accustomed to hear and believe the doctrine of "the divine decrees," had little difficulty in accepting the soothing corollary. Indeed, the conclusion seemed to be quite as irresistible as it was comforting. So thought vast multitudes, and hence Universalism was found in almost every nook and corner of Old Genesee. And, if already safe, what need was there of man's troubling himself about his salvation? The matter was all settled without *his* agency, and he had only to wait till God saw proper to take him to the land of rest. Thus reasoned and thus acted no

inconsiderable percentage of our population. Universalism must, therefore, be shown to be untenable, and the hopes inspired by it to be delusive; for till sinners could be made to see their danger, there was scarcely any possibility of leading them to repentance.

Such were the deliberate convictions of Puffer, and he governed himself accordingly. For the same reason he preached at all, therefore he deemed it his duty to oppose Universalism. But here, as elsewhere, the only magazine whence he drew his munitions of war was found amply sufficient for his purpose. With Book in hand, he was always ready for battle. The abettors of a dangerous error quailed before him. Its mightiest champions stood no chance at all before his sweeping battery. If, as was sometimes the case, they sought a personal tilt, the challenge was eagerly accepted, when evangelical truth was sure of a triumphant vindication. Debates of this sort are seldom thought to be profitable; but, as conducted by him, they were not unfrequently productive of salutary results. But Puffer did not always wait for a challenge; he took the initiative himself. Wherever he went he raised his voice against what he believed to be a dangerous error. The pathos and power with which he preached against Universalism were truly wonderful. Deep and irrepressible emotion would sometimes all but overcome him, causing him to tremble from head to foot like an aspen leaf. He not only trembled himself, but caused others to tremble. At the close of one of his great efforts, at a camp-meeting in Madison Co., N. Y., held some thirty years since, a large number of Universalists—it was said, at the time, at least fifty—came forward for prayers, many of whom began from that hour to lead new lives. All over Central and Western New York, and in portions of the Canadas, persons are still to be found in large numbers who were led from Universalism to evangelical orthodoxy by this powerful preacher of God's word. No other man among us ever did a tithe of the work in this way that he did.

He was an indefatigable laborer. During a large portion of his public life he preached one or two sermons every day. He would not only perform all the labors of a large circuit, but was ready to respond, whenever he could, to calls from surrounding charges—calls that would have been of burdensome frequency to most other men. Indeed, he seemed never so happy as when in the pulpit. With the masses he was always exceedingly popular; but no one enjoyed his preaching better than he did himself. He loved the work, and he performed a vast amount of it. He had a large, muscular frame, and a fine musical voice, so that preaching really taxed him probably much less than it does most other men.

A more generous heart than his never beat in the human bosom. He feared nobody, but loved everybody. Affliction anywhere at once enlisted his active sympathies. No matter what was the sufferer's character or condition, if he only fell under Puffer's observation he might be sure of having a brother's hand extended to him. If he could not relieve, he would at least pity. Like his Divine Master, he went about doing good. An instance may not be out of place. When traveling the Cayuga circuit, some twenty-five or more years since, he was passing through the village of Auburn, on his way to a public engagement, when the team of some countryman who had come to town took fright and ran away. Such things were of daily occurrence in their streets, and the citizens, intent upon their *own* business, scarcely noticed the incident. Not so with Puffer. Seeing the poor man's affliction, though a total stranger, he could not leave him. With all his strength and agility he started off in pursuit of the fleeing horses, and so intense was his anxiety that he really seemed to be more deeply interested than the owner himself. He had, in fact, by deep and tender sympathy, made the case his own. This little incident is referred to as an index to his whole social character. He would do the same thing, or its equivalent, every day in the year, without ever thinking he had done more than was usual among good men.

His honesty was transparent. So patent, indeed, was his child-like simplicity, that he was widely known by the *sobriquet*, "Honest Isaac." He seemed to have scarcely any idea of human policy. His own plans, and purposes, and motives of action were always right on the surface, and there was just where he looked for those of other men. No wonder that impositions were sometimes practiced upon him, and no wonder that, to the superficial eye, he sometimes appeared to be vain, for he always spoke of his own failures and successes just as he did of the failures and successes of other men. At the close of the camp-meeting sermon spoken of above a brother met him outside the ground, and said, "Brother Puffer, you had a good time to-day." With the most perfect self-satisfaction legible all over his countenance, he approached the brother, and laying his hand familiarly on his shoulder, responded, "Yes, brother, I *had* a good time. In truth, it is my preaching on some of these great subject that makes me so popular. When I preach on common topics I can't preach any better than the rest of you." Near the same time he met the same individual in the village of Cazenovia, and reining his horse up to the side walk, said to him: "Brother, I want *you* to go down to Chittenango and preach, for the people there think that no Methodist preacher is fit to be heard but *me*, and I want to

have them learn better." It is said by some that he never learned to conceal his heart! Good man, he is now with a multitude of his spiritual children amid the glories of the throne.

Equally entitled to notice is the late excellent WILLIAM CASE. He entered the itinerancy in 1805, and toiled on for about half a century, when God took him to his heavenly home. Scarcely any other member of Old Genesee was more widely known or more generally beloved. Though in the pulpit he was by no means remarkable, his executive talent was of a high order; and he knew how to plan as well as how to execute. As presiding elder, he was among the very best. His wakeful eye swept a broad field, and he always knew how to select the more salient points. The mission was projected, and the circuit formed at just the right time and place. If a church was to be erected, he was the right man to consult. He took his pocket-rule with him into the pulpit, and often at the close of a service would measure hights and distances in and about it, so as to be prepared to give advice elsewhere. Nothing that concerned either the temporal or spiritual good of the Church, within his appropriate field, escaped his observation. PRACTICAL WISDOM was his distinguishing characteristic.

His zeal to do good knew no bounds. Sacrifice, and trial, and suffering, so far from being appalling, were his supreme delight. He counted not his life dear if he might but extend the triumphs of Immanuel's reign. Central New York and the Canadas still bear the impress of his moulding hand. His last days were devoted to the temporal and spiritual good of the Rice Lake Indians in Canada West.

Our subject had a well-cultivated mind, and was really an accomplished Christian gentleman. A more agreeable companion is, indeed, seldom found. He mingled cheerfulness with gravity, and the playfulness of the child with the wisdom of the sage. With a sanctified heart, a polished intellect, a fine person, and a musical voice, he was fit to mingle in any society. Such a man could not fail to have warmly-attached friends, and no man certainly ever better deserved to have them.

Though Case held a ready pen, he did not write largely. His migratory habits would not admit of it. Till the last few years of his life, when his labors were comparatively local, he was almost continually on the move. Emphatically may it be said of him, more so, perhaps, than of most other itinerants, "He had no certain dwelling-place." Still, he wrote frequently for our Church periodicals, and will be found by the future historian to have contributed much that cannot fail to be of permanent value to

coming generations. The Church should shed tears of gratitude at his grave.

Seth Matteson was also another prominent actor in the militant triumphs of Old Genesee. Entering the itinerancy in 1810, he labored with zeal and distinguished success for some thirty-five years, when God took him to himself. He was born a poet. His thoughts, by something like an irrepressible instinct, ran into verse. No wonder, then, that he wrote much in this way. The only volume he ever published, entitled, "The Retired Muse; or, Forest Songster," contains some poems surpassed by few others of American origin. The larger number of his poetical compositions were suggested by passing occurrences, and of course acquired little more than a newspaper notoriety. Some of these will, however, be found to possess considerable merit, and well deserve a place in the poetical archives of the nation.

As a divine, he ranked with the first among us. Though he commenced his public life with little, he finally achieved a splendid scholarship. He was constantly employed in adding to his stores of theological knowledge, and grew stronger and stronger, as every Christian minister should, to the close of life. Some of his last sermons were among his very best. Several of his discourses have been published, some in pamphlet form, and some in our Magazine and Quarterly, which the reader will find replete with just and elevated thoughts, expressed in language eminently suited to the pulpit. The theater of his public labors was Central New York. So great was his modesty, however, that he always shrank from the larger towns and more important charges, and greatly preferred the smaller villages and more rural portions of the Conference. In these, therefore, he spent most of his ministerial life, always loving and ever beloved. Not only were thousands led by him to the foot of the cross, but the Church was strengthened and built up under his able pastorate.

His temperament was much like that of the poet Cowper. The exquisiteness of his sensibility can hardly be imagined. It was like the apple of one's eye. Of course, he both suffered much and enjoyed much. What was gentle and amiable all but entranced him, while what was coarse and vulgar appalled and greatly distressed him. A rabbit, could he have consistently domiciliated one, would have been treated by him as the poet to whom we have likened him treated his.

An incident will show his disposition. While traveling the Herkimer circuit, at least fifty years since, he tarried all night at one of his appointments with a local preacher by the name of Matthew

Lewis, who cultivated a small farm, and otherwise lived much in the style of his humble neighbors. When Matteson arose in the morning he found a sheep tied near the door, whose innocent looks at once challenged his attention. Learning from his host, who was sharpening his knife near by, that it had been caught with a view to slaughter, he approached it, held out his hand and talked to it, until the gentle animal seemed really to comprehend and appreciate his sympathies, licking his hand and looking him wistfully in the face. This reacted upon the sympathizer until he fairly wept. "Brother," said he to the owner, "do let the poor creature go." The response was, "We are much in want of fresh meat; I have had a long and tedious run to catch the animal, and now I do not like to change my purpose. Besides, I have had *your* comfort specially in view in planning the present slaughter, and could not give you what my wife would regard as a satisfactory breakfast without it." The thought that he himself had supplied any part of the motive for the contemplated deed of blood almost overwhelmed him, and greatly stimulated his desire to effect a liberation. "Brother," said he, with a sort of passionate earnestness, "I will never eat another mouthful of flesh in your house as long as I live, if you will only let the poor sheep go." "That," replied the owner, "*I* cannot consistently do. But I will turn her over to *you:* if you see proper to loose her and let her go, of course I shall not kill her." It is hardly necessary to add that the deed of emancipation was speedily executed, and the intercessor delighted to see the intended victim bounding off into her accustomed pasture. "There," said the local preacher some years afterward, when narrating the circumstances, "the old sheep is now down in the field, and there she shall remain till God takes her. I can neither kill nor part with an animal whose life has been spared at the instance of so good a man and so dear a friend."

Such a man could hardly be otherwise than strong in his attachments. There were a delicacy and ardency, and yet a considerateness in his social feelings, which gave a sort of charm, we had almost said a kind of *divinity*, to his friendships. God and his friends, the one supreme, the other subordinate, were the chief sources of his happiness. His end was peace, and he now lives where friendship knows no alloy.

Abner Chase was another kindred spirit. He entered the itinerancy the same year, (1810,) but lived some time longer to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. Though his mode of sermonizing was *sui generis*, his preaching was singularly effective. It abounded in anecdote, and scarcely ever failed to rivet attention.

Sometimes it was overwhelmingly powerful. Though he had what would be called a homely face, yet, when lit up with a smile, as it generally was when he was preaching, and when his mild blue eye, sparkling with intelligence and holy joy, looked out upon a congregation, none could have a more attractive presence. At such times he appeared like an angel, in something more than an ecclesiastical sense. In his more happy moods he would frequently raise his long finger to his cheek, as if brushing off a fly, or pass it back over his temple, as though he would restore the hair to its proper place; the whole, however, being a mere habit, expressive of good feeling. But then those who frequently heard him preach were always glad to see it, as it was either a sure presage or an invariable accompaniment of a rare entertainment. These characteristic movements became more frequent as he became more impassioned, and soon the whole assembly would begin to melt and sublimate, as though losing their hold on terrestrial things. A distinguished civil functionary, who was equally distinguished as a scholar, once heard him when thus inspired, and was so deeply affected as to be barely able to remain on his feet. So he himself afterward declared.

Though one of the holiest and best of men, Chase had a keen perception of the ludicrous, and could laugh as heartily as any one, and yet was careful never to descend from the dignity of his profession. Everywhere, and on all occasions, he was the Christian minister. Nor did he labor in vain. He left abiding fruit wherever he toiled. Few among us have, indeed, been instrumental in leading more souls to the Saviour. He presided on a district, and traveled a circuit or filled a station, equally well. He was always found equal to every post to which he was providentially called. Few men ever had more friends or fewer enemies: of the latter it is wonderful he should have had any. Generations must pass away before the name of Abner Chase will cease to be venerated in Central and Western New York.

One more name will complete the list of the more prominent men, now departed, who toiled for God and his Church in Old Genesee. JONATHAN HUESTIS was also admitted to the itinerancy in 1810, and continued his connection therewith, though some time in a superannuated relation, till a year or two since, when he too entered into rest. He was a man of deep piety, of a blameless life, of a well-cultivated intellect, and of highly respectable preaching talents. For many years he was secretary of Conference, some time filled the office of presiding elder, and elsewhere frequently occupied posts of honor and responsibility. Though not brilliant, he always summed up well. He had a remarkably well balanced mind, and seldom made

any great mistake in his plans and estimates. A man of more scrupulous honor never blessed the world. He would not do a mean thing for any earthly consideration; and what he would not do himself he would not countenance others in doing. At the same time he always bore himself meekly. A more unpretending man, both in word and manner, could hardly be imagined. As life wore away he became still more humble and childlike, his greatness and goodness appearing in higher perfection, and shining with more than usual radiance.

Times, it is said, make men, and there is palpable philosophy in the aphorism. Times similar to those which made the men spoken of above may not soon, perhaps will never, occur again. A few more of the same class still linger among us, but the day to speak of *them* has not yet come. May that day be a distant one! Many others of less prominence, but still worthy of high consideration and affectionate remembrance, have also joined "the venerable dead." Further specifications would, however, be quite inconsistent with the necessary limits of the present paper.

Such, then, were the men by whose instrumentality the mighty achievements, so apparent in the ample fields of Old Genesee, were effected. Of their various fortune, their painful trials, their glorious triumphs, the book under review gives a very tolerable idea, though the larger portion of their history must forever remain unwritten. The judgment day can alone declare it.

The fortune of the early itinerants was, as has just been intimated, exceedingly various. So far from being always somber and depressing, it was sometimes exactly the reverse. The most grave among them occasionally met with what not only invited, but absolutely compelled a smile. The following, which we are permitted to copy from the private journals of the Rev. Solon Stocking, a veteran still living, will show not only what amusing scenes sometimes fell under their observation, but the state of feeling which had been created in many quarters by the Calvinistic controversy. The writer says:

> "In the fall of 1822, in company with the Rev. Elisha Bibbins, I commenced my ministerial labors on the Canaan circuit. It being the first time the charge had been favored with the labors of two men, we were enabled considerably to enlarge its area by taking in several new appointments. One of these appointments was at Stockport, on the west branch of the Delaware, Wayne Co., Pa. A few incidents in connection with my first and second visits to this place I will here detail, as I think them worthy of record. On reaching Stockport, I found myself in front of a fine residence, owned and occupied, as I subsequently learned, by the Hon. Samuel Preston, a native of Philadelphia, who had not only been trained from his infancy an orthodox Quaker, but was a man of high literary attainments. On arriving at the gate I remained in my

saddle hallooing to those within. Soon a venerable looking gentleman, apparently some sixty years old, and six and a half feet in height, made his appearance at the door. I inquired, 'Does Judge Preston reside here?' He responded, 'My name is Preston; who art thou?' I gave him my name, told him I was a minister of the Gospel, and expressed a desire to preach at his house, or some where else in the vicinity. He elevated his head, and scanning me with a piercing look, said with startling emphasis, 'Art thou a *predestinarian?* If thou art, there is the road, thou mayest pass on; no Quakers here to be hung.' I told him I was a Methodist preacher, and that I neither believed in nor preached Calvinism. In the most cordial manner he then invited me into his house, and sent messengers throughout the neighborhood to give information that there would be preaching at his dwelling that evening. The result was a good congregation of attentive hearers. At the close of the service the judge arose from his seat, his eyes red with weeping, and entreated me to leave another appointment, which I did for four weeks from that day. When I came the second time I was received by the family with every mark of attention, and was greatly encouraged to see the house filled with interested hearers. In the opening exercises I read the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. I had not proceeded far when the judge arose, and with much feeling requested that I would not read *that* chapter, as the people would be much more benefited by hearing some other portion of the Bible. After a short pause, without any reply, I proceeded with the reading, observing, however, that the eyes of the congregation were turned toward the judge, who appeared much agitated. At the proper time I announced as my text Rom. ix, 22, 23: 'What if God, willing to show his wrath,' etc. When I had read it the judge, apparently overcome with emotion, instantly arose to his feet and said: 'Stocking, thee had better not preach on that text; that is the very key to Calvinism; thee can find a far better text than that.' Pausing a while, I resumed the subject, when the judge, as if he could no longer control his pent up feelings, sprang to his feet and poured forth a torrent of invective, calling in question the truth of the chapter, alleging that it was the key to Calvinism, that St. Paul was mistaken when he wrote it, and insisting that I should not preach on it. I respectfully requested the judge to be quiet and permit me to proceed. The people were now in the highest state of excitement, when his daughter, who was seated by his side, took hold of the skirt of his coat and earnestly entreated him to be seated and quietly listen to the preacher. After giving him the most positive assurance that the doctrines of Calvinism should not be advocated, I was permitted to conclude my sermon without further molestation. The service seemed to give good satisfaction to all, not excepting even the judge."

There was perhaps a little more of the *comical* in this scene than was frequent, especially during the hours of public worship, in those early days. Still, strange things did often occur in connection with the labors of the first intinerants, with which it were easy to fill a volume, and of which the reader will find an entertaining variety in Dr. Peck's history. The "orthodoxy" of the judge, however, who is the hero of the scene so graphically described, we think not a little questionable. It would seem much more probable that he was an incipient Hicksite than an orthodox Quaker. Be this as it may, all must admit that he had singular notions, learned though he may have been, of what becomes the house and worship of God. Even these mirth-provoking scenes had, however, under the wise and be-

nignant economy of Heaven, their use. They were doubtless often beneficial even to the men who were, at the moment, most annoyed by them. Destitute, tempted, persecuted, worn down, without any certain dwelling-place, they were in constant danger of falling into despondency, if not utter discouragement. But by a kind of counter blow upon their feelings, even in the possible absence of higher motives and better influences, these ludicrous scenes often gave an upward direction to their animal spirits, and thus counteracted any existing tendencies to a morbid melancholy. At any rate, it is a historic fact that no men were ever more uniformly cheerful, more perfectly free from hypochondria, than these same care-worn and suffering itinerants. Underlying the whole, there was, doubtless, unyielding religious principle, there was strong faith, there was an unshaken trust in God, as well as quenchless love for humanity. But, at the same time, it is in exact harmony with God's visible mode of procedure to suppose that he may, and often does, make merely natural means tributary to high moral ends.

The history of early Methodism in Old Genesee, though somewhat miscellaneous and fragmentary, as all *first* histories—histories of recent events—necessarily are, is nevertheless a book of great merit. It is in the writer's best style. The author has not only taken great pains to collect materials, but has displayed his well-known skill in the use he makes of them. They are generally arranged with a master's hand. As is perfectly natural, the southern wing of the Conference in question receives a larger share of Dr. Peck's attention than any other portion of it. Methodism was first planted in the Wyoming Valley, and consequently had a longer historical day there, and of course more historical material, than elsewhere in the specified field: In some sense, the Church in the Valley is "the mother of us all." From thence came our first evangelical supplies. Preachers from the South made their way to us through the Susquehanna Valley, a few years at least, before they were joined by those from the East, coming up through the Mohawk Valley. Besides, the author's longer residence and more ample acquaintance in Northern Pennsylvania gave him special advantages in acquiring historical data from that portion of the field. With the same facilities he would doubtless have known more, and consequently would have been enabled to say more, of the northern and western portions of our territory. As a first effort, however, at collecting and systematizing the more important facts and incidents in the history of this pregnant conference, Dr. Peck has done all one man could be expected to do. Other hands must now contribute to the common stock, so that the still future annalist may be supplied

with material out of which to form a homogeneous and comprehensive whole. So far as Canada is concerned this work is now being done by a competent hand, whose annals, it is said, will open a rich mine of ministerial romance. Black River Conference, the northern wing of Old Genesee, should soon furnish her quota. When she shall have done so, and when the long-promised "Genesee Vine," by the Rev. Manly Tooker, shall hang out her ripened fruit, then Dr. Stevens will be fully furnished for his final volume.

In the mean time let every one, who would be either instructed or amused, procure and read Dr. Peck's book. The romance, the pious chivalry, the heroic exploits of Early Methodism cannot fail to interest, whatever may be the reader's particular religious views. To those who cordially sympathize in the Wesleyan reformation, the perusal will be not only pleasing, but eminently profitable. We will only add that the volume before us is of the same form and style as that of Dr. Stevens's History of Methodism, and is a fine specimen of what Carlton & Porter are in the habit of doing at 200 Mulberry-street, New York.

ART. V.—VITTORIA COLONNA.

Life of Vittoria Colonna. By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE. New York: Sheldon & Co.
Memoir of Vittoria Colonna. By JOHN T. HARFORD, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, & Roberts.

VITTORIA COLONNA, the most distinguished poetess of Italy, was born in 1490, two years before the discovery of the New World. The noble and princely house of Colonna, long the lords of great possessions, had recently been enriched by Martin, the Colonna Pope, the great uncle of Fabrizio, Vittoria's father, by the bestowment of many beautiful towns and castles in the hills to the east and southeast of the Campagna. It was in one of these, the Castle Gondolfo, on the wooded heights that overlook the picturesque town of Marino, that Vittoria was born. Her parents had chosen this charming spot among the hills that encircle the lovely lake of Albano to enjoy their first years of wedded life, and peace smiled on the land for the period, unusually long in those troublous times, of eight years.

When Vittoria was four years of age, Charles VIII. of France, aided by the Colonnas, invaded Naples, was crowned king, and was speedily driven out of his newly-acquired kingdom by Ferdinand of Arragon. The new king, who reigned but little more than a

year, to secure the continued adherence of the Colonnas, who now ranged themselves under his banners, betrothed Vittoria to the son of the Marquis of Pescara, Ferdinand d'Avalos, a child of her own age. The marquis died the following year, and the young Ferdinand, with his betrothed wife, was placed under the care of his eldest sister, Costunza d'Avalos, the widowed Duchessa di Francavilla. Well was it for Vittoria that she fell into such wise and gentle hands. So highly did Ferdinand esteem the duchess, that on the death of her husband he made her governor and chatelaine of Ischia, one of the most important posts in the kingdom. In addition to the prudence, energy, and fidelity necessary for such a trust, her intellectual culture well qualified her to direct the education of children born to high destinies.

Vittoria in after years recurs with fond affection to her memories of this romantic isle. A safe and sheltered home it proved for the Roman girl, whose birthplace would have afforded her no sufficient protection. The order for its destruction was issued by Pope Alexander Borgia in 1501, but it seems not to have been executed, as we read that the pretty town of Marino was burned by order of Clement VII. in 1526.

We have scarce any record of Vittoria's childhood and youth, which passed in great tranquillity. One noteworthy event occurred when she was eleven years of age. Her father then visited the island in company with Frederic, the last and best-beloved of the Arragonese kings, who, forced to abandon his dominions to the French monarch, found refuge here with his wife and two children for several months.

So richly gifted were Vittoria and her betrothed husband, that it is not to be wondered at that their childish affection deepened into an ardent attachment. Vittoria had the highest style of Roman beauty, luxuriant golden hair, a finely-developed brow, large thoughtful eyes, and regular features ; and Pescara with his auburn hair, his aquiline nose, his large eyes, soft and gentle when they rested on her, but at times full of fire, his stately bearing, his brief speech, in keeping with his Spanish lineage, his poetic taste and knightly accomplishment, might well win the love of the playmate of his childhood. Her hand was sought by many illustrious suitors, among them the Dukes of Savoy and Braganza, but she was faithful to her early engagement. After a visit to the home of her parents, who seemed strangely content to resign to other hands the childhood and girlhood as well as womanhood of their daughter, so richly endowed with all those gifts and graces that win the fondest affection, Vittoria, escorted by a large company of Roman nobles,

journeyed from Marino to Ischia, where, with much pomp and splendor, the marriage was celebrated on the 27th December, 1509.

Two years of tranquil happiness passed swiftly away, leaving no records of their peaceful progress. The youthful noble began to think it a life of inglorious ease; and though there were those who would have dissuaded the last scion of a noble house from thus early beginning his career of arms, his voice was still for war. In company with his father-in-law he set off for Lombardy, and joined the Papal and Spanish army under the walls of Ravenna. It was an inauspicious moment for the young soldier to begin his military career, as the army which he joined was totally defeated by the French. He fought bravely, and, sorely wounded in his face, was left for dead on the battle-field, where he was picked up and taken prisoner to Milan. He beguiled the solitary hours of his captivity by writing a Dialogue of Love, addressed to his wife, to which however we cannot refer for information as to the tone of his thoughts and feelings, for men have willingly let it die. The poem in which the thoughts of the young wife found expression is interesting, as being the first of those poetical efforts that have made her name so famous. It is an epistle of one hundred and twelve lines, addressed to her husband, and though classical and elegant, betrays no deep and impassioned feeling.

This captivity was not of long duration. As soon as his wounds were healed the prisoner was released, through the good offices of Trivulzio, a general in the French army, who had married Pescara's aunt, on the payment of a ransom of six thousand ducats, and he returned to gladden the heart of his lovely wife. War, however, was to be his life-long occupation, and he allowed himself brief intervals of rest at home. This visit, though only of a few months' duration, was the longest he was ever to know of domestic satisfactions and joys. Early in 1513 he rejoined the army in Lombardy, and distinguished himself not only for his bravery and military skill, but for his cruelty and ferocity, his stern discipline, and for the wide-spread misery that he caused. The great captain was honored and rewarded, and borne onward in a full tide of prosperity.

In the mean while Vittoria remained at Ischia, where the Duchessa di Francavilla held her island court, to which was attracted a goodly company of poets and men of letters, who delighted to sing the praises of this

> "Proud rock! the loved retreat of such a band
> Of earth's best, noblest, greatest, that their light
> Pales other glories to the dazzled sight.
> o o o o o o o

Glory of martial deeds is thine. In thee,
Brightest the world e'er saw or heaven gave,
Dwell chastest beauty, worth, and courtesy!
Well be it with thee! May both wind and sea
Respect thee, and thy native air and wave
Be tempered ever by a genial sky!"

These lines are from a sonnet of Bernardo Tasso, one of the most distinguished of this brilliant circle, among whom were Giovio, Caritie, Filocalo, Rota, Musefilo, and others. Bernardo Tasso was three years younger than Vittoria, of an ancient and noble family, highly educated and accomplished, and already known as a poet throughout Italy. He subsequently won a high name as an epic and lyric poet, though his fame has been overshadowed by that of his son Torquato.

Vittoria, however, did not content herself merely with enjoying this intellectual society. One fact recorded of her says more for her woman's heart than all the records and sonnets of that accomplished circle. Having no children of her own, she undertook the education of a young cousin of her husband, Alphonso d'Avalos. She might well have shrunk from such a task. The boy, beautiful as an angel, was so undisciplined and ungovernable that his violence terrified all those who had attempted to control him. There was nothing of the angelic in his nature. But Vittoria discerned an element of hopefulness there, and with her gentle touch she tamed the lion within him. The boy, so impetuous and irritable with others, acknowledged her potent sway, and loved her as a mother. His proud nature was subdued and softened; a taste for intellectual pursuits was awakened; and the pupil of Vittoria, in his subsequent career as a soldier of renown, reflected honor on the discerning hand that had detected and developed the latent powers within. Vittoria was fully rewarded for her patient courage by the honored career of her pupil, and by the life-long respect and affection she received from this child of her heart.

In February, 1517, a brilliant festival was held at Ischia in honor of the wedding of the sister of Alphonso Costanza d'Avalos to Don Alfonso Piccolomini, and in December of the same year Vittoria was present, with the nobility of Naples, at the marriage of the King of Poland to Donna Bona Sforza. An humble chronicler, Passeri, the weaver of Naples, has given us a picture of the illustrious lady, the Signora Vittoria, Marchioness of Pescara, as she arrived at the church where the ceremony was to be performed. Mounted on a black and white jennet, with housings of crimson velvet fringed with gold, she was richly attired in a robe of bro-

caded crimson velvet, adorned with branches of beaten gold. Her cap was of crimson satin, with a head-dress of wrought gold above it, and her girdle of beaten gold. She was accompanied by six ladies in waiting, attired in blue damask, and attended by six grooms on foot, with cloaks and jerkins of blue satin. Three days were spent in wedding festivities, and then Vittoria returned to her quiet home at Ischia.

The death of her father in 1520, and that of her mother two years afterward, left her an orphan, and the continued absence of her husband from a home which he only visited three or four times in seven years, must have saddened the heart of the wife, who was never to know the compensating touch of little hands, or to be soothed by the prattle of childish voices. The autumn of the year that her mother died she saw her husband for the last time; a brief three days, not overshadowed by the knowledge that their earthly meetings and partings were henceforth for those two at an end.

The remaining years of his life accorded with its beginning. He sacked Genoa, received three wounds at the battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner, and at thirty-five was made general-in-chief of the armies of Lombardy. Pescara, however, was offended with his imperial master for taking the royal captive out of his hands and sending him to Spain, and his discontent becoming known, efforts were made by the pope and his counselors to induce him to become traitor to Charles, and use the army intrusted to him to crush the Spanish power in Italy. Morone, chancellor, and prime minister of the Duke of Milan, was charged with this negotiation, and empowered to offer the sovereignty of Naples as a reward to the discontented general. Pescara received these overtures favorably; but alarmed at the disappearance of a messenger intrusted with secret dispatches, which he feared might be laid before Charles, he wrote at once to the emperor disclosing the whole scheme, and declaring that he had only listened to it that he might possess himself of the details of the conspiracy. Still believing that Pescara had acceded to their proposals, Morone was induced to meet him at Novara, where he discussed all the secret plans in the presence of Antonio da Leyva, one of the generals of the Spanish army, who was hidden behind the hangings of the room in which the conference was held. Morone was at once arrested, imprisoned, and examined the next day by Pescara as judge. Morone might well, after such an experience, pronounce him to be one of the worst and most faithless men in Italy. This infamy was rewarded, however, by the rank of generalissimo of the imperial forces in Italy.

A letter of Vittoria's to her husband besought him not to stain his character by betraying his imperial master, and declared that she had no ambition to be the wife of a king, but only of a loyal and just man; and one writer has asserted that this wifely appeal deterred him from his proposed treachery. She never saw her husband after this painful passage in his history. Nor did he live to enjoy the rank bought at the expense of his good name. At the close of the year his health declined, and anticipating a fatal result, he sent to his wife to come to him at once. He was at Milan, and though she traveled with all speed, the departing soul waited not her coming, and the proud general died as he had lived, without the gentle ministry of his loving wife. He died November 25th, 1525, and was buried at Milan; but the body was soon after, with great display and magnificence, removed to Naples.

And thus was Vittoria left a widow at thirty-six, in the full pride of her beauty, accomplished, learned, admired, of noble family, great wealth, and distinguished position. All these great gifts seemed to her of very little account when the overwhelming grief fell upon her at Viterbo, where the news of her husband's death met her. The playmate of her childhood, the lover of her youth, the honored husband, viewed in the dazzling light of military fame, which had concealed his faults or invested them with an unreal glory, was taken from her, and she had only a memory. It was well perhaps for the strength of her affection that his visits at home had been so brief; her ideal was never destroyed. She never saw him cruel and ferocious; to her he was always the tender husband rejoicing in his beautiful wife, and in the dear delights, so seldom tasted, of his tranquil home. Through long years of widowhood she retained his image, as it was first enshrined in her heart, in all its early beauty. The stories of his cruelty and severity may not have been told her, or they may have been considered as the inevitable evils attendant on what, in those belligerent days, was considered as the noblest of professions. Distance lent enchantment to martial deeds; the horrors of carnage and the battle-field, not then, as now, daguerreotyped by pencils of light and transmitted on the wings of the lightning, gave out great inarticulate cries not heard in courtly circles. The din and roar of the conflict were hushed into faint murmurs ere they reached the rock-bound Ischia, while eulogies of the great Pescara made the echoes reverberate with his honored name.

Of sixteen years of married life this wedded pair spent but little more than three years together. Her finer organization was spared the deteriorating influence of daily communion with a coarser and

more earthly nature, which might lower her "to his level day by day." Accustomed to days and years of absence, Vittoria had not to miss the constant presence, the daily bread of her life. Ever at a distance, death only removed him to a land very far off, and she there addressed him in the language of bereaved and undying affection.

Overwhelmed at the first terrible blow, Vittoria hastened to Rome and took refuge in the Convent of San Silvestro in Capite, which had been especially patronized by the Colonna family. Her friends feared that in the first violence of her grief she would take the irrevocable vows which would hide the most brilliant woman of Italy in the recesses of a cloister. To prevent this, an intimate friend of Vittoria's, the learned Bishop of Carpentras, obtained from Pope Clement VII. a brief, addressed to the abbess and nuns of San Silvestro, recommending to their tender care the Marchisona di Pescara, but forbidding them, under pain of excommunication, to permit her to take the vail.

She remained a year in this retreat, from which she was taken to Marino by her brother Ascanio, then in arms against the pope. The excesses committed in Rome by the Colonnas as partisans of the emperor, led to a papal decree depriving Cardinal Colonna of his hat, and confiscating the immense estates of this turbulent family. These scenes of violence must have been painful to Vittoria in their broad contrast to the peaceful retirement of the convent, where she had been alone with her sorrow and its memories. Bidding farewell to Castle Gondolfo, now alienated from her family, she once more returned to Ischia, which offered to her a refuge, as much needed by the beautiful young widow as by the child whose early years it had protected.

Fearful was the storm that swept over the eternal city and its environs that memorable year. For ten days the soldiers of the imperial army carried carnage and rapine through the streets of Rome. Churches, palaces, convents, private dwellings, and tombs were alike entered and ransacked. Priests and prelates were put to death amid terrible tortures; neither rank, sex, or age escaped the devouring fury of the invaders. Ten millions of gold crowns were obtained by these bloody, daring hands, and nearly eight thousand victims breathed in vain their dying cries of agony.

Vittoria, though safe in her island home, could not have been insensible to the dispersion of beloved friends and the desolation of familiar places. Her life was strangely tranquil in the wild tumult of that sixteenth century. She seemed to possess her soul in quietness, unhurt by the roar of elemental warfare. Her career

as a poetess now began. Her works consist almost entirely of sonnets; and the following, written probably at the time of her return to Ischia in this memorable 1527, may well be introduced here. It has been well translated, as have been the other sonnets we will quote to illustrate the tone and temper of her mind, by Mr. T. Adolphus Trollope, to whose interesting memoir we owe many of the details here presented:

> "On what smooth seas, on what clear waves did sail
> My fresh careenèd bark! What costly freight
> Of noble merchandise adorned its state!
> How pure the breeze, how favoring the gale!
> And heaven, which now its beauteous rays doth vail,
> Shone then serene and shadowless. But fate
> For the too happy voyager lies in wait.
> Oft fair beginnings in their endings fail.
> And now doth impious, changeful fortune bare
> Her angry, ruthless brow, whose threatening power
> Rouses the tempest and lets loose its war!
> But though rains, winds, and lightnings fill the air,
> And wild beasts seek to rend me and devour,
> Still shines o'er my true soul its faithful star."

The sonnets have been divided by Visconti, the editor of her works, into two portions; the first consisting of one hundred and seventeen sonnets to the memory of her husband, and forming, as Mr. Trollope observes, "a nearly uninterrupted series 'In Memoriam,' in which the changes are rung with infinite ingenuity on a very limited number of ideas, all turning on the glory and high qualities of him whom she had lost, and her own undiminished and hopeless misery."

We cannot entirely assent to the conclusion to which her biographer arrives, that these "grief cries," elaborately written and carefully polished, circulated and eagerly sought after, reviewed, discussed, and admired by cardinals, poets, statesmen, and men of letters, could not be very genuine utterances of a broken heart.

"She was probably," he says, "about as much in earnest as was her great model and master, Petrarch, in his adoration of Laura. And this assumption of a mighty, undying, exalted, and hopeless passion was a necessary part of the poet's professional appurtenances. Where could a young and beautiful widow of unblemished conduct, who had no intention of changing her condition, and no desire to risk misconstruction by the world, find this needful part of her outfit so unobjectionably as in the memory of her husband, sanctified and exalted by the imagination to the point proper for the purpose."

We think there was more than this in these plaintive effusions.

Vittoria's heart, "like a precious gem too delicate to bear more than one engraving," ever bore the image so early traced there. Princes and nobles pressed their suit, but her heart never vibrated again to the touch of earthly love.

The attachment begun in childhood, and deepened in the happy hours of a youth in which studies and pleasures alike were shared together, never lost its early romance. The soldier's visits, "like those of angels', few and far between," were eagerly anticipated, thankfully enjoyed, and fondly remembered. His last three years on earth were spent away from her, and she was denied the blessing of farewell words of love and tenderness. "We write from the memory of love, not from its presence," and we cannot wonder that an affection, whose bonds had been strengthened by separation, should find expression in the sorrowful strains of the gifted poetess. The careful elegance, the elaborate polish, is owing to the fashion of the time. Her poetry felt the form and pressure of the day, and was modeled after the most approved type.

This noble theme, the history of a great sorrow, from its first benumbing power, through all its phases, throwing its huge shadow over all of life, linking itself with all familiar things, translating all utterances into its own peculiar tongue, and then as its lessons are duly learned, its ministry of blessedness recognized, the upward glance to the heavens "rich with goodness from the earth," the pervading presence of things unseen, the unvailing to the eye of faith of the spirit-world—all this awaited the kindling touch of a poet of the nineteenth century. Save in the lamentations of David over Jonathan, when the love passing the love of women chanted for all coming time strains of wonderful beauty and power, grief was dumb till Tennyson gave it voice. He made sorrow a familiar friend, and shrunk not from her gracious presence, bending his ear to her faintest whisper, learning of her a divine philosophy, and traveling with her to the serene heights bathed in the light of a heavenly radiance. Where can we find stanzas breathing such melancholy music, painting a scene of such vivid reality, and embalming in such felicitous words some of the profoundest feelings of the human heart.

"Break, break, break
  On thy cold gray stones, O sea!
And I would that my tongue could utter
  The thoughts that arise in me.

"O well for the fisherman's boy
  That he shouts with his sister at play!
O well for the sailor lad,
  That he sings in his boat on the bay!

"And the stately ships go on
To their haven under the hill,
But O for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still.

"Break, break, break
At the foot of thy crags, O sea!
But the tender grace of a day that's dead
Will never come back to me."

What genuine utterances are the following, not to be mistaken by those who have felt those irrepressible longings for communion with the loved, not lost, but gone before:

"I watch thee from the quiet shore;
Thy spirit up to mine can reach,
But in dear words of human speech
We two communicate no more."

"Ah dear, but come thou back to me;
Whatever change the years have wrought,
I find not yet one lonely thought
That cries against my wish for thee."

And this the conviction of so many sorrowing hearts:

"This truth came home with bier and pall,
I felt it when I sorrowed most,
'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all.

"But I remained, whose hopes were dim,
Whose life, whose thoughts were little worth,
To wander on a darkened earth
Where all things round me breathed of him."

What pure, undying affection, overleaping the bounds of time and space, bringing the far off near, parting the thin vail that binds the invisible, and triumphing in its own immortality, is depicted in the following lines:

"Dear friend, far off, my lost desire,
So far, so near, in woe and weal;
O loved the most, when most I feel
There is a lower and a higher."

"Known and unknown, human, divine!
Sweet human hand and lips and eye,
Dear heavenly friend that canst not die,
Mine, mine, forever, ever mine!

"Thy voice is on the rolling air;
I hear thee when the waters run,
Thou standest in the rising sun,
And in the setting thou art fair.

"Far off thou art, but ever nigh,
I have thee still, and I rejoice;
I prosper, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee, though I die."

There are no passages of such deep pathos, of such holy triumph, in Vittoria's "In Memoriam." In the following sonnet she commemorates her husband's warlike deeds:

"To thy great victories, my eternal light,
Nor time, nor seasons, lent their favoring aid;
Thy sword, thy might, thy courage undismayed,
Summer and winter served thy will aright.
By thy wise governance and eagle sight,
Thou didst so rout the foe with headlong speed,
The manner of the doing crowned the deed,
No less than did the deed display thy might.
Mountains and streams, and haughty souls in vain
Would check thy course. By force of courtesy
Or valor vanquished, cities of name were won.
Earth's highest honors did thy worth attain;
Now truer triumphs Heaven reserves for thee,
And nobler garlands do thy temples crown."

The pestilence which, treading on the heels of war, had made its appearance in Naples in 1590, found its way to Ischia, dispersing the literary society that had sought refuge there, and Vittoria visited Rome. The citizens of the pontifical city, who had been scattered by war and pestilence, had returned to their homes, and life was re-assuming its wonted aspects. Pope Clement, restored to his dominions, had pardoned the Colonnas, and bestowed upon them their confiscated estates. Vittoria was a welcome guest in the house of her brother Ascanio, to whose beautiful and accomplished wife, Donna Giovanna d'Aragona, she was much attached. The Marchese del Vaste, her beloved pupil, was then in Rome, and in his company, and that of some of the poets, statesmen, and artists who surrounded Vittoria, these attractive sisters visited the remains of Ancient Rome. It was a brilliant party, and as they wandered amid scenes that took them back to hoary antiquity, as they stood on the Palatine Hill amid the ruins of its palaces, gazed on the grand old Coliseum, or rebuilt and repeopled the Forum, aided by its suggestive pillars and porticoes, doubtless words were uttered well worth recording, had there been an Italian Boswell in this group of the sixteenth century literati. We have, however, but one exclamation of Vittoria's, and on that four sonnets were written by the poet Molza: "Ah, happy they," said she of the ancients, "who lived in days so full of beauty."

It was upon this occasion that a third medal was struck in honor of Vittoria. Two, still extant, were struck at Milan shortly before her husband's death; her face in profile is exceedingly beautiful. The bust of Pescara is on the obverse of one, and a military trophy on the reverse of the other. A fourth one was struck in 1538—her features much changed though still regular and well formed, a head-dress of plaited linen covering the head, with long pendants falling over the shoulder. On the obverse is a phœnix gazing on the sun, while the flames of her funeral pile are rising around her.

In Mr. Harford's book there is a copy of the first of these medals, and also a portrait from the pencil of Sebastian del Piombo. In both of these too great fullness in the lower part of the face takes from its delicacy and beauty. These medals are proofs of the estimation in which the Marchioness of Pescara was held by her countrymen. They delighted to do her honor; her poetical judgments were pronounced by the elegant Bembo to be as "authoritative as that of the greatest masters of the art of song;" poets made her the subject of their verse, distinguished writers dedicated to her their books, and a poetical bishop declared that "the ancient glory of Tuscany had altogether passed into Latium in her person." Her visit to Rome in 1536 was a continued ovation, and the Casa di Colonna was at that time honored by the presence of Charles V., who there visited the Marchioness de Pescara and her sister-in-law.

Her wealth, position, influence, and fame were insufficient to satisfy the longings of the immortal soul, and Vittoria soon found herself in sympathy with the new opinions that were stirring the mind of Europe to its depths. The doctrines of the great German reformer were penetrating the breasts of Italian ecclesiastics, and Italian pulpits gave out new and startling utterances. Crowds were attracted to the church of San Giovanni in Naples during Lent in 1536 by the eloquence of Bernardino Ochino, the celebrated Capuchin friar, who drew from Charles V. the exclamation: "This man preaches with a spirit and a devotion to make the very stones weep."

In this rapt and earnest crowd Vittoria Colonna was constantly to be found, and the impression made by the forcible way in which the devout Ochino presented the doctrine of justification by faith was deepened in the private meetings held in her own house, and in that of Julia Gonzago, Duchess of Trajetto. Minds of no ordinary stamp were there gathered to discuss matters of the deepest importance, to imbibe principles that were to be tested in exile and martyrdom. Valdez, the center of this distinguished circle, a

Spaniard by birth, of high family, great learning, fine intellect, gentlemanly, accomplished, and winning, must have given, by his rare powers of conversation, a deep interest to these meetings. Knighted for his military services by the emperor, he had been sent on missions to Germany, where he had become a convert to the opinions of Luther. Deeply affected with these views, he communicated them with power to other minds. Marco Flaminio, the celebrated modern Latin poet, who won all hearts, not only by his genius, but by his amiability and sweetness, here found an inspiration more ennobling than that of the Muses. He was led to a devout study of the Holy Scriptures, and his writings from that time, in their devotional tone as well as in doctrine and sentiment, accord with those of the Reformers of the day. Here too was the eminent divine, Peter Martyr, who was subsequently appointed professor of divinity at Oxford in the reign of Edward VI., his acute and penetrating intellect shedding light on these parlor conversations while in the church of San Lorenzo he was giving learned lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul to congregations wherein were to be found many of the nobility, bishops, and monks from the different convents.

In this interesting circle, earnestly listening to conversation that had such new and strange power to move the hearts of men, was the young Marquis of Vico, a Neapolitan nobleman of the highest rank. Nearly related to Cardinal Caraffa, afterward Paul IV., the son-in-law of the Duke of Nocera, distinguished by marks of favor from Charles V., accustomed from childhood to the splendor and luxury attendant on his rank and fortune, for, like the young ruler, he had great possessions, he was willing to leave all to follow Christ. He devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures, he sought the society of pious men, he tried to do good by his example and influence. For ten years he pursued this life amid the opposition of his father, his wife, and his friends. At length he resolved openly to avow his Protestant principles, and as imprisonment and death would be the result of such an avowal in Italy, he gave up home, family, and fortune, and at the age of thirty-four became an exile from his country. He went to Geneva, where he joined the Reformed Church, laid aside his title, and lived a quiet, unobtrusive life, honored by Calvin and by all who knew him. Unremitting efforts were made by his father and by his wife and children to induce him to renounce his faith and to return to them. He was induced to meet them at the Castle of Vico, where his family welcomed with fond endearments the husband and the father. But his faith was unshaken. His wife told him that she would never

receive him as her husband if he continued a heretic; and his father, after exhausting his arts of persuasion, heaped maledictions on his head as he left forever the paternal home.

Vittoria Colonna was not without her influence in this circle; the elegant hostess, dignified yet gentle—all felt the charms of her winning demeanor and her cultivated intellect. There have been honorable women, not a few, who have, at divers times and in sundry places, made their houses centers of religious influence, and thus consecrated them in the memory of the religious world. Madame Guyon and her noble friends, the Duchess of Beauvilliers and the Duchess of Chureuse, Lady Huntingdon, the Duchess of Broglie, Lady Maxwell, and others, are thus held in continual remembrance. The Duchess of Ferrara, the wife of Duke Hercules, better known as Renée of France, may be ranked among these devout women, and her court became a favorite resort not only for men of letters, but for those who were seeking an earnest religious life. The Marchioness of Pescara was naturally attracted thither, and she was welcomed with the most unbounded demonstrations of joy by men of rank and literary celebrity. It was during this visit to Ferrara in 1537 that she entertained the project of visiting the Holy Land, from which she was dissuaded by her adopted son, the Marchese di Vasto.

Here, too, the Cardinals Pole and Contarini, men of profound learning and deep piety, cultivated her friendship. How improving and profitable was the society in which Vittoria passed the later years of her life we may learn from the subjoined letter, written to Contarini by Pole in 1541, from Viterbo where Vittoria then resided:

> "The rest of the day I usually spend in the holy and improving society of Signor Carnesecchi and one Marco Antonio Flaminio. Improving, I term it, because in the evenings Marco Antonio feeds me and the greater part of the family with that food which perishes not, so that I scarcely know when I have received greater comfort or edification; and all that I feel to be wanting to make our party complete is the presence of your eminence, which would render our present condition a sort of paradise here below; but there is sure to be a drawback on everything in this world, and your absence causes it."

Carnesecchi, who had been honored by the pope by important posts, after a long and cruel imprisonment, in which he remained steadfast to the Protestant principles he had embraced, was beheaded by order of the Inquisition, and his body burned at the stake in 1567. Cardinal Contarini, on his deathbed, avowed to Ochino his belief in the doctrine of justification by faith.

Pole adopted a more timid policy. Satisfied with a secret belief of the truth, he did not openly avow opinions which might lead him to the stake; and his memory has been darkened by the deeds of his later years, when, as legate of England, he allowed himself,

contrary to his own judgment and feelings, to take part in the persecutions of the bloody reign of Queen Mary. His life and character were unblemished at the time Vittoria Colonna was under his spiritual direction at Viterbo, and it was probably owing to his influence that she and the poet Flaminio still remained in the communion of the Catholic Church, in sympathy as they were with the more heroic spirits who had boldly avowed the principles that had led them to exile or martyrdom. It was by his advice that Vittoria sent a letter written to her by Ochino, and explaining the reasons of his secession, to Cardinal Cervini, afterward Pope Marcellus II. A letter from the eloquent preacher to whose burning words she had formerly so earnestly listened, from the friend with whom she had enjoyed such sweet communion, from the exile, was thus coolly placed in the hands of his enemies.

Vittoria, though she remained in the Catholic Church, has left in the second series of her poems, entitled "Rime Spirituale," sufficient evidence of her reception of the clear light of Protestant truth. To the grace and delicacy that characterized her former sonnets, she now adds the force and earnestness resulting from a higher Christian life, the inspiration of a nobler theme. She thus marks the change:

"Since a chaste love my soul has long detained
In fond idolatry of earthly fame,
Now to the Lord, who only can supply
The remedy, I turn"——

"Me it becomes not, henceforth, to invoke
Or Delos, or Parnassus; other springs,
Far other mountain tops, I now frequent,
Where human steps, unaided, cannot mount."

Mr. Harford gives the translation of the twenty-eighth sonnet, written in a strain of high devotional feeling:

"Deaf I would be to earthly sounds, to greet
  With thought intent, and fixed on things above,
The high angelic strains, the accent sweet,
  In which true peace accords with perfect love;
Each living instrument the breath that plays
Upon its strings, from chord to chord, conveys,
  And to one end, so perfectly they move,
That nothing jars th' eternal harmony;
Love melts each voice, love lifts its accents high,
  Love beats the time, presides o'er every string,
Th' angelic orchestra one signal sways;
The sound becomes more sweet, the more it strays
Through varying changes, in harmonious maze;
  He who the song inspired prompts all who sing."

Mr. Trollope has given good translations of several of these beautiful sonnets. The following prayer for faith is one in which every pious heart can join:

"Grant to my heart a pure fresh ray, O Lord,
  Of that bright ardent faith, which makes thy will
  Its best-loved law, and seeks it to fulfill
For love alone, not looking for reward;
That faith which deems no ill can come from thee,
  But humbly trusts that rightly understood,
  All that meets eye or ear is fair and good,
And heaven's love oft in prayers refused can see;
  And if thy handmaid might prefer a suit,
I would that faith possess that fires the heart,
  And feeds the soul with the true light alone;
I mean hereby that mighty power in part,
  Which plants and strengthens in us the deep root,
  From which all fruits of love for him are grown."

"Here we have," says Mr. Trollope in commenting upon the following sonnet, "the doctrine of sudden and instantaneous conversion and sanctification, and that without any aid from sacrament, altar, or priest."

"When by the light whose living ray both peace
  And joy to faithful bosoms doth impart,
  The indurated ice, around the heart
So often gathered, is dissolved through grace,
Beneath that blessed radiance from above
  Falls from the dark mantle of my sin;
  Sudden I stand forth pure and radiant in
The garb of primal innocence and love.
And though I strive with lock and trusty key
  To keep that ray, so subtle 'tis and coy,
By one low thought 'tis scared and put to flight.
So flies it from me. I in sorrowing plight
  Remain and pray that He from base alloy
May purge me, so the light come sooner back to me."

The following lines her biographer quotes as containing "a very remarkable bit of heresy on the vital point of the confessional:"

"Confiding in His just and gentle sway
  We should not dare, like Adam and his wife,
On others' backs our proper blame to lay;
  But with new-kindled hope and unfeigned grief,
Passing by priestly robes, lay bare within
To Him alone the secret of our sin."

The following sonnet has a gentle, serene sweetness which at once finds its way to the heart:

"Ofttimes to God through frost and cloud I go
For light and warmth to break my icy chain,
And pierce and rend my vail of doubt in twain
With his divinest love and radiant glow.
And if my soul sit cold and dark below,
Yet all her longings fixed on heaven remain,
And seems she 'mid deep silence to a strain
To listen, which the soul alone can know—
Saying, Fear naught! for Jesus came on earth,
Jesus, of endless joys the wide deep sea,
To ease each heavy load of mortal birth.
His waters ever cleanest, sweetest be
To him who in a lonely bark drifts forth
On his great deeps of goodness trustfully."

The sonnet with which we will conclude our quotations is written on the anniversary of the Saviour's crucifixion, and is translated by Mr. Trollope as "certainly one of the best if not the best in the collection." It is chosen from its own merit; not selected, as the previous extracts have been, to prove the Protestantism of Vittoria, to show that, though she lived and died in the Catholic Church, she strongly sympathized with Protestant principles:

"The angels to eternal bliss preferred,
Long on this day a painful death to die,
Lest in the heavenly mansions of the sky
The servant be more favored than his Lord.
Man's ancient mother weeps the deed this day,
That shut the gates of heaven against her race,
Weeps the two piercèd hands whose work of grace
Refinds the path from which she made man stray.
The sun his ever-burning ray doth vail;
Earth and sky tremble, ocean quakes amain,
And mountains gape, and living rocks are torn,
The fiends, on watch for human evil, wail
The added weight of their restraining chain.
Man only weeps not, yet was weeping born."

One of the most memorable facts in the life of Vittoria is her ten years' friendship with Michael Angelo. She was in her forty-seventh and he in his sixty-third year when they met in Rome, in 1537, and the friendship, which lasted through the remainder of Vittoria's life, exercised a powerful influence on the mind and heart of one of the greatest men of all time—great as a sculptor, painter, architect, and poet, worthy of the four wreaths instead of the three that his countrymen had sculptured on his tomb.

The attachment that existed between them has been well called a "sacred affection," so pure and elevated was its nature, and so free

from earthly alloy. In the five sonnets he addressed to her he expresses his admiration of her noble qualities; but he only alludes to her personal attractions after her eyes were closed in death, and he gratefully acknowledges her benignant influence in leading him to a clearer apprehension of Christian truth, and a more heartfelt recognition of its claims. The change in his views is as apparent in his poetry as in her own. Honored and blessed as Vittoria had been in the friends who had enriched her life, this friendship is its crowning glory, and instead of her former saying concerning the ancients, "Ah, happy they who lived in days so full of beauty!" she might well have thanked God with Raphael "that she lived in the days of Michael Angelo."

Five letters written by Vittoria to her distinguished friend are now in the possession of the accomplished head of the Buonarroti family. Written with perfect ease, in a clear, distinct hand, there is no approach to a sentiment any deeper than that of friendship.

How simply the kingly old man turned from the mighty works that made his name immortal on the earth, to the great sacrifice that gave him a blissful immortality in the heavens, may be seen in the beautiful sonnet written in his eighty-third year to Vasari, of which Mr. Harford gives the following translation:

"Time my frail bark o'er a rough ocean guides
  Swift to that port where all must touch that live,
  And of their actions good or evil give
A strict account, where Truth supreme presides.
As to gay Fancy in which Art confides,
  And even her Idol and her monarch makes,
  Full well I know how largely it partakes
Of error; but frail man in error prides;
My thoughts, once prompt round hurtful things to twine,
  Where are they now, when two dread Deaths are near?
  The one impends, the other shakes his spear.
Painting and Sculpture's aid in vain I crave;
My one sole refuge is that Love divine
Which from the Cross stretched forth its arms to save."

In 1541 Vittoria left Rome to seek a more retired home, and to escape from scenes of turbulence and violence. Her brother Ascanio had taken up arms in opposition to a salt-tax imposed by Paul III., who raised ten thousand men, subdued the fiery Colonna, and razed his fortresses to the ground.

The death of the Marchese del Vasto, her adopted son and her husband's heir, saddened the last years of her life, which were spent in retirement from the world in the convent of Viterbo. Here she

spent her time most usefully in directing the education of its youthful inmates.

In 1546 she went to the convent of Sant' Anna in Rome, and on being seized with her last illness the following year she was removed to the palace of Giuliano Cesarini, the husband of Giulia Colonna, her only relative in the city. She died at the age of fifty-seven, attended in her last moments by her faithful friend Michael Angelo, who afterward said that he had never ceased regretting that in that solemn hour he had not imprinted a kiss on the marble forehead of the dead.

ART. VI.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

[FOURTH ARTICLE.]

ANOTHER bishop now comes out to the attack, Bishop Warburton, and Mr. Wesley publishes "A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, occasioned by his tract on the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit." First, he examines what the bishop says concerning himself, and said he was "reciting objections which had been urged and answered a hundred times. But as your lordship is pleased to repeat them again, I am obliged to repeat the answers." Secondly, he tries what the bishop says of the office and operations of the Holy Spirit, and proves that his own belief and writings are in unison with Bishop Pearson, the Prayer-book, the Homilies, and the Scriptures. A good deal of the reply is extracted from his former answers to the same points; but the whole is a close piece of argumentation, and a complete refutation of the bishop. So thought Mr. Wesley himself, for he says: "If Dr. Erskine cannot see that I have answered Bishop Warburton plainly and directly, and so untwisted his arguments that no man living will be able to piece them together, I believe all unprejudiced men can, and are thoroughly convinced of it." (Remarks on a Defense of Aspasio vindicated.) He did not expect a reply from the bishop. "I have answered the bishop, and had advice upon my answer. If the devil owes him a shame he will reply. He is a man of sense, but I verily think he does not understand Greek." (Letter to Charles Wesley, 1762.) The bishop was silent, and so acknowledged his defeat.

In 1771 he replied to an Irish clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Fleury, of Waterford, who at that late time of day had recapitulated some

old objection to the Methodists, and proved that he knew little of them or their writings. He urged that the lay preachers were intruders into the sacred office, and reminded his hearers of the earth opening and swallowing up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Mr. Wesley turns boldly upon him his own words: "Such an intruder are you if you convert no sinners to God. Take heed, lest a deeper pit swallow you up!"

This reply appears to be the last of Mr. Wesley's formal answers to the current objections to the doctrines and practices of the Methodists. Incidental and occasional replies are to be found in nearly all his works, and were necessary, more or less, as long as he lived. But after the reply to Bishop Warburton, no very formidable attack was made by the clergy or the learned on the Methodists or their founder. Still, a squib or a gun would be occasionally fired. The names of a few poems of 1778–9 will show the spirit of the times. One is, "Perfection; a practical Epistle, *calmly* addressed to the greatest Hypocrite in England," that is, John Wesley. Another is, "Fanatical Conversation, or Methodism Displayed. A satire, illustrated and verified by notes from John Wesley's fanatical Journal." A third, "Voltaire's Ghost to the Apostle of the Sinless Foundery. A familiar Epistle from the Shades." A few tracts and sermons were also issued against the new sect. But Mr. Wesley, now an old man of seventy, did not trouble himself at any additional work of refutation.

Those who value the Methodist system and belief, ministry or laity, ought to consider not only what a founder was provided by Divine Providence, but what a *defender*. Rarely has the Church of God seen such a "Defender of the Faith." He was mighty in the use of Scripture, in his appeals to authority, in the calmness of his own spirit, and in his most dexterous use of the art of logic. In these four qualifications no opponent ever was his equal. His method invariably was to cast aside all the extraneous matter, to single out the important points of difference, and then, with all his might, (and usually a blow or two would be sufficient,) to attack each point separate and successfully. Had early Methodism such a defender as George Fox, it could never, humanly speaking, have stood the various and manifold attacks. The anti-Methodistic sermons, charges of bishops, tracts and pamphlets, books and poems, during Mr. Wesley's life are to be numbered by scores and hundreds. William Hogarth even published a painting and engraving to assist the destruction of the sect, and which he called "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism; being a satire on Methodism," 1762. Thus did this great master of caricature ill use his

fine talents! Samuel Foote, the actor, wrote a play to ridicule and slander the poor Methodists, called the "Minor, a comedy," 1760. The next year came out "The Methodists, a comedy, being a continuation and completion of the plan of the Minor, with the original prologue and epilogue," by Israel Pottinger. In 1761 the "Hypocrite, a comedy as it was performed at the Theater Royal, Drury Lane," was published. Thus the pulpit, the press, the art of painting, and the stage, were all in use against the work of God by the instrumentality of the Wesleys and Whitefield.

5. We must now pass on to another path in Wesley's controversial life, namely, his defense of the *Moravian Church*. In 1765 came out "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's last Journal, wherein he gives an account of the Tenets and Proceedings of the Moravians, and the Divisions and Perplexities of the Methodists, by the Rev. Thomas Church, M. A." This clergyman is highly spoken of as "a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian." (Answer to Rowland Hill.) He was a minister of St. Ann's Church, in Westminster, and seems to have been annoyed by Mr. Wesley's (1) commending the Moravians so highly in his Journals; (2) holding principles in common with them, from which various enormities necessarily followed; (3) maintaining other errors more than theirs, involving enthusiasm to the highest degree. The answer allowed that the Moravians were "tainted with Quietism, Universal Salvation, and Antinomian opinions;" but he yet believed them "in the main some of the best Christians in the world," and desired "union with them (were the stumbling-blocks once put away) above all things under heaven." Mr. Church in reply issued a second letter to Mr. Wesley, who published "The Principles of a Methodist farther explained." The reply goes on with the defense of the Moravians, who held generally to the principles of the Methodists. He also defends many of his own remarks, opinions, and accounts, given in the Journals. Church was a tedious disputer, and wanted the replyer to follow him page after page, and paragraph after paragraph. He would do no such thing, but passing by all the mere verbiage and easily assailable parts, he seized hold of the strong points and dealt with them as they needed. The two answers to Mr. Church may be viewed as an act of friendship to the Moravian brethren, who had been so useful to himself when in the dark seeking justification before God.

6. Another topic of controversy was the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and with the Rev. John Taylor, a Unitarian minister of Norwich, a man of great talents, who by his preaching and writings made many disciples. Mr. Wesley, in reply, set forth the "Doctrine of

Original Sin, according to Scripture, Reason, and Experience." The book is divided into seven parts: (1.) He shows the past and present ignorant and sinful state of mankind; and the picture is drawn by a masterly hand. (2.) The scriptural method for accounting for this is defended. In this part is a valuable exposition of numerous texts, showing the Unitarian and true meanings, one being set against the other in a convenient and scholarly method. (3.) This part is a reply to Dr. Taylor's arguments against the true doctrine. A large variety of objections is replied to in Mr. Wesley's usual concise, clear, and energetic manner. (4.) Here are inserted extracts from the writings of Dr. Watts on the doctrine of original sin. (5, 6.) These parts contain extracts from the writings of the Rev. Samuel Hebden against Dr. Taylor. (7.) Another extract, from Mr. Boston's "Fourfold State of Man." The book then is only half original, the other half being taken from other authors. The extracts make the work more valuable. The book is so well written and compiled that no other has supplanted it, and the Methodist ministry is as likely to use it hereafter as in times past. Dr. Taylor never answered it.

7. Another point to which the polemical literature of our founder reached was the *mystic divinity* of some German and English authors, particularly Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law. He gave his thoughts upon the German mystic, and "a specimen of the divinity and philosophy of the (so-called) highly illuminated" writer. The specimen is the Lord's Prayer, which is commonly explained by the words; but Behmen gave a meaning to every syllable, and even to some of the letters. To read such an author was a waste of time, and "enough to crack any man's brains." Law was a translator and disciple of Behmen, and assisted in introducing German mysticism into England. Mr. Wesley wrote him a long letter in 1756, but no conviction of error followed. One of Mr. Law's curious notions was that angels have each a twofold sex, and that Adam "was both male and female in one person," as an angel. If God had not "divided human nature into a male and female creature," then the "man would have brought forth his own likeness out of himself in the same manner as he had a birth from God." The mystic divinity of Mr. Law does not preserve his name, which is preserved, however, by his rational divinity, as set forth in the "Serious Call to a Devout Life," a treatise "which will hardly be excelled, if it be equaled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression or for justness and depth of thought." (Sermon on a Single Eye.)

8. The *Roman Catholic* controversy could hardly escape the attention, or fail to enlist the talents, of a preacher who traveled so

often the Irish seas and the Irish shires. In 1749 he published a "Letter to a Roman Catholic." He calls the Catholic "brother," and endeavors "to remove in some measure the ground of his unkindness" to Protestants by "plainly declaring what our belief and what our practice is." Says he: "Let the points wherein we differ stand aside. Here are enough wherein we agree" to unite Protestants and Catholics together. Finally, he says: "I hope to meet you in heaven." The letter is written in a most lovely spirit, and exemplifies the charity so beautifully set forth in the sermon on a Catholic Spirit. Some time after he composed a "Roman Catechism, faithfully drawn out of the allowed writings of the Church of Rome, with a reply thereto." It was occasioned by a "frequent complaint among some of the Roman Church that the Protestants had misrepresented the doctrines of their Church," and is an excellent compendium of the points of difference, with short and clear refutations. The conversion of the Irish Catholics has long engaged and still engages the interest of many Protestants. Mr. Wesley issued a plan in order to secure the coveted object, and called it a "Short Method of converting all the Roman Catholics in the Kingdom of Ireland, humbly proposed to the Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom." There was a grand difficulty in the way, namely, the "strong attachment of the papists to their clergy." Only one set of clergy ever excelled their own, which was the apostles. Let then all the Protestant clergy live like the apostles, and preach like the apostles, and the Roman Catholics, seeing the superiority of the Protestant clergy to their own priests, will gradually prefer them, and transfer their affection to them. Having secured the preference and love of the Roman Catholics, the clergy will find no very hard work in convincing them of their errors by hundreds and thousands, until there will not be a "Roman left in the kingdom of Ireland." The tract of the "short method," to the Protestant clergy, is as cutting a sarcasm as could well be produced. Another of his writings on the Romish question is entitled the "Advantage of the Members of the Church of England over those of the Church of Rome," seeing the former have the use of the Scriptures, doctrines more agreeable to the Scriptures, and a more spiritual worship. Another is called "Popery calmly Considered," showing the tendency of some of the doctrines, namely, to hinder the love of God, the love of our neighbor, the practice of justice and mercy, and the preservation of truth in the earth. In 1780, Parliament having passed an act favorable to the English Roman Catholics, he wrote three letters to newspapers, setting forth his opinion that while there should be no persecution for religion, no encouragement or trust should be given by a Protestant government to those who

held the doctrine that no faith was to be kept with heretics. A Capuchin friar, Mr. O'Leary, replied to the letters. Mr. Wesley answered the friar, still upholding his two principles: First, that no Protestant government should persecute; and secondly, that no such government should trust Roman Catholics.

9. Another point of controversy was that of *dissent* from the Church of England. He was as much opposed by Dissenting ministers as by those of the Established Church. With all the faults belonging to the Church, he vastly preferred it to the meeting-house. In 1753 a Rev. Mr. Toogood, of Exeter, published his "Dissent from the Church of England fully justified," and went so far as to assert that a person could not belong to Christ and to the Church of England. Mr. Wesley replied, insisting that no sinful terms of communion were imposed upon the members; that the rites and ceremonies of the Church, though capable of improvement, contravened no command of the Scriptures; and that while he greatly admired many of the Puritans and Nonconformists, he could not approve of their separation from the national Church. His position was, that nothing will justify separation from a Church but some requirement or practice that is sinful. If nothing else will justify, then many separations from Protestant bodies can never be justified. The question is yet not answered, Will other considerations less than sinful terms of communion justify a person—a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran, an Episcopalian—in separating from one Church and uniting with another? An irrefutable treatise on the subject might be very useful in the confused and factioned Protestant body.

10. The *Quakers* were not passed unnoticed in Mr. Wesley's numerous travels in England and Ireland. He often speaks approvingly of the Quakers, yet severely of Quakerism. "I should as soon commence Deist as Quaker." (Letter to Mr. John Smith.) As for their mode of worship, he says: "A silent meeting was never heard of in the Church for sixteen hundred years." (Letter to Miss Mary Stokes.) But the only writing against the system of George Fox, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, is "A Letter to a Person lately (1748) joined with the people called Quakers, in Answer to a Letter wrote by him," and is in answer to the question, "Is there any difference between Quakerism and Christianity?"

11. Having touched the Quakers a little, it cannot be expected that our founder would neglect our *Baptist* brethren. Mr. Wesley wrote but one treatise on baptism. He shows, first, what baptism is. Secondly, what benefits we receive by it, namely: (1.) washing away the guilt of original sin; (2.) entering into covenant with God; (3.) admitted into the Church; (4.) made the children of God, by

"grace infused;" (5) and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Thirdly, whether our Saviour designed it always to remain in his Church. Fourthly, who are the proper subjects. He contends that we are as justified in baptizing infants "without express command or clear example," as in baptizing women, for which there is neither in the Scripture.

X. We shall next look on him as his own historian or biographer. He narrated the chief events of his public life (and sometimes of his private) in the form of JOURNALS, extracts from which he published and gave to the world. Whoever wishes to know of the life of the first man called Methodist, and the rise and progress of the Methodist denomination, can search no better authority than these Journals. Mr. Wesley began to keep a diary when about twenty years old, and in pursuance of the advice of Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his Rules for Holy Living and Dying, "marking down (says he) how I had employed every hour." The practice he continued all through his long life.

Private diaries and journals of religious persons have usually so much of the quality of sameness as often to excite a degree of loathing. These Journals, however, cannot be charged with this fault. They are indeed full of variety. They relate, not the religious experience of the writer, which is very seldom touched upon, but the prominent events of his public life as a traveler, author, preacher. They show us what he did as a preacher of the Gospel, his journeys and voyages, the places he visited, the texts he preached from, the congregations he addressed, various letters he wrote and received, remarkable persons he came in contact with, revivals of religion he witnessed, strange accounts which came to his knowledge, books he read and his opinions of them, memoirs and obituaries of religious persons, various anecdotes, persecutions of himself and others, remarkable natural phenomena, fine descriptions of remarkable places and scenery, accounts of gentlemen's seats and various national antiquities, a sprinkling of poetical quotations from the classics; in a word, the Journals describe his own public life, and the civil, and especially the religious state of the British nation in the eighteenth century. The Journals may be denominated as an account of the life and times of John Wesley.

XI. Another path of literature in which he walked all the days of his life was LETTER WRITING, or the practice of a large epistolary correspondence. He believed that his religious correspondents were unequaled in number. Says he, "I have had for many years,

and have at this day, a greater number of pious correspondents than any person in England, or perhaps in Europe." (Pref. to Arminian Mag., 1781.) So many persons sending him letters in those days of dear postage necessarily involved much expense. When in Athlone, in Ireland, in 1785, so many letters followed him that in one day the letters cost eighteen shillings. (Letter to Charles Wesley.) This incident (and the only one I find of the sort) will give a general idea of the total expense of postage during the year. Those of his letters remaining and collected number above fourteen hundred, and form one and a half of the fourteen volumes of the works. A number may yet remain uncollected. But what are the remaining letters compared to the lost? The remaining private letters are useful especially in giving us a better insight into the private life and religious experience of our founder than can be found elsewhere. His other writings show him the public man, but do not give information of his private life, excepting an occasional touch in the Journals, and now and then a stroke in the other writings. All the biographies of Mr. Wesley are very deficient in portraying his private and domestic course; nor is this to be wondered at, considering the want of matter; but close inspection and diligence would have picked up many a scrap from the letters, which ingenious inference could have amplified into a paragraph, a section, or a chapter.

Of the extant letters, those to female correspondents evince the most care and thought. The persons corresponded with were mostly members of his own societies, and eminent for piety and sense. Like all men of learning, he was ever pleased with the society of sensible women, and equally pleased to correspond with them. One of his earliest correspondents was Miss Furley, who appears to have been a young lady of deep piety, but weak and sickly. Twenty-three letters to her are in the collection. Mrs. Sarah Ryan, whom he employed as his housekeeper in Bristol, was another of his correspondents, a woman remarkable for her lovely spirit and fervent piety: "A jewel indeed, one whose equal I have not found in England." (Letter to Miss Furley.) Her conversation and letters were, he says, "an unspeakable blessing to me." In her day she seems to have been looked upon as the brightest living example of the Christian perfection which the Wesleys taught. Lady Maxwell, a Scotch woman, was a correspondent of his for many years. Eighteen letters to her are remaining. In one of them he gives his opinion on the interesting subject of departed spirits:

> "I have heard my mother say, 'I have frequently been as fully assured that my father's spirit was with me as if I had seen him with my eyes.' But she

> did not explain herself any further. I have myself, many times, found on a sudden so lively an apprehension of a deceased friend, that I have sometimes turned about to look; at the same time I have felt an uncommon affection for them. But I never had anything of this kind with regard to any but those that died in faith. In dreams I have had exceedingly lively conversations with them, and I doubt not but they were then very near."

In the collection are nineteen letters to the pious and sensible Miss Bosanquet, afterward Mrs Fletcher, for whom he had great Christian esteem and affection. He spoke of her as "one of the most faithful friends I have in the world." Others' letters he let lie a week or two before he answered; but of hers he thought much of losing a day, "for fear I should give a moment's pain." Another of his female correspondents was a Miss Bishop, whose employment was educating young ladies. There are sixteen letters to her preserved. It appears that this young lady declined teaching dancing in her school, although solicited by some of the parents. Says Mr. Wesley to her:

> "It seems God himself has already decided the question concerning dancing He has shown his approbation of your conduct by sending those children to you again. If dancing be not evil in itself, yet it leads young women to numberless evils. And the hazard of these on the one side seems far to overbalance the little inconveniences on the other. Therefore, this much may certainly be said: you have chosen the more excellent way."

He does not altogether condemn novels to young persons, but would recommend "very few, for fear they should be too desirous of more." He recommends to her, for her scholars, the Earl of Moreland, and the History of the Human Heart, both fictions, by Mr. Brooke.

The letters are well worth perusal for their varied and excellent matter, and deserve to be held up as models for their lovely spirit, and concise, pure, and elegant style. The general labors and literary works of Mr. Wesley show the stern, strong, persevering character of his mind; but the letters draw the softer, fainter lines of his features, and reveal the amiability of his disposition, that he had the tenderness and sensibility of a woman, and the gentle and loving spirit that breathed in the Apostle John.

XII. But after all that may be said for the various classes of his literary works, that by which he is best known and will longest be remembered is his works on PRACTICAL DIVINITY. The principal works of this class are the Address to the Clergy, the Plain Account of Christian Perfection, an Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion, a Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion, and the Sermons. There are other and smaller practical treatises or tracts, and there is more or less practical religion enforced in the controversial, political, and other works.

"An Address to the Clergy" was published in 1756. He sets out with declaring that no "forwardness, vanity, or presumption" urged him to address his brethren and fathers in the Church, but duty and love. He desires the clergy to consider: 1. What manner of men ought we to be, as to gifts, acquired endowments, and grace? 2. Are we such, or are we not? Under this head he makes as sharp and pointed an application as perhaps was possible. He considers men going into, or continuing in the office of the ministry for a living as worse than Simon Magus. "He offered to give money for the gift of God. . . . You set a far higher value on the money than on the gift; insomuch that you do not desire, you will not accept of the gift (the office) unless the money accompany it!" And closes this application with a fine apostrophe: "O Simon, Simon! what a saint wert thou compared to many of the most honorable men now in Christendom!"

"The Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Rev. John Wesley," is one of the most useful and the most circulated of all the separate treatises of the author. He first shows his own consistency, for the doctrine of perfection he "believed and taught" in 1777 was the same he entertained and preached in 1725, and all the interim period of his life. He shows also what the perfection is, namely, loving God with all our heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. The chief fault of the treatise is the repetitions, unavoidable by the nature of the design, requiring examples that his teaching was the same through so many years; not to be complained of, however, seeing a doctrine so strongly and constantly opposed may well be taught in the way of line upon line and precept upon precept. The account of that "burning and shining light," Jane Cooper, is a gem inserted in the work. The advices to the professors of Christian perfection, and the reflections suitable to them, show a knowledge of the deepness of the human heart and great profundity of thought. It is an excellent religious treatise, that can hardly be read without profit. Other works on the same subject have, and doubtless will come from the press with more or less merit and fault; but none have eclipsed, and probably none ever will eclipse, this fine old treatise on the heights and depths of practical divinity. Forty years was Mr. Wesley combating the enemies of the doctrine in the pulpit and by the press. What other author can have the advantage of a warfare so long and terrible? "I am at my wits' end," says he, "with regard to two things—the Church and Christian perfection. Unless you and I stand in the gap in good earnest, the Methodists will drop them both." (Letter to Charles, May 14, 1768.) "But what shall we do? I think it is high time that you and I should

come to a point. Shall we go on in asserting perfection against all the world? or shall we quietly let it drop? We really must do one or the other, and I apprehend the sooner the better." (*Ibid.* June 14.) The enemies of the doctrine were "all the world;" even the Methodists and the preachers were ready to drop the doctrine; Charles Wesley was sometimes but a half believer and a lukewarm preacher of it; and so the brunt of the conflict came upon one man. Had he withdrawn from the "gap," this treatise would be unwritten, and the doctrine dropped again, as after the days of primitive Christianity. But our founder was a man valiant for the truth. He stood out against all the world, and finally overcame.

The "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" was written in 1744, and excited a great deal of attention. The motto intimates the nature of the appeal: "Doth our law judge any man before it hear him and know what he doeth?" The new sect was in the greatest odium, and generally condemned and persecuted. The leader turns away from the ignorant, wicked, and prejudiced multitudes, and appeals to the reason and religion of the nation for judgment, like Paul at the council of Festus at Cesarea, when he cried, "I appeal unto Cesar!" In the first part of the appeal he speaks "chiefly to those who do not receive the Christian system as of God," as to whether the principles he taught were not reasonable. Next he says: "I would add a few words to another sort of men—to you who do receive the Christian system, who believe the Scripture, but yet do not take upon you the character of religious men." Are you men of reason? Believing in religion and yet irreligious, "you are the furthest of all men under the sun from any pretense to that character." He passes on to the honorable and virtuous, to the business men of the nation, who made no profession of piety. Then he comes to the religious man who has an outward but no inward godliness. As he passes, he convicts them all of being without happiness and without God. Lastly, he addresses the truly pious, and answers their objections to the new sect. (1.) That they preach perfection. (2.) They preach salvation by faith. (3.) They teach the knowledge of sins forgiven. (4.) They are Papists. (5.) They are undermining the Church. (6.) They leave the Church. (7.) They divide the Church. (8.) "Gain is the mainspring of all their actions." It was the answering the last objection which brought out the bold and singular challenge. Cries the appealer:

> "Hear ye this, all ye who have discovered the treasures which I am to leave behind me: If I leave behind me ten pounds, (above my debts and my books, or what may happen to be due on account of them,) you and all mankind bear witness against me, that I lived and died a thief and a robber."

When he willed his property, he expected that at death he might have some money in his bureau drawer and in his pockets, but so little that he ordered it to be divided among four persons. He concludes the Appeal by declaring that religion was once more reviving in the land, and urges all to encourage it.

In the same year the first part of "A further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" was written. He considered he had not yet fully performed his duty, and that he ought to answer other objections. These related to the *doctrines* which he taught. In 1763 appeared a work called "The Notions of the Methodists fully disproved." The Archbishop of York had sent a circular to the clergy on the subject of the new teachings, and with the circular a pamphlet called "Observations on the Conduct and Behavior of a certain Sect usually distinguished by the name of Methodists," written, it was believed, by a dignitary of the Church. There was a tract then published called "The Operations of the Holy Spirit imperceptible; and how men may know when they are under the guidance and influence of the Spirit." The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in a charge delivered to his clergy and published, attacked some of the Methodists' points. The objections to the doctrines he taught, in these different publications, he answered in a masterly style. Next he replies to objections to the *manner* of teaching those doctrines, as field preaching, itinerating from place to place, and extemporary prayer. And lastly, he replies to objections on the *effects* of this preaching, as the public peace disturbed by such vast congregations, divisions created in private families, poor families starved or brought to beggary, and many driven out of their senses or made mad. He concludes that all these objections are "artifices of the devil to hinder the work of God."

The second and third parts of the Appeal were written in 1745. The second part is, "First, to point out some things which, on common principles, are condemned by men of every denomination, and yet found in all; and secondly, some wherein those of each denomination are more particularly inconsistent with their own principles." He shows what sins were condemned and yet practiced by the Jewish nation. How much are we better than they? Is not the English nation, as the Jewish, discontented and murmuring, forgetting the great God, and gone away from the ordinances of religion? Do not the people of this Christian nation swear and blaspheme? Is there any country so filled with willful, deliberate perjury, swearing and breaking oaths, as witnesses, justices, grand juries, constables, churchwardens, captains of ships, officers of the customs, members of parliament, voters? How is the Sabbath day profaned? What

murmurings and rebellings against civil rulers? "for do not all our histories witness such a series of mutinies, seditions, factions, rebellions, as are scarce to be paralleled in any one kingdom since the world began?" Is not drunkenness the sin of England? Is not the lewdness of the nation greater than the Jews? The injustice? And is not truth as well as justice fallen in our streets? And what nation so proud and self-conceited as the English? Do the judgments of God reform the nation? The army and the navy? Are not the priests, the Lord's ministers, guilty of some of these sins? All these heads he amplifies, and appeals to the hearts and consciences of the different classes, forming an earnest specimen of practical divinity. He then passes on to the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Roman Catholics, Jews, and Deists, showing how contrary their practices were to their principles and professions.

In part third, he from the preceding infers that the state of religion was so bad that there was no parallel to it. If there be a God, what must be the event? Instead, however, of judgment, God sent mercy. A revival of religion begins at Oxford, then in different parts of the nation. He then describes the qualities of this work of God, namely: the extent, the depth, the fruits, the rationality, the catholicity, the holiness, and the tolerating spirit of it; and such a work (although only seven years since it began) as "cannot easily be paralleled (in all these concurrent circumstances) by any thing that is found in the English annals since Christianity was first planted in this land." Yet the religious and wise men of the nation do not discern that God is reviving his work in the nation, and the wicked are persecuting the instruments. He then spends twenty-four pages in replying to some of the "abundance of excuses, if not for opposing, yet for denying the work to be of God, and for not acknowledging the time of our visitation." (1.) Some cry out, "the doctrines of these men are false, erroneous, and enthusiastic; that they are new and unheard of till late; that they are Quakerism, fanaticism, and Popery." (2.) Others allege, "Their doctrines are too strict; they make the way to heaven too narrow." (3.) Another popular cry is, "The uncharitableness of these men; they damn all besides themselves." (4.) "But many who own these doctrines to be of God cannot be reconciled to the instruments he hath made use of." They are so young. Not so very young, says Mr. Wesley, for "Mr. Whitefield is now above thirty, my brother is thirty-seven, and I have lived above forty-two years." (5.) "But they are only a few." No wonder, seeing the diligence and pains used to keep them few, and hinder the clergy from joining. (6.) "Not only few,

but unlearned." He acknowledges that some were, but not all; and retorts, that many so objecting were unlearned themselves. (7.) "You make yourselves like the apostles," (that is, the preachers.) Must not every minister be like the apostles in some respects? (8.) "But they are laymen who preach." He answers this objection fully, showing that the first preachers of Christianity were laymen; so were the first preachers of the Reformation; Mr. Calvin was a layman; the Roman Catholics allow a lay brother to preach if he believes he is called of God; most of the Protestant Churches allow lay preaching; and even the Church of England uses laymen in some of her services. He grounds his chief defense, however, on the necessity of the case. (9.) "But are they not wicked men?" No one heard of the wickedness of the preachers until they went about doing good. In answering this objection he speaks of himself and brother, asking:

> "What persons could, in the nature of things, have been (antecedently) less liable to exception, with regard to their moral character, at least, than those the all-wise God hath now employed? Indeed, I cannot devise what manner of men could have been more unexceptionable on all accounts."

Although this self-laudation seems egotism and boasting, I think it the best proof of the singular innocence and simplicity of the writer any where to be found. For a person to believe and say that he was the most suitable or unexceptionable person "on all accounts," certainly has no appearance of humility, has the appearance of vanity, and yet truly shows a guileless, childlike heart. After all the bad appearance, he is merely defending God for choosing himself and brother and Mr. Whitefield. (10.) "But what need of preaching in fields and streets? Are there not churches enough to preach in?" (11.) Another objection was, the inconsistent conduct of some of the Methodists. (12.) "Why not work miracles to show that God hath sent you." (13.) True, many are turned from wickedness, but they fall into schism, a greater sin. Thus he proposes, and gives an answer to, the excuses which the men of "reason and religion" offered for not discovering the work to be of God. The appeal closes up with an earnest, faithful, and affectionate application to the despisers and neglecters of their day of visitation from God.

The appeals were useful books in their day, and were much read. The writer mentions a lawyer and a physician, infidels, converted by the reading. They may be regarded as Mr. Wesley's masterpieces for matter, reasoning, and style.

The published sermons of the founder of Methodism number one hundred and forty-one, and are on a great variety of topics. They

form his best writings on practical divinity. But as the present article has grown so large, and as the writer designs an article on Mr. Wesley's *preaching*, they will be reserved for the future occasion, when some observations on his *style* will also be appropriate.

1. The series of articles which is now concluded does not mention all the works of Mr. Wesley. Besides those classes of original and selected works—works of Music and Poetry, religious Tracts, the edited works, (comprising the Christian Library,) the various compilations (including the Arminian Magazine,) the elementary books, the Commentaries on the Old and New Testament, the political tracts and pamphlets, the numerous works on controversial divinity, on eleven disputed points, (at least,) the Journals, the epistolary correspondence, and the excellent writings on practical divinity—another class of tracts and papers could be reviewed under the head of *miscellaneous* writings. Still nothing is omitted which would add much to the fame of the writer as a literary man.

2. Considering the active life of Mr. Wesley, it is astonishing that he wrote and published so much, on such variety of subjects, and so well. Most of his works were written after he was forty and before he was seventy years of age. Strange that amid incessant preaching and traveling, and constant oversight of the rising ministry and societies, he could have written so many works, and on so many and diversified topics! The quality of the writings too is not to be forgotten in estimating this literary man. All the works may not have equal merit for style; and yet all show great care, the purity of the English tongue, neatness in the sentences, and a finish and polish which a scholar only can give. He was so perfect in the English style when he began to write as to be susceptible of little or no improvement. (See Journals, Sept. 1, 1778.) He was a very slow writer, (letter to Mr. Richard Thompson, 1756,) and little needed to revise his sentences. The slowness in writing sprung from the desire, and generated the habit, of great carefulness.

3. Considering the numerous literary works of Mr. Wesley, it may be supposed that he derived therefrom a large *income*. He was not dependent on his works or on the Methodists for his living. "Your lordship cannot but know, that my fellowship and my brother's studentship afford us more than sufficient for life and godliness, especially for that life which we choose." (Letter to Bishop of London.) The fellowships in the English colleges entitle to a share in the revenues, varying generally from £30 to £250 a year, with the right of apartments and board. The first eighteen years of his authorship he does not seem to have gained anything, but rather lost. Having settled his temporal business, after some sickness, he

says: "It is now about eighteen years since I began writing and printing books; and how much in that time have I gained by printing? Why, on summing up my accounts, I found that on March 1, 1756, I had gained, by printing and preaching together, a debt of £1,236. Seventeen years after the income of the London Society was bad, but, says he, "My private account I find still worse. I have labored as much as many writers, and all my labor has gained me, in seventy years, a debt of five or six hundred pounds." (Journal, 1773.) Mr. Wesley kept printing presses of his own, and he might have lost in carrying on the business. Some of his works were very profitable; others, as his Commentary on the Old Testament and the Christian Library, did not pay. Another cause of debt was the cheap mode in which he published, for the sake of usefulness. His works, with his brother's, must have yielded much profit. Before Charles Wesley married, his brother gave security to the parents of the young lady for the yearly payment of £100, on the profits of their books. The mother (Mrs. Gwynne) wrote to Mr. Perronet to know whether the sale of the books would be likely to continue before she consented to the marriage. The good clergyman wrote her:

> "The writings of these gentlemen are, even at this time, a very valuable estate; and when it shall please God to open the minds of the people more, and prejudice is worn off, it will be much more valuable. I have seen what an able bookseller has valued a great part of their works at, which is £2,500; but I will venture to say that this is not half their value. They are works which will last and sell while any sense of true religion and learning shall remain among us."

Here we have an estimate of the value of the books published prior to 1749. The after works were also of great value. Charles Wesley appears to have had his £100 a year from the income of the books. And his brother, especially after he gave up his fellowship, doubtless drew yearly from the same source. These books were not only profitable to the writers, but to the English Methodist Conference, for Mr. Wesley in his will gave all his books on sale to the body of preachers. The books are still on sale, and yield, especially the hymn books, a large sum every year to the English Conference. The works are useful, too, to the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, who also derive pecuniary assistance from the same source. And in Canada, the Wesleyan Book Room sells and profits by the hymn books and other works of the founder of Methodism. These books, now a hundred years are passed away, "last and sell," as Mr. Perronet said, and doubtless will "last and sell" to the end of the world.

ART. VII.—EXPOSITION OF THE EIGHTH PSALM.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Subject of this Psalm.*

"THE subject of this psalm," says Hengstenberg, is "the greatness of God in the greatness of man." We would say that it is man in his primitive condition, made in the image of God, "a little less than God," and the ruler over the works of God; man as fallen, yet blessed with the divine visitations of mercy; and man by implication, as redeemed by the Son of God.

This prevailing topic is prefaced by an ascription of praise to Jehovah:

O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!
Who hast spread thy glory upon the heavens;
Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength,
Because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and avenger.

The psalmist then introduces the prevailing subject of the following verses, namely, man as frail and mortal, but yet originally almost divine, crowned with glory and honor, and ruler over the works of the Divine hand; and the last verse closes with a second ascription of praise in precisely the same terms as those of the first verse.

§ 2. *Is this psalm Messianic?*

It is plainly not Messianic in the sense that Messiah is the *exclusive* subject. The Messiah is, however, an *included* subject, as man is the general subject, and Messiah, as possessed of human nature, is therefore included.

Hence the apostle, Heb. ii, 5–9, applies this psalm to Christ: "For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come [the Gospel dispensation] whereof we speak; but one in a certain place [the Eighth Psalm] testified saying:

What is man that thou art mindful of him,
Or the Son of man that thou visitest him?
Thou didst make him [originally] a little lower than the angels;
Thou didst crown him with glory and honor;
Thou didst put all things under his feet.

For in that He [God] did put all things under him [man]; he left nothing which was not put under him. But we see Jesus [in human nature] made a little lower than the angels for the reason that he must suffer death, crowned with glory and honor, that he by the grace of God might taste death for every man."

Jesus, therefore, as man, is crowned with glory and honor. His earthly glory was great, but his heavenly glory is greater. We see, indeed, not yet all things put under him actually, but they are prospectively put under him. In the purpose of the Father he is the Ruler over all.

We do not, therefore, call this psalm Messianic in the same sense as the second, twenty-second, twenty-fourth, fortieth, forty-fifth, seventy-second, and one hundred and tenth. These psalms we take to be exclusively Messianic; and it is not necessary to understand the apostle's quotation of the eighth Psalm, as implying its *exclusive* Messianic character; only that Jesus is referred to and included in human nature; and as God gave to man originally the government of the world, made him ruler over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea, (Gen. i, 20–25.) so *all things* shall be subject to Jesus as the head of human nature.

§ 3. *What is the meaning of* אֱלֹהִים *in* ver. 5?

We make this a matter of distinct inquiry, because our translators, following the Septuagint, Vulgate and Chaldee, have rendered it by the term "angels" a very doubtful signification, and a rendering which, so far as we remember, is not followed elsewhere by our version. The following are the only passages to which this signification has been thought to belong, namely, Psa. lxxxii, 1; xcvii, 7, and cxxxviii, 1, and verse 5 of this Psalm.

Psa. lxxxii, 1, reads as follows:

אֱלֹהִים נִצָּב בַּעֲדַת־אֵל
בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט

God stands up in the assembly of god,
In the midst of the gods he judges.

De Wette and Bleeke, following Syrus, render אֱלֹהִים "angels;" but if we compare verses second and sixth, it would seem that we are rather to understand *princes of the land,* who are hence called אֱלֹהִים, *gods,* because they, as judges who stand in the

place of God, are administrators of justice. Compare especially the sixth and seventh verses, where God thus addresses them:

אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם
וּבְנֵי עֶלְיוֹן כֻּלְּכֶם׃
אָכֵן כְּאָדָם תְּמוּתוּן
וּכְאַחַד הַשָּׂרִים תִּפֹּלוּ׃

6. *I said, Ye are gods,*
And sons of the Most High all of you.
7. *Surely like men ye shall die;*
As one of the princes ye shall fall.

Which we may paraphrase thus: Though I said ye are gods, highly exalted and standing in the divine place as judges in the land, yet on account of your unjust verdicts, oppressive to the poor and the needy, ye shall die as one of the common herd, ye shall fall by sudden and violent deaths. Death temporal, and that by violence, could not be predicable of *angels;* and hence the translation of Syrus, De Wette, and Bleeke is untenable.

The next passage in which it is supposed אֱלֹהִים means angels is found in the ninety-seventh psalm, seventh verse:

הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ־לוֹ כָּל־אֱלֹהִים
Worship Him, all ye gods.

Septuagint: προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ.
Worship Him, all ye his angels.

So the Vulgate and the Syriac. But the context plainly obliges us to refer it to false gods, and by metonomy those that worship them. Hence Hengstenberg: "The false gods are called upon to worship through the medium of their servants. The idol gods are also in other passages frequently viewed poetically, as gifted momentarily with life and feeling, only for the purpose of exhibiting the Lord as triumphing over them; compare Exod. xii, 12; Num. xxxiii, 4: "And upon their gods has the Lord executed judgment;" Isa. xix, 1: "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud and cometh to Egypt, and the gods of the Egyptians are moved at his presence." The Septuagint could not understand this representation, and substituted angels instead of gods, to whom what was said could apply only by an inference, as *a majore ad minus;* if the proud gods of the heathen cannot measure themselves with the Lord, how much less may the angels. Heb. i, 6. As decisive against the *direct*

reference to the angels may be mentioned the whole connection and tendency of the psalm, which is to inspirit the people of God in prospect of the approaching victory [over] the false gods; and also the *usus loquendi*, as *Elohim* never signifies angels." So Gesenius in Thesaurus.

The next and last passage is Psa. cxxxviii, 1:

נֶגֶד אֱלֹהִים אֲזַמְּרֶךָּ

I will sing praise to Thee before the gods.

Septuagint: *ἐναντίον ἀγγέλων ψαλῶ σοι.*

Vulgate: *In conspectu angelorum psalam tibi.*

Chald: קֳבֵל דַּיָּנַיָּא, *Before the judges.*

Gesenius, who for once is found napping, says: "At נֶגֶד אֱלֹהִים *nihil aliud esse videtur atque*, לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים, לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, that is, נֶגֶד אֱלֹהִים, seems to be nothing more than the common formula, *before God*, found in such passages as Exod. xvi, 33; Lev. xxiii, 40; 2 Sam. vi, 14; Josh. xxiv, 1; Judges xxi, 2; 1 Chron. xiii, 8, 11. But this plainly cannot be, inasmuch as there is a direct address made to Jehovah by the psalmist. The English version is correct: "Before the *gods* I will sing praise unto thee." The sense is, Jehovah is God alone, and as such I will declare him in the presence of all idols and their worshipers. Compare 2 Sam. vii, 22: "The Lord God is great, for no one is like him, and there is no God besides him." There is no need, therefore, of departing from the *usus loquendi* and interpreting the אֱלֹהִים by *angels.*

A more difficult question now arises. If אֱלֹהִים never means angels, how comes it to pass that the Apostle Paul, quoting the Septuagint in Heb. i, 6, and ii, 7, adopts its errors, and founds an argument upon them for the superior and even divine nature of our Lord Jesus Christ? For this purpose the apostle quotes in Heb. i, 6, from the ninety-seventh Psalm, seventh verse: "And when again he brings his first-begotten into the world, he saith: *καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν ἀυτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ—and let all the angels of God worship him.* This quotation coincides with the Septuagint, except in using the oblique *προσκυνησατωσαν*, instead of the direct *προσκυνήσατε.* The argument of the apostle is, if Jehovah commands the angels to worship the Son, then the Son is superior to angels, and consequently divine.

In the quotation from the eighth Psalm in Heb. ii, 7, the object of the apostle seems to be twofold: 1. To show the divine dignity

of the Messiah, in that he is to be the Supreme Ruler of the worlds, for the Father "hath put all things under his feet." 2. To bring out the fact that Jesus was truly *human* as well as *divine*. For this cause "we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels on account of suffering death, that by the grace of God he might taste death for every man." Jesus, therefore, is both divine and human; he is both God and man, and as such is in every way able to accomplish the great work of human salvation. The passage is well calculated to illustrate and bring out this thought, and it is well calculated to do it as it stood in the Greek of the Septuagint. This Greek version was in universal use both among Jews and Christians. It was made by the Jews themselves; it was used in their synagogues, being read every Sabbath. It was indeed commonly received by them as an almost inspired production, many receiving it as such. The apostles, therefore, read the Septuagint and quoted from it. The old Hebrew was a dead language to the great body of the people, and had been ever since the captivity. There was no other way in which the apostle could reason directly with the great mass of the people out of the Scriptures, except through the Septuagint version. He uses it, therefore, and does not go into nice questions of criticism as to how much more אלהים means than *αγγελος*. It was sufficient for him that the Septuagint rendering was appropriate to his purpose, and expressed the meaning of the original sufficiently near. Besides, he was himself an inspired teacher, and thus was able to sanction the doctrine contained in the Septuagint rendering of the passage, though it might not be a literally correct translation of the inspired Hebrew. The doctrine of verbal inspiration does not require the sacred writers, as some seem to suppose, to quote each other *verbatim et literatim*, or to give their accounts of the same transactions in the same language. Even David reproducing the eighteenth Psalm, probably for another occasion, varies very materially from the original copy given in the Book of Samuel. So, also, there are important variations in the fifty-third Psalm from the fourteenth, which would seem to have been the original copy. The same fact may also be observed in the fourth chapter of Micah, first three verses, and the second chapter of Isaiah, first four verses. The Spirit inspires the prophet to use words on one occasion which on another occasion by another prophet he rejects and substitutes by others. The evangelists Matthew and Luke do not use the same words in reporting the Sermon on the Mount, nor do they use the same words in reporting the same facts. There are variations the reasons of which may not be obvious to us, and yet all is consistent with the

doctrine of a verbal inspiration. Variations would be often required, indeed, on new occasions and when new objects are in view. And each writer must be left to exercise his own individuality. "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," at the same time that they "speak as they are moved by the Holy Ghost."

We therefore reject the explanation commonly given to אֱלֹהִים, namely, that of *angels*, as utterly without philological foundation. The reason why the Septuagint and Chaldee adopted it, was on account of the apparent theological difficulty that man should be represented "as a little lower than God." But the difficulty is greatly relieved when we remember that the psalmist speaks of man as he came from the hand of his Maker, and not of man as fallen. This is clear from this and the following verses, as compared with the account of the Creation in Gen. i, 27, 28: "And God created man in his image, in the image of God created he him; male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it: and rule over the fish of the sea, the fowl of heaven, and over every creeping thing which creepeth upon the earth." How very like this is the description of man in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of this psalm: "Thou didst make him to want but little of God;" that is, "God created man in his own image," and the repetition follows for the sake of emphasis: "In the image of God created he him." "Thou didst crown him with glory and honor, Thou didst make him ruler over the works of thy hands, Thou didst place all things under his feet. Sheep and oxen, all of them, and also the cattle of the field, the bird of heaven and fish of the sea, and whatsoever passes through the paths of the sea." The passage of the psalm is so entirely alike that in Genesis, we cannot avoid referring it to man in his primitive condition. We hence infer that this psalm, taken in connection with the account of man's creation, teaches the doctrine that in dignity, as first created, he was superior to the angels, and next in order to the Divine Being.

This view further receives support from the fact that in the New Testament various passages show that man, redeemed and glorified, reassumes his primeval dignity, and is elevated above angels. "*Are they not all ministering spirits,* (says Paul, Heb. i, 14,) *sent forth to minister to them who are the heirs of salvation?*" "*Do ye not know* (says Paul to the brethren at Corinth, 1 Cor. vi, 2,) *the saints shall judge the world;* yea, "*Do you not know that we shall judge angels?*" In the visions of the Apocalyptist the saints are seen nearest the throne, yea, that a suitable impression may be

made on the minds of the saints as to their future dignity and glory, the Lord Jesus himself declares: "*To him that overcometh I will give to sit with me in my throne, even as I have overcome and am set down with my Father in his throne.* Rev. iii, 21. Thus we hold, according to the Scriptures, the eighth Psalm teaches no absurdity when it represents man in his primitive and glorified state as second only to the Lord of all.

It now only remains for us to present a translation of this psalm, with some brief explanatory notes.

TRANSLATION.

1. *To the Chief Musician upon Gittith.*
A Psalm of David.
2. *O Jehovah our God,*
How excellent is thy name in all the earth;
Which glory of thine place thou above (or upon) the heavens.
3. *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength because of thy enemies;*
To still the enemy and the avenger.
4. *When I behold thy heavens the work of thy fingers;*
The moon and the stars which thou hast made.
5. *What is man that thou art mindful of him,*
And the Son of Man that thou visitest him.
6. *Thou hast made him to want a little of God;*
With glory and honor thou hast crowned him.
7. *Thou hast made him ruler over the works of thy hands;*
Thou hast placed all things under his feet.
8. *Sheep and oxen all of them,*
And also the beast of the field.
9. *The fowl of heaven and the fish of the sea,*
And what passeth through the paths of the seas.
10. *O Jehovah our God,*
How excellent is thy name in all the earth.

NOTES.

Verse 1. על־הגתית, *upon the harp of Gath*, or in the *Gathic style*, גִּתִּי, in the sense of Gathic, of Gath, the city of the Philistines, occurs frequently. Compare Joshua xiii, 3; 2 Sam. vi, 10, 11; xv, 18. "It is worthy of remark," says Hengstenberg, "that all the three psalms distinguished by this name (besides this, lxxxi and lxxxiv) are of a joyful, thanksgiving character, from which it may be inferred that the gittith was an instrument of cheerful sound or lively air."

Verse 2. שֵׁם, *name*. How excellent is thy *name*, not thy mere name, but the *being* expressed by the name. The name is the

mere sign; the thing signified is in the mind of the psalmist. So the Lord's Prayer, *Hallowed be thy name*, that is, the Lord. This is Hebraistic usage.

תְּנָה, *give* or *place thou*, imperative of נָתַן, Hengstenberg will have this an infinitive construct used as a noun. Final, ה he says, is the feminine termination, but he fails to give us any other instances. We ought not for any subjective reasons to give up a well-known imperative form which occurs in other passages in more than a score of instances. See, for example, Gen. xxx, 26; xlii, 37; Numbers xi, 13; xxvii, 4; Josh. xiv, 12; xv, 19; 1 Sam. ii, 15; viii, 6; ix, 23; xxi, 4; xxv, 8. It is useless to quote further. See Concordance. We therefore translate with Gesenius, *which glory of thine set thou* [also] *above the heavens*, that is, let thy glory thus manifested here on earth be also acknowledged and celebrated throughout the whole universe.

Verse 3. עוֹלְלִים, children in general; יוֹנְקִים, infant children, children at the breast. Hence we render *out of the mouths of children and infants* [even children yet at the breast] *thou hast ordained strength because of thy enemies*; that is, even little children by their unconscious praise of his glory, as seen in the beautiful landscape, the shining sun, the glowing moon and stars, which even the infant mind observes and is pleased with, put to shame the miserable hardihood of infidelity and atheism. Our Lord, as related in Matt. xxi, 16, rebuked the Pharisees who could not contain themselves because children were crying to him Hosanna, by bringing to their remembrance the third verse of this psalm: "Have ye never read, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?"

Verses 4 and 5. *What is man* אֱנוֹשׁ from אָנַשׁ, to be *weak, frail*, referring especially to his bodily nature, used intentionally instead of אִישׁ or אָדָם. The knot to be untied here is this: Does David refer to man in his fallen or in his primitive condition? Weakness and frailty would be more naturally attributed to him in his fallen condition, and this is the view which we prefer.

Observe that *man* and Son of man, by the parallelism, refer to the same person.

Verse 6. For remarks on this verse see § 3 of the introduction. *With honor and glory thou crownest him.* The common designation of royal honor and majesty. Compare Psa. xxi, 5; xlv, 3; Jer. xxii, 18; 1 Chron. xxix, 25.

Verse 7. *Thou hast placed all things under his feet.* This can be fulfilled by man, as the apostle argues, only in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. *We see not* yet *all things put under him*,

[man,] *but we see Jesus, who* [in human nature] *was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor.* This is really and prospectively fulfilled in Jesus; *all* things are or will soon be put under him.

Verses 8 and 9. Man had a much more complete dominion over the lower orders of animals in his primitive condition than now. The animal creation then spontaneously obeyed him. After the fall they obey only by compulsion.

Verse 10. It is fitting that the same ascription of praise should end this psalm with that which commenced it. God be praised for his goodness to his creature man!

ART. VIII.—THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE term *sacramentum* originally signified, in ecclesiastical usage, any of the mysteries of religion. The Vulgate renders μυστήριον by *sacramentum.* The word received its more definite signification during the controversy on the number of the sacraments; it is applied by the Protestant Church to the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper only. Augustine's definition of a sacrament is, "*Sacramentum est sacra rei signum.*" Luther defined a sacrament to be, "Those observances, appointed by God, in which one makes use of a visible thing, which has the divine word of command and of promise." The Protestant idea of the sacraments is more definitely embodied in the Heidelburg Catechism, and the twenty-fifth of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. For obvious reasons, we need not quote from either of these sources.

The term "Lord's Supper" was introduced by the apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xi, 20;) he also speaks of the "Lord's table," (1 Cor. x, 20;) in these terms he may include both the love-feast and the eucharist, which, in his day, were usually celebrated together. The "breaking of bread" (Acts ii 42) is commonly supposed to refer to this rite.

Though the Church received this holy sacrament from the hands of the apostles with a simple and childlike faith, yet speculations upon its character and effects were very early indulged. From simply believing that they thereby held communion with Christ, the early Christians soon proceeded to theorize on the manner of that com-

munion. A distinction between the symbolical and the real in the elements of the supper was early recognized, though these ideas were at first intimately blended with each other. Their entire separation was the work of a later age.

In the first century Ignatius, writing to the Romans, desired "the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and the drink of God, which is his blood." In his epistle to the Smyrnæans, he repudiates those who "deny the eucharist to be the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ." Yet the venerable Bishop of Antioch was by no means a believer in transubstantiation.

In the second century Irenæus, who gave great prominence to the doctrine of the Logos, laid particular stress on the mysterious connection between the Word and the elements of the eucharist. Shortly after this we notice a superstitious reverence for the elements growing up; then follows the belief that they possessed miraculous power; then the eucharist is separated from the agape, and invested with great pomp and solemnity; finally, there is developed what has been called the mystical hypothesis.

This divergence from the simple to the supernatural and the superstitious was greatly furthered by Cyprian, who held many strange notions concerning the Lord's Supper. The offering of thanks was from the beginning connected with the celebration of the eucharist, and gifts, as expressions of thankfulness, were sometimes, in the earliest ages of the Church, brought to the Lord's table. Hence the eucharist came to be regarded as a thank offering, and not long after as a sacrifice. Cyprian assisted much in establishing this latter notion, by asserting that the priest imitated the sacrifice of Christ in the communion. Indeed, the general tenor of his writings lead to the adoption of this view. Clement, a cotemporary of Cyprian, held closely, though not purely, to the symbolical character of the eucharist. But his fondness for symbols and allegories led him astray. With him the flesh was a symbol, the blood was a symbol, the mixture of water and wine was a symbol, and each of these set forth a distinct and vital doctrine. Origen (A. D. 185–253) fell back in some degree upon the simple view of the infant Church. He regarded the "consecrated meat" as profitable to him only who received it by faith. But his views on this sacrament were deemed too negative for general acceptation; that Christ's body and blood were in and with the elements was almost universally believed, though as yet the great teachers of the Church had determined neither upon consubstantiation nor transubstantiation.

As we approach the age of Augustine, (A. D. 354–430,) we discover in the liturgies and terminology of the Church an effort for

a more exact exhibition of the character of the eucharist. He attempted, though without any considerable success, a union of the symbolical and mystical theories, and repudiated the superstitious reverence for the elements which prevailed extensively in his time. But his efforts in this respect were without permanent effect, for the Church still kept up this superstitious reverence, until, finally, the adoration of the elements was formally and universally enjoined by Honarius III., 1217.

A century and a half after Augustine, Gregory the Great, following the hint of Cyprian, boldly taught the doctrine of a daily sacrifice in the celebration of the eucharist. Hugo of St. Victor, in the eleventh century, treated the sacraments with more precision, perhaps, than any of his predecessors; yet he counted a large number of them, which he divided into three classes. He sided with the mystics, though without committing himself to many of the errors of that school.

The doctrine of transubstantiation was formally and in council, under Innocent III., (1215,) adopted as the doctrine of the Roman Church. Ten years after this Thomas Aquinas, with profound learning, attempted a precise treatment of the sacraments; he boldly defended the doctrine of *ex opere operato.* Against both him and the Church wrote Dun Scotus (1308) and Wiclif, (1384,) with much learning and ability. Wiclif assailed with great force the doctrine of impanation, (the union of the bread with the body of Christ,*) which had been adopted by many who opposed the absurdities of transubstantiation.

This brief outline brings us down to the period of the Reformation, when the sacrament controversy between the Catholic and Protestant Churches reached its height. The Protestant Churches failed to harmonize with each other on this subject, but divided into three great parties, represented by Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin; and even these parties were afterward subdivided into smaller sections.

Luther taught that the *body* of Christ is really and *substantially* present in the elements, and is received, though not *physically,* by the communicant. This view, with various modifications, is received by a large portion of the Lutheran Church, though consubstantiation and transubstantiation are alike generally repudiated.

Zuinglius taught that the human nature of Christ was not present in the supper; that the eucharist was a symbolical and commemorative rite, attended with gracious and spiritual influences.

* There was another phase of this, namely: That the divine nature of Christ entered into and occupied the bread as it entered into the human nature in the womb of the Virgin.

Calvin sought to avoid these extremes. He taught that Christ's glorified body is really, but spiritually present in the elements, not in substance but in power; and that of him the communicant partakes by faith.

It is remarkable that a large body of the Lutherans have adopted the theory of Calvin, or some similar view; for Melancthon's theory, which is held by some in the Lutheran Church, approaches very closely that of Calvin. It is still more remarkable that Calvinists, especially in this country, have receded to the views of Zuinglius. These several theories, with various intermediate shades of opinion, yet prevail in the Protestant Churches.

The history of this controversy teaches us to place but little reliance in ecclesiastical or traditional authority in forming theological opinions; it teaches us to appeal to the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and practice. In Scripture we have four accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper; those given by the synoptists, and that of Paul. Though these agree in general features, they show some slight variations. These differences may be grouped into two classes: The narratives of Matthew and Mark coinciding, and those of Luke and Paul.

We shall make the Pauline account (1 Cor. xi, 23–30) the basis of our observations. The apostle claims (ver. 23) to have received his account directly *from the Lord*—*απο του κυριου*. We understand *απο* here to denote, not a mediate, as it generally does, but an immediate communication. It is true, the use of this preposition in such connections implies the receiving by means of some intervening person, yet it is not invariably so used. (See Winer's Grammatik, § 51, etc.) But the apostle's account is not drawn from any preëxisting narrative of the holy supper; in such case *απο του κυριου* would be improper; and it is unnatural to suppose he received this revelation at second-hand, when there were direct and immediate revelations made to him. (Gal. i. 12, etc.)

Further, the apostle in the above passage seems to have emphasized the *εγω*, which strongly confirms our view.

Following the example of Christ, the early Church partook of this sacrament after supper. This supper was an agape, or love-feast. It was the custom of the Greeks, at their sacrificial feasts, to allow each one to bring his own provision. (Xen. Mem., iii, 14. Mark here the expedient of Socrates to avoid the abuse to which this practice would naturally tend.) This custom was adopted by the Corinthian Church in the celebration of the agape. But it soon led to invidious distinctions. The rich fared sumptuously, sometimes to drunkenness and gluttony; while the poor were often in

want. The common relation of rich and poor to God and Christ was forgotten, and the feeling of unity and brotherhood was destroyed. Disputings and divisions followed. (1 Cor. xi, 18.)

Further, it appears (1 Cor. viii, 10: x, 18, etc.) some of the Corinthian Christians had been present at heathen sacrificial feasts, and had partaken of the meat offered to idols, to the great scandal of the Church. It was with the knowledge of these abuses that the apostle addressed to the Corinthians his first epistle. After rebuking sharply these disorders, he presents the true doctrine of the eucharist, as he had received it from the Lord. "*In the same night that he was betrayed*"—that is, the evening closing the fourteenth of Nisan, the beginning of the fifteenth, (Matt. xxvi, 17, 20; Mark xiv, 12, 17; Luke xxii, 7, 14,[*]) "*the Lord Jesus . . . took bread, and when he had given thanks*"—this giving thanks is not mentioned by Matthew or Mark—"*he brake it and said, Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you.*" Thus far we have seen no attempt to change the character of the bread The mere giving of thanks over it, or the breaking of it, could not change its character. Yet of this bread he says, "*This is my body.*" How shall we understand this?

Carlstadt, supposes the Saviour here pointed to his body; but this is an unsupported and improbable hypothesis. Zuinglius says *εστι* is to be taken in the sense of signifies, of which sense of the word there are many examples in the Scriptures. Œcolampadius thinks *εστι* is to be taken literally, but that *το σωμα μου* is figurative. Storr thinks the passage should be rendered, "this confers my body." Luther professes to receive the words literally, and very broadly intimates that those who understand them differently are fools. But, strange to say, the literal sense of the words does not give the slightest support to his view of the sacrament. To say that Christ's body is in, with, or under the bread, as he does, is to reject the literal sense of the words. There is no alternative; the words, "this is my body," literally understood, shut us up to the one single conclusion, that the bread is really the body, and nothing more nor less than the body of Christ. If Luther's premise is right his conclusion is wrong, and there is no escape from the absurd dogma of transubstantiation.

The disciples themselves must have understood these words figuratively. The absurdity of eating a body which was at the same time living, and before them, would have arrested their attention, and, if

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[*] For a thorough discussion of the question whether this was truly the paschal supper, and celebrated at the proper time, see Bibliotheca Sacra for August, 1845.

we may judge from the analogy of their past intercourse, induced some remark.[*]

There can be no reception of the body of Christ without at the same time receiving his blood; the *usus loquendi* admits *σωμα* for *σαρξ*, and *σαρξ* and *αιμα* are essential parts of the organic body, but these terms are not applicable to the glorified corporeality. (1 Cor. xv, 48–53; Phil. iii, 21.)

The separation of the body and blood, together with the use of the phrases "body broken" and "blood shed," to our mind most clearly refers to the death of Christ, to the crucified body and not to the risen one. The eucharist, scripturally administered, cannot present the glorified humanity of Christ, for that *was not, is not, and cannot* be broken. It evidently has reference to the past; to what was, and not to what now is.

We are not saved by the blood of Christ, neither by his body; these terms, in this connection, always refer to his sacrificial death, which is the sole ground of our salvation, and are necessarily to be understood figuratively.

These facts settle, we think, the representative character of the Lord's Supper. In this it is analogous to the Passover, which was a symbolical rite. It is a noticeable fact that the Saviour, in the institution of the supper, followed the liturgical formula prescribed in the Mishna for the administration of the Passover. After the supper the head of the house took a cake of unleavened bread, pronounced a blessing over it, brake it, and gave a portion to each member of the company, saying: "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers did eat in the land of Egypt." This language was figurative, and was universally so understood. Hence the disciples were fully prepared to understand the language of Christ in that figurative sense in which it was used. A figurative style was highly appropriate on an occasion so symbolical, and could have led to no difficulty in their minds.

Paul continues: "*After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament* (*ἡ καινη διαθηκη*, new covenant) *in my blood:*" This cup, so used, that is, in the solemn rite now instituted; these words set forth the covenant character of this sacrament.

They exhibit the eucharist as a *signum confirmans* of the new

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[*] The language of Christ upon another occasion (John vi) somewhat similar to this did lead to an expression of their wonderment, and now they may have had a clew to its meaning. The arguments used to press this passage (John vi, 31–58) into the service of the real presence theory are so labored and unnatural that they need no refutation.

covenant which is sealed in the Saviour's blood. And here we are forcibly reminded of the language of Moses when sprinkling the people with blood: "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." Ex. xxiv, 8. This use of blood as a sign of a covenant between God and man originated in the institution of the Passover. Under the present dispensation the sprinkling of blood has been abolished, but the "cup," with the wine, which symbolizes the shed blood, that is, the sacrificial death of Christ, comes instead thereof as the sign of the *new covenant.* This cup none can properly use who have not entered into a covenant relation with God through Jesus Christ.

Returning to the narrative we read: "*For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, show ye the Lord's death till he come.*" The Passover was statedly celebrated as a *sign* to "*show*" forth the deliverance of Israel from the hand of the destroying angel. (Ex. xiii, 8, 9.) So is the eucharist to show forth our deliverance through Christ's death. The above words are signally repugnant to any theory of Christ's actual presence in the sacrament. We can conceive of but two ways in which Christ may be present. First, spiritually, as he is always present with his people: "Lo! I am with you always." Second, in his human or bodily form, in which he is to appear but once more, and at the end of the world. If he is spiritually present in the supper, it is no more than he is in any other means of grace properly used. If he is actually present, in bodily form, it is in contradiction to those passages which confine his coming to the last day. But Paul here says, the eucharist is to show forth his death until his coming again, hence he cannot be actually and bodily present therein.

Neander puts the institution of the supper between the 32d and 33d verses of the 13th chapter of John. This is very appropriate to our view; for in the 33d verse Christ notifies his disciples of his intended departure in such form as precluded the supposition that he would be in any manner present with them. In this connection, therefore, the Supper is a rite very full of comfort to all who love his appearing.

1 Cor. x, 16 is claimed for the support of the actual presence theory. The particular point rested on is the word communion, *κοινωνια.*[*] The use of this word in the Scriptures does not warrant such a conclusion. The apostle here affirms that we are partakers of the body and blood of Christ; that is, of the crucified, not of the living Christ. The separation of the body and blood, in this passage,

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[*] **But to sustain this view, this *κοινωνια* must be *ex opere operato*, and not by faith, but that is an absurdity.**

refers to the sacrificial death of Christ; it would be grossly absurd to say κοινωνια του αἵματος, του σωματος in reference to the glorified humanity of Jesus. Communion with his glorified corporeality could not be expressed by such terms. Had this been the meaning of the apostle he would have said, κοινωνια του χριστου, or used terms still more direct.

The eucharist is a symbolical rite. The bread and wine are used separately to symbolize Christ's sacrificial death. But the symbolism does not stop here, as is too commonly supposed. The partaking of these elements by the communicant is also a symbolical act. By his reception of the elements he symbolizes an actual, personal participation in the vicarious merits of Christ's death. In this sense, and in this sense only, are we partakers of the body and blood of Christ. This fact sufficiently answers the objection that the mass of Protestants make the eucharist a cold memorial rite, and invests it with sublime moral significance. (1 Cor. xi, 27–29.) The apostle here enjoins upon communicants the duty of self-examination. The Church has always recognized this duty, and in some instances formally enjoined its observance as an essential prerequisite to communion. Its utility is beyond dispute. He further warns against eating and drinking unworthily; for he that does so "*eateth and drinketh damnation* (judgment) *to himself.*" He that commemorates the death of Christ, and yet lives in sin, gives judgment against himself; he stands self-condemned. He professes by this act a participation in the atonement, and yet in his daily life denies the blood which bought him.

"*He discerns not the Lord's body,*" the broken body; that is, the sacrificial death of Christ symbolized by the supper.

The weakness and sickness mentioned in verse 30 was the result of the excesses and abuses attending the celebration of the agape and the supper among the Corinthians, which Paul has already so warmly condemned.

Such is our view of the eucharist. It is a sign to "show forth Christ's death" in its vicarious, sacrificial character; a memorial of Christ as a sin-offering and sufficient propitiation, in which is founded the new covenant; in the participation of which sign we show forth also our actual participation in the merits of his death. It is a seal of the covenant. On the part of the communicant, it is a pledge of faithfulness to the conditions of the new covenant. On the part of the Founder, it is a constantly renewed pledge to every one who receives it by faith, that he is an object of divine regard, and to him the covenant shall be well-ordered and sure.

Art. IX.—WESLEYANISM AND TAYLORISM—REPLY TO THE NEW ENGLANDER.

The Synopsis of our January Quarterly contains a running comment of our own on a review of Dr. Taylor's theology contained in the New Englander for November 1859. In our comment we commend the article and commend Dr. Taylor; but we charge the reviewer with imagining an unreal originality in Dr. Taylor, and with misstating and misrepresenting Mr. Wesley's opinions in order to exalt Dr. Taylor at his expense. To this the reviewer furnishes, in the New Englander for May 1860, a "Reply," in which reply he repeats the misrepresentation, reinforces it with additions, and aggravates it with a pretended proof of its truth. We now, in reply, reaffirm and extend our original allegation. The reviewer did misstate and misrepresent Mr. Wesley; he has repeated and aggravated the offense; and the object was to exalt Dr. Taylor at his expense; and of all these allegations we are now ready to furnish the proof.

We shall in our reply consider, first, our allegation that Mr. Wesley is misrepresented; and second, the truthfulness of our statement, that certain points claimed as original with Dr. Taylor are contained in Wesleyan Theology.

I. Said we truly that Mr. Wesley is misrepresented?

The point in regard to which the misrepresentation is alleged is *the necessity of sin to the divine system*. Mr. Wesley's doctrine as we aver is, in substance, that the sin of Adam has, through the divine interposition, been made the occasion of a greater good to men than could have otherwise existed in the system inaugurated on earth. The doctrine which the reviewer attributes to him is this: Sin is the necessary means of the highest good of the universe. If these two propositions are identical in meaning, and intentionally identical, then Mr. Wesley's doctrine has been truly represented; if they essentially vary, our first charge of misrepresentation is just and true. And now for our proof both of the *object* and the *nature* of the misrepresentation.

The *object* of the reviewer's entire article is to make a favorable presentation of Dr. Taylor and his theology. On the mooted point, the object was to show that Dr. Edwards, Dr. Hopkins, and Dr. West were all inferior to Dr. Taylor in the clearness and truth of their views. They held substantially that sin is for the best good of the system of divine government. And not only they but Wesley, and Mr. Bledsoe, who "is in sympathy with Wesley," were quoted as holding the same inferior view. Touching the *object* by

us alleged, then, we think, there can be no dispute. The reviewer's purpose was to exalt Dr. Taylor at the expense of Mr. Wesley. And now for the "misrepresentation" itself.

Let our reader now take the sermon of Mr. Wesley on Romans v, 15, and they will find his statements; every syllable of which, so far as this discussion is concerned, we indorse and adopt, and which they will find, we think, truly represented in the following summary. Wesley first states his purpose, which is *to vindicate God in permitting Adam's sin,* not to prove its necessity. By Adam's fall, he argues, good is attained for our race, contingent or positive, far above what the course of mere nature without divine interposition could have afforded. We have gained a *capacity* for higher holiness and happiness both in earth and heaven. For if Adam had not sinned Christ had not died; and all the blessings of the atonement system, of Christian faith, hope, and love, would have been wanting. The sufferings and trials which his sin has introduced would never have existed to develop our graces and enable us to attain a higher probationary reward. Moreover, had not Adam sinned every man would, perhaps, have been put upon his individual probation, and would have undergone a greater risk, with no provided remedy, of being finally lost. And in his sermon on Gen. iii, 19, Wesley maintains that the atonement through Christ, consequent upon the sin of Adam, is "the noblest theme of all the children of God on earth;" "yea, even of angels and archangels and all the company of heaven." We think we have now said it all; we adopt it all; and yet in full consistency with it all we promptly reject the maxim that sin is the necessary means of the highest good of the universe. If this is so very mysterious to the innocence of our reviewer, let him weigh the following suggestions:

1. Our earth is not the whole "universe." Throughout his article the reviewer writes precisely as if the universe and our earth were commensurate or identical. But our race is not the entire amount of God's kingdom. The angels, at least, fell before the fall of man; and hell is more ancient than our human world. Man was not the first sinner even in Eden, nor the eating the fruit the first sin; for these were preceded by the tempter and the temptation. The predicate true of this speck of earth is not necessarily true of the universe. There may have been countless million times more sin before Adam than since Adam. And it does not follow because his individual sin, so late in the multifarious history of the universe, has been overruled by God to place men on a higher plane of advantage than the level of mere nature, that, therefore, the first introduction of sin into the universe, or its existence on the whole in the universe,

is for the best good, and *necessary* to the best good, of the great whole. Nay, for aught we can say, the very fact that the existence of sin is a disadvantage to the universe may be the ground of God's turning it into an unthanked occasion of good to our little sphere. At any rate, there is a wide difference between saying that Adam's particular sin was overruled to the best good of a particular sphere, and saying that all sin or the first introduction of sin is necessary to the best good of the universe. The reviewer's assertion that Mr. Wesley maintained the latter because he maintained the former is, therefore, a misrepresentation.

2. Mr. Wesley does not assert that sin in general is for the good even of our human race, but that, specifically, Adam's sin, *as being less than the sins that would otherwise have existed*, was best for the race. Had not Adam sinned, every man, placed on his individual probation without a Saviour, would have perhaps sinned and been damned. Adam's sin and its results are, therefore, better, because the amount of sin and damnation is less. The course of things which his sin initiated, by divine interposition, is better than the natural course of things under the relentless law of works. It is simply saying the less the sin the better. But for this reviewer to quote such statements as affirming the proposition that sin is primordially the necessary means of the best good of the universe, is a "misrepresentation."

3. To affirm that a particular sin is the necessary means in a given state of things of a particular highest good, is not the same as to affirm that sin is primordially necessary to the best good of the universe. Take an illustration. A profligate orphan child is taken up in the streets for theft, and the judge who sentences him to imprisonment, being struck with his abilities, takes him, after his release, and gives him an education. Thereby he is converted, becomes a minister, and is the means of "the highest good" to thousands by their salvation. Now, in the given state of things his theft was a necessary antecedent to this particular highest good. But to declare that such a proposition is equivalent to saying that primordially sin is necessary to the highest good of the universe is, we say, a misrepresentation. Equally a misrepresentation it is to charge such a proposition upon Mr. Wesley, because he affirmed that the particular sin of Adam was conditional to the particular highest good placed by God as sequent to it.

4. This view is confirmed by the fact that Wesley does not affirm that the *final result* is best for our *entire* race, or for a large majority. The good to the finally impenitent, being conditional, *results in evil*; being an aggravation, through their abuse of their "capacity," of

their final guilt and misery. So the highest good is not attained by the whole even of our own province of the universe.

5. Mr. Wesley does not affirm that the atonement, sequent upon Adam's sin, secured a *higher good than some other special interposition might have secured.* He treats the atonement as a divine *speciality*, over and above the level of mere naturalism; and he argues upon the tacit assumption that without the atonement the world is to proceed upon the level of naturalism. And his comparison lies not between the good produced by this divine interposition of the atonement and the good producible through some other interposition, or some one of a myriad of possible reconstructions, which the exhaustlessness of divine invention might superinduce; but between the good produced by this interposition and the uninterrupted course of the initiated system. He does not deny the possibility of any other interposition. He does not deny the possibility of countless reconstructions. He only argues that the present interposition, even though conditioned by a particular sin, is better than could have been upon the current of the undisturbed system. We submit, therefore, that to impute to him the maxim that sin is necessary to the highest good of the universe, is a palpable misrepresentation.

The necessity of sin to any result, we may add, was not the subject of Mr. Wesley's discussion, but *the justification of God in the permission*, not of sin, but, individually, of *Adam's sin.* On this last subject his amply sufficient argument was, that the atonement system is far superior to a fearful Christless system of works. And that is surely true. On the other subject, the necessity of sin to the world, a new and entirely different chapter would have been opened. There are, then, not merely two alternatives of comparison, but any number. Who knows that the divine wisdom is shut up to these two courses? Who knows, that if Adam had not sinned, and the grand atonement had not been superinduced upon the plane of human things, there were not other and still other possible systems of higher and still higher glory, any one of which might have overlain that level? "God needs not man's sin;" and he is not tied to one or two ways of working out results of good and glory.

And as Mr. Wesley's argument needed but the two suppositions, namely, of the atonement and of Christless nature, so he had a right to paint the latter in its true characteristics in phrases which the reviewer has pompously quoted for a perverting purpose. Without atonement, under the law of works, there would have been a BLANK in our faith, hope, and love; there would have been less trial on earth, and less glory in heaven; atoning love, now the highest arch-

angels' theme, would have been inexistent; and our individual probation might have sunk us all, or nearly all, in hell. Such was his subject, and such his fitting argument. And we confess it moves our indignation to see this reviewer wrench his words from their true subject, and, by a snap judgment, fasten them upon a topic with which they have nothing to do, and extract from them in torn scraps, flaring with italics and capitals, a fictitious opinion upon a foreign question; the question, namely, whether God has not a boundless variety of resources for bringing out an equal or a higher glory besides these two.

On the question, whether Adam's sin was necessary to the best possible system for our own race, Mr. Wesley has not, so far as we know, left any recorded opinion. What "Wesleyan theology" teaches upon this point, however, is conclusively shown by the words of one who was its expounder and defender under the eye and sanction of Wesley himself, Fletcher of Madeley. That Adam's sin was not thus necessary was maintained by Wesleyan theology against its Calvinian opponents, the theological ancestry of this reviewer. The Calvinistic "objection" and the Arminian reply, as given by Fetcher, are as follow:

> "OBJECTION SECOND. 'If God had not *necessitated* the fall of Adam, and *secured* his sin, Adam might have continued innocent; and then there would have been no need of Christ and of Christianity. Had Adam stood, we should have been without Christ to all eternity: but believers had rather be born in sin than be Christless: they had rather be sick than have nothing to do with their heavenly Physician, and with the cordials of his sanctifying Spirit.'[*]
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> "ANSWER. . . . To intimate that God necessarily brought about the sin of Adam, in order to make way for the murder of his incarnate Son, is as impious as to insinuate that our Lord impelled the Jews to despise the day of their visitation, in order to secure the opportunity of weeping over the hardness of their hearts. If God necessitated the mischief in order to remedy it, the gratitude of the redeemed is partly at an end; and the thanks they owe him are only of the same kind with such as Mr. Toplady would owe me if I wantonly caused him to break his legs, and then procured him a good surgeon to set them. But what shall we say of the non-redeemed? Those unfortunate creatures whom Mr. Toplady calls 'the reprobate?' Are there not countless myriads of these, according to his unscriptural gospel? And what thanks do these owe the evil Manichean God, who absolutely necessitates them to sin, and absolutely debars them from any saving interest in a Redeemer, that he may send them *without fail* to everlasting burnings? How strangely perverted is the rational taste of Mr. T., who calls the doctrine of absolute necessity, which is big with absolute reprobation, absolute wickedness, and absolute damnation, a comfortable doctrine! a doctrine of grace! May we not expect next to hear him cry up midnight gloom as meridian brightness?

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[*] Mr. F. adds in a note: "Mr. Toplady dares not produce this objection in all its force: he only hints at it. His own words are, p. 130, 'Let me give our free-willers a very momentous hint, namely: that the entrance of original *sin* was one of those *essential links* on which the Messiah's incarnation and crucifixion were suspended.'"

> "But to return: if it was *necessary* that Adam should sin in order to glorify the Father, by making way for the crucifixion of the Lamb of God; is it not also necessary that believers should sin in order to glorify God more abundantly by 'crucifying Christ afresh, and putting him again to open shame'? Will they not, by this means, have greater need of their Physician, make a fuller trial of the virtue of his blood, and sing louder in heaven? O how perilous is a doctrine which, at every turn, transforms itself into a doctrine of light, to support the most subtle and pernicious tenet of the Antinomians, 'Let us sin that grace may abound!'"—*Checks*, vol. ii, pp. 403, 404.

Such is the objection, and such the answer. The reviewer will perceive that the dogma which he imputes to "Wesleyan theology" was the dogma of his own Calvinian party, which it was the purpose of "Wesleyan theology" to oppose and destroy. But how does Fletcher show in the same connection that *no individual sin was ever necessary* to the best system? Let the reviewer notice, for the passage will show that while Wesleyan theology could justify the PERMISSION of Adam's sin, on the ground that a higher good has been educed from it than could have taken place in the unchanged tenor of the system; yet it denies, not merely that Adam's sin has the merit of being NECESSARY to the Almighty in bringing out the best system, or as good a system as the present, consistently with free agency, but that any sin has. By any one of countless interpositions or reconstructions God can bring about the best results without being obligated to any man's sin. Fletcher shows it thus:

> "God has ten thousand strings to his providential bow, and ten thousand bridles in his providential hand, to curb and manage free agents, which way soever they please to go: and therefore, to suppose that he has tightly bound all his creatures with cords of absolute necessity, for fear he should not be able to manage them if they had their liberty; to suppose this, I say, is to pour upon Divine Providence the same contempt which a timorous gentleman brings upon himself when he dares not ride a spirited horse any longer than a groom leads him by the bridle, that he may not run away with his unskillful rider.
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> "If things had not happened one way, they might have happened another way. Supposing, for example, God had absolutely ordered that Solomon should be David's son by Bathsheba; this event might have taken place without his necessitating David to commit adultery and murder. For Providence might have found out means for marrying Bathsheba to David before she was married to Uriah: or God might have taken Uriah to heaven by a fever, and David could legally have married his widow. Again: if neither Caiaphas nor Pilate had condemned our Lord, he could have made his life an offering for sin, by commanding the clouds to shoot a thousand lightnings upon his devoted head, and to consume him as Elijah's sacrifice was consumed on Mount Carmel.
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> "The pious author of Ecclesiasticus says, with great truth, that 'God has no need of the sinful man.' To suppose that the chain of God's providence would have been absolutely broken if Manasseh or Nero had committed one murder less than they did, is to ascribe to the old murderer and his servants an importance of which Manes himself might have been ashamed. Although God used Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, and Attila to scourge guilty nations, and to exercise the patience of his righteous servants, he was by no means obliged to use them. For he might have obtained the same ends by the

plague, the famine, or the dreadful ministry of the angel who cut off the first born of the Egyptians, and the numerous army of Sennacherib. I flatter myself that these four answers fully set aside the first objection of the necessitarians."—*Checks*, vol. ii, pp. 402, 403.

II. Did we truly state that certain points claimed as original with Dr. Taylor are contained in Wesleyan theology?

We now take up the question of Dr. Taylor's *discovery of a new method* in theology for explaining the divine permission of sin, claimed for him by this reviewer, and we shall show that Dr. Taylor's method is essentially a reproduction, either by unacknowledged appropriation or by uninformed coincidence, of the Wesleyan theology upon that subject. Our statement was: "Dr. Taylor introduced into Calvinistic theology the Arminian view that the free moral agency, involving the possibility of sin, was necessary to the best universe; yet the actual commission of sin by the moral agent was neither necessary, nor most conducive to the best estate of things. Did the agent always will right, the universe might be better; and yet this may be the best universe in the nature of things possible. The writer, if we understand him, supposes this doctrine to be original with Dr. Taylor." The points of originality claimed for Dr. Taylor are as follow: 1. That sin is never truly beneficial to anybody or anything. 2. A distinction between permission and non-hinderance, or non-prevention. 3. The inviolability of free agency the reason for the non-prevention of sin. 4. Holiness in all cases better than sin instead.

A single extended passage from Fletcher's Checks will present every one of these points:

1. Sin is never truly beneficial to anybody or anything:

"Who can wonder at Mr. Toplady saying, ARG. LXXI, p. 96: 'This is a first principle of the Bible, and of sound reason, that *whatever is, is right*, or will answer some great end, etc., in its relation to the whole.'"—Vol. ii, p. 473.

To which Fletcher replies:

"Error is never more dangerous than when it looks a little like truth. But when it is imposed upon the simple as 'a first principle of the Bible and of sound reason,' it makes dreadful work. How conclusively will a rigid Predestinarian reason if he says, '*Whatever is, is right;* and therefore sin is right. Again, it is wrong to hinder what is right: sin is right, and therefore it is wrong to hinder sin. Once more, we ought to do what is right; and therefore we ought to commit sin.' Now, in opposition to Mr. Toplady's first principle, I assert, as a 'first principle of reason,' that though it was right in God not absolutely to hinder sin, yet *sin is always wrong*. 'O! but God permitted it, and will get himself glory by displaying his vindictive justice in punishing it: for "the ministration of condemnation is glorious."' This argument has deluded many a pious Calvinist. To overthrow it, I need only observe that '*righteousness exceeds condemnation* in glory!'

"In what respect is sin right? Can it be right in respect of God, if it brings him less glory than righteousness? Can it be right in respect of man,

if it brings temporal misery upon ALL, and eternal misery upon SOME? Can it be right in respect of the Adamic law, the law of Moses, or the law of Christ? Certainly no; for sin is equally the transgression of all these laws. 'O! but it is right with respect to the evangelical promise.' By no means: for the evangelical promise, vulgarly called the Gospel, testifies of Christ, the destroyer of sin, and offers us a remedy against sin. Now, if sin were right, the Gospel which remedies it, and Christ who destroys it, would be wrong. I conclude, then, that if sin be right neither with respect of God, nor with respect of man; neither with regard to the law, nor with regard to the Gospel; it is right in no shape, it is wrong in every point of view."—Vol. ii, pp. 473, 474.

2. Distinction between permission and non-hindering. The equivalent of Dr. Taylor's distinction between permission and non-prevention:

"'But why did God permit it?' Indeed, he never properly permitted it, unless Mr. Toplady, who does not scruple to call God 'the permitter of evil,' can prove, that *to forbid*, in the most solemn manner, and under the severest penalty, is the same thing as to *permit*."—Vol. ii, p. 474.

3. The nature of free-agency the reason why God non-prevented sin:

"Should you say, Why did not God *absolutely hinder* sin? I still answer, (1.) Because his wisdom saw that a world where free agents and necessary agents are mixed, is better (all things considered) than a world stocked with nothing but its necessary agents, that is, creatures absolutely hindered from sinning. (2.) Because his distributive justice could be displayed no other way than by the creation of accountable free agents, made with an eye to a day of judgment. (3.) Because it would be as absurd to necessitate free agents, as to bid free agents *be*, that they might *not be free agents*; as foolish as to form *accountable* creatures, that they might *not be accountable*. And, (4.) Because when God saw that the free-agency of his creatures would introduce sin, he determined to overrule it, or remedy it in such a manner as would, upon the whole, render this world, with all the *voluntary* evil and *voluntary* good in it, better than a world of *necessary* agents, where nothing but *necessary* good would have been displayed: an inferior sort of good, this, which would no more have admitted of the exercise of God's political wisdom and distributive justice, than the excellence of stones and fine flowers admits of laws, rewards, and punishments."—Vol. ii, p. 474.

4. Holiness in all cases better than sin instead:

"Should the reader ask how far we may safely go to meet the truth which borders most on Mr. Toplady's false principle, *Whatever is, is right*, I answer, (1.) We may grant, nay, we ought to assert, that God will get himself glory every way. Evangelical grace, and just wrath, minister to his praise, though not equally; and therefore God willeth not primarily the death of his creatures. Punishment is his strange work; and he delights more in the exercise of his remunerative goodness, than in the exercise of his vindictive justice. (2.) Hence it appears that the wrath of man, and the rage of the devil, will turn to God's praise: but it is only to his inferior praise. For though the blessed will sing loud halleluiahs to divine justice, when vengeance shall overtake the ungodly; and though the consciences of the ungodly will give God glory, and testify that he is holy in all his works, and righteous in all his vindictive ways; yet this glory will be only the glory of the ministration of condemnation: a dispensation this, which is inferior to the dispensation of right-

> eous mercy. Hence it appears that those who die in their sins would have brought more glory to God by choosing righteousness and life, than they do by choosing death in the errors of their ways. But still, this inferior praise, arising from the condemnation and punishment of ungodly free agents—this inferior praise, I say, mixed with the *superior* praise arising from the justification and rewards of godly free agents, will far exceed the praise which might have accrued to God from the unavoidable obedience and absurd rewards of necessitated agents, of angels and men absolutely bound to obey by a necessitating grace like that which rigid bound-willers preach; were we even to suppose that this forcible grace had Calvinistically caught ALL rational creatures in a net of finished salvation, and had drawn them all to heaven, as irresistibly as 'Simon Peter drew the net to land full of great fishes, a hundred and fifty and three.' For before the Lawgiver and Judge of all the earth, the unnecessitated, voluntary goodness of *one angel*, or *one man*, is more excellent than the necessary goodness of a *world of creatures* as unavoidably and passively virtuous, as a diamond is unavoidably and passively bright."—Vol. ii, pp. 474, 475.

Here the reader will also find Dr. Taylor's three grades of excellence in a system, namely, non-free-agency, free-agency with sin, and free-agency with universal perfect holiness; the last, as we affirmed in our synoptical comment, being held by Wesleyan theology as the most excellent.

Our youthful and uninformed reviewer must now begin to appreciate the magnitude of his mistakes. He will survey, perhaps, with wonder the fact, that principles of divine government which he, in common with the mass of Dr. Taylor's pupils, imagined to be original with their master, and for which they proclaim him "a Newton in theology," have for a century been embodied in Wesleyan theology; have in past times been patent in the hornbook of every Methodist circuit-rider, and have constituted much of our strength in demolishing Calvinism, antinomianism, and sin.

All his mistakes, however, the reviewer has not yet quite seen—if it be not too lenient to call the following gross and gratuitous "misrepresentation" a mistake. The reviewer says:

> "He (Wesley) maintains that God permitted sin, *not* because human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it; this idea he expressly rejects, in the following terms: 'It was undoubtedly in his power to prevent it, for he hath all power in heaven and on earth.'"—*The New Englander*, p. 478.

Now Mr. Wesley does affirm that God "had power to prevent" Adam's sin; but the reviewer's addendum, that Mr. Wesley "rejects" the idea that "human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it" is so much surplusage, unexpressed and unimplied by Wesley, unrequired by his argument, never contained and frequently denied in his various works; and the addendum conveys so much untruth. It plainly imputes to the great Arminian leader one of the prime dogmas of ultra-Calvinism, that God's power does not limit itself by the invio-

lability of free-agency. What right had he to affirm that a power to prevent Adam's sin was the same as "power to prevent" without change of Adam's existence, or free-agency?* That "God had power to prevent it" the reviewer himself believes just as truly as Mr. Wesley; but does he therefore deny that "human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it?" It was a fundamental principle of Mr. Wesley's theodicy, expounded by him *passim*, as our extended extract above shows that it was Fletcher's, that it is impossible even for omnipotence arbitrarily to control free-agency. That freedom could not be arbitrarily controlled by power without destroying its nature, is one of the invariable postulates in Wesley's method of defending God's permission of sin. The "power to prevent sin," is not the same as the power to prevent sin without modifying or affecting the free-agency. To interpolate such a dogma into Mr. Wesley's words, by a piece of light-fingered legerdemain, is not an error that needs refutation, but an offense that deserves exposure.

To quote, in the Methodist Quarterly, passages to prove against this "misrepresentation" that Mr. Wesley maintained the doctrine of inviolable free-agency, is like quoting passages to prove that Mr. Wesley was a Theist, or an Arminian, or an Englishman. But, in addition to the passage quoted in our synoptical comment, take the following:

> 'Impossible,' will some men say, 'yea, the greatest of all impossibilities, that we should see a Christian world; yea, a Christian nation or city! How can these things be?' On one supposition, indeed, not only all impossibility, but all difficulty, vanishes away. Only suppose the Almighty to act *irresistibly*, and the thing is done; yea, with just the same ease as when 'God said, Let there be light; and there was light.' But then man would be man no longer; his inmost nature would be changed. He would no longer be a moral agent, any more than the sun or the wind; as he would no longer be endued with liberty—a power of choosing, or self-determination: consequently, he would no longer be capable of virtue or vice, of reward or punishment."—*Sermon on Isa.* xi, 9.
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> "Indeed, without liberty, man had been so far from being a *free agent*, that he could have been no *agent* at all. For every *unfree being* is purely passive, not active in any degree. Have you a sword in your hand? Does a man, stronger than you, seize your hand, and force you to wound a third person? In this you are no agent, any more than the sword; the hand is as passive as the steel. So in every possible case. He that is not free is not an agent, but a patient.

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* "But *could* not God necessitate free agents to keep the law they are under?" Yes, says Calvinism, for he is endued with infinite power; but Scripture, good sense, and matter of fact, say, No: because, although God is endued with infinite power, he is also endued with infinite wisdom. And it would be as absurd to *create* free agents in order to *necessitate* them, as to *do* a thing in order to *undo* it. —*Fletcher's Checks*, vol. ii, p. 440.

"It seems, therefore, that every spirit in the universe, as such, is endued with *understanding*, and, in consequence, with a *will*, and with a measure of *liberty;* and that these three are inseparably united in every intelligent nature. And observe: *liberty necessitated*, or overruled, is really no liberty at all. It is a contradiction in terms. It is the same as *unfree freedom*, that is, downright nonsense.

"It may be farther observed, (and it is an important observation) that where there is no liberty, there can be no moral good or evil, no virtue or vice. The fire warms us, yet it is not capable of virtue; it burns us, yet this is no vice. There is no virtue but where an intelligent being knows, loves, and chooses what is good; nor is there any vice but where such a being knows, loves, and chooses what is evil."—*Sermon on* 1 *John*, iii. 8. See also *Sermon on* 1 *Cor.* x, 13.

If, as the reviewer asserts, Mr. Wesley maintains the doctrine charged upon him, that sin is for the best good of the universe, more clearly even than Hopkins, Edwards, or West, then does the reviewer more grossly still misrepresent those worthies than he misrepresents Mr. Wesley. How this is we do not trouble ourselves to inquire. We ignore the task of defending against their Calvinistic assailant those very subtle but very unsound divines. Even if they were clear on this point, their systems are plentifully condemnable for other heresies. But we suspect him to be mistaken in placing them on a level with Wesley. We apprehend that he quotes those divines fairly and correctly. We apprehend that the discourses which he specifies really discussed the subject in question, and that the passages to which he alludes express the sentiment attributed. We apprehend he has not, in their case, wrenched their words from their true application to a false. We have little doubt that those Calvinistic doctors maintained the anti-Wesleyan doctrine that sin is not only useful, but necessary to the best sort of world.

Equally false and more is the level assigned to Wesley in the following passage: "If Wesley then did in some passages testify a high and just appreciation of human freedom, so did Edwards and West of the most decided kind." That Edwards maintained "human freedom," we reply, is just as true as that ebony is topaz. Edwards was a firm, unflinching necessitarian, and necessity is the contradictory of freedom; and every line of Edwards, presupposing, as it does, the truth of his system, is with inflexible consistency on the side of the contradiction of freedom. Will this reviewer pretend that Edwards maintained the doctrine of "the power of contrary choice?" On the contrary, did he not profess to demonstrate that such "power," under the name of "self-determination," is impossible, involving infinities of infinities of absurdities? Did he not

"In words of many a winding bout,
Of linkèd sophism long drawn out,"

pretend to expel free-will from possible human thought and from the limits of possible existence? If Edwards and his followers are

the asserters of human freedom, who in all the world and in all history are the deniers? If necessity be not the contradictory of freedom, please tell us what is? If this reviewer knows anything of the rise of Wesleyan Methodism, he knows it took its definite doctrinal shape in a dispute of which a main issue was the existence of "free-will;" that on the affirmative were Wesley, Fletcher, and Sellon; and on the negative Whitefield, Toplady, and the whole Lady Huntington party, taking Edwards for their stronghold. Wesley and Fletcher maintained foreknowledge and-free-will; their Calvinistic opponents maintained foreordination and necessity. Edwards and the great body of New England Calvinists have been with the latter. Whether this Reviewer happens to be aware of it or not, the reality of human freedom is the great point of division between Arminianism and Calvinism. It was in behalf of this reality that Arminius dissented from Gomarus, that Episcopius protested against the Synod of Dort, that Wesley and Fletcher opposed Toplady and Edwards, and that American Methodism has ever taken issue with American Calvinism. Calvinists have uniformly denied free-will, or affirmed a pseudo-freedom, which is bound by necessity or decree, or both. When, then, this reviewer says Wesley "testified in some passages of freedom," he insinuates the falsity that Wesley's maintenance of freedom was not fundamental and uncontradicted, but slight and variable. He could just as sensibly say that Edwards testified "in some passages" of necessity, whereas every theologian knows, or ought to know, that it was a fundamental part of his system, just as the reverse doctrine of freedom was fundamental with Wesley. To the uniform consistency of Edwards we bear willing testimony. Every syllable he ever wrote in relation to the subject is stiff with fatalism. At no moment of his existence did he ever affirm unnecessitated free-will any more than Euclid affirmed that every triangle contains three right angles.

Dr. West* did, we believe, exceptionally among New England Calvinists, maintain free will. And upon that point our Reviewer may have heard that West and Edwards were at issue. And yet he couples their names just as if they agreed! Dr. West, like Dr. Taylor, and in opposition to Edwards the fatalist, did maintain "the power of contrary choice." But Dr. West, like Dr. Taylor, if we mistake not, nullified his maintenance of free-will by adopting the doctrine that God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass. He made God's decree hem in the freedom of the agent, so as to render it completely latent, and incapable of moving a single ultimate particle of soul or body. Free-agency thereby was a dead corpse wrapped in an eternal iron shroud.

We now move the question, Is the doctrine that sin is not necessary to the existence of the best possible system, consistent with Dr. Taylor's scheme of theology? We affirm that it is not. We do not charge that Dr. Taylor intentionally held the necessity of any sin to the best good; but we charge that his system, as represented by the reviewer, involves it. On the subject of foreordination the reviewer thus states Dr. Taylor:

> "Evil being connected with the system by no necessity of the system itself, and by no connivance of God or preference of it to holiness, not only this providential permission of evil, but the most complete and universal foreordination of it, are explained and vindicated. If sin is to occur, then, as Edwards argues, it is doubtless better that the time and manner of its occurrence should be under the guidance of Infinite Wisdom, in order that this element of evil may be reduced within the narrowest limits. Such arrangements of motives and influences as will most effectually check its spread, and contribute to the recovery of those infected by it, become in the highest degree desirable; and thus the complete foreordination of events, the universality of the divine decrees, stand above all serious objection."—*N. Englander*, vol. xvii, p. 962.

God foreordains, then, every sin. He foreordains not only its limitations, but its particular place and moment of existence. But sin being not a *thing* but an *act*, to foreordain its place and point is to foreordain its commission, its origination in every particular instance, with all its motives, malignities, and atrocities. But foreordination is volition, and God therefore wills every sin just where and when and as it is. And just as he wills it, so is it, on the whole, and, as the nature of men and things is, for the best possible good of the universe. Not only Adam's sin, but every individual sin, just as it is and just where and when it is, is necessary for the best possible good. Otherwise God has willed what is not necessary for the best good of his system. Every transgressor is authorized to say, "I commit just that sin, and at that place and time, which God has determined to be on the whole for the best good of the universe.

Some of the peculiarities of this reviewer, his pedagogue criticisms, his pretenses of misunderstanding our language, and his minute quibbles, are hardly worthy a reference; his real misunderstandings, his claims for his master to imaginary originality, his adventurous "misrepresentations," his imputations upon others of holding doctrines which it was part of their mission and of their system to oppose as held by the reviewer's own theological section, are the *gravamina*, important enough to attract our notice and correction. It is not true, as he asserts, (p. 475,) that Wesley held that "God lays upon his creatures the necessity of resting in lower forms of holiness and happiness, if perfectly obedient, than they may reach by incurring the guilt of sin." It is not true that Wesley affirmed "the fall of man to be indispensable to our highest bless-

edness." (P. 477.) It is not true that Wesleyan theology holds that the sin of Adam was "necessarium," as expressed in the monkish stanza quoted by the reviewer. And as to his closing flourish about "the Romish and the Wesleyan theology," if the reviewer knows as little of the Romish as he does of the Wesleyan doctrines, our friendly advice is that he perform a full Pythagorean novitiate of silence and study before he hazards any farther public utterances concerning either.

ART. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—THE REFORMATORY AGITATIONS IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH are growing more numerous than ever. As they proceed from opposing parties, they not rarely counteract each other. But it is easily observable how the aspects of the Church gradually change, and we think it may be predicted, with a high degree of probability, in what direction the further development of the Church will take place. It is especially the RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE that is constantly undergoing great changes. Though great difference of opinion still prevails with regard to an entire separation between Church and State, the current of public opinion is, at all events, strongly in favor of giving to the Church a greater amount of self-government. THE CONVOCATION of the Province of Canterbury, which met again on June 7, is awakening a greater interest, because it begins to occupy itself with more important questions, and speaks out on them with greater decision. The Association for reviving the Convocation of the Province of York, which had given up the hope of attaining its end during the lifetime of the late archbishop, is now renewing its efforts with better prospects of success, and the Irish Episcopalians are beginning to claim likewise the privilege of having a convocation. With a view to strengthening the position of the Episcopal Church in Great Britain, a memorial to the prime minister has been extensively signed, praying for an INCREASE OF BISHOPRICS, inasmuch as the number of bishops in England, since the middle of the sixteenth century, has increased only by one, while the population within the last fifty years has more than doubled. The scheme was said to be pushed in particular by the High-Church party, yet the *Union* (the Romanizing paper of London) ridiculed the idea of entreating a minister of the State as the best way of expediting an ecclesiastical reform. The number of colonial and missionary bishops continues in the meanwhile to increase, and the constitution of the Episcopal Church, outside of England, is evidently tending to develop in a monarchical direction. After the precedents of Australia, New Zealand, and India, Canada also has received a metropolitan, who has in the main the rights and duties of an English archbishop. The idea of sending missionary bishops beyond the British possession so charms the zealous Churchmen that already another scheme of this kind has been devised for South Africa, and others are expected soon to follow. Not only an extension, but also a closer UNION OF THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES of Great Britain is taken into consideration. The Bishop of Exeter has recently employed a former Scotch bishop, Dr. Trower of Glasgow, to act as his suffragan, and has conferred on him the sub-deanery in his cathedral; and the Bishop of Argyle and the Isles recently managed to assemble at London the most numerous and influential body of bishops, clergy, and laity ever brought together, to consider the welfare of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Armagh, and five English bishops, were present, and letters of regret and sympathy were read from seven other bishops. THE PARLIAMENT has had to deal, as usual, with a number of Church matters. The most important of them was a clause in the Census Bill which required an enumeration of the religious profession of the people. The opposition of the dissenting

bodies to this clause proved so strong that the ministers, though reluctantly, gave it up. A bill introduced by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to economize the funds of the Church and make them more generally useful, was not likely to pass; while another bill, introduced by the Bishop of London, for uniting benefices in cities like London, where the population has crowded toward the suburbs, has better chances. The spreading of Rationalism, in a very advanced form, among the clergy of the Established Church, is likely to prove soon a prolific source of great trouble. The *Christian Observer* of London tries to prove that the doctrines of Theodore Parker, Francis Newman, and the latest volume of the Oxford Essays, are essentially the same.

The Wesleyan district returns in England and Wales show a net increase of 17,534 members, the largest increase ever made in one year, except in 1833. In Ireland upward of 3,000 members were added, chiefly in the northern districts, where the revival prevailed. A case of great importance for the Baptists has been recently decided by the Master of the Rolls. The substance of it is, that a Baptist congregation does not lose its right to its endowments by change from Particular to General Baptists, or from close to open communion. Among the Independents new doctrinal dissensions have broken out in consequence of a work published by a Congregational minister of London, Mr. Brown, some of the religious papers designating it as heretical, others defending its orthodoxy.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Parliament occupied itself with the Roman Catholic Charities Bill, a measure which professed to bring Roman Catholic charities under the inspection of the Charity Commissioners, but which, on examination, proved to make so many exceptions in favor of the power of the Roman hierarchy that it was warmly opposed, and would in all probability fall through. In Ireland a bloody conflict between Roman Catholics and Orangemen took place near the town of Lurgan. An Orange procession was attacked by the inhabitants of a village through which their road lay. Having recourse to fire-arms, they soon repelled the assailants and wounded several, two of whom have since died. Many leading Protestant papers strongly condemned, on this occasion, the continuance of the Orange processions as being an irritation to the men of the rival Church.

GERMANY.

The Protestant Churches.—The Constitution of the Church is still the great question in Germany. The Prussian government is bent on introducing a Presbyterian constitution into the six eastern provinces, whose congregations have been hitherto governed exclusively by the pastor and the aristocratic patron; and this being carried through, nearly all the evangelical State Churches of Germany may be set down as Presbyterian, similar in many points to the Established Church of Scotland. At the Berlin Pastoral Conference, which is entirely under the influence of Stahl and Hengstenberg, and was this year again presided over by Stahl, an attempt was made to hinder the introduction of the new constitution. A petition was got up, signed by thirty-six members of the Conference, and presented to the Supreme Church Council, praying, 1. That in the circular of the Church Council the eldership in the Church should not be represented as an ordinance founded on the revelation of God, but resting merely on the command of the highest bishop of the land; 2. That the eldership should have no power except in mere temporal matters; and lastly, that the pastor should not be obliged to use the form of prayer which prescribes thanksgiving for the institution of the eldership. In the reply, dated June 29, the Supreme Court shows its firm resolve not to swerve from its course; yet, to avoid compulsion, it gives permission to the pastor to omit, in the formula for the ordination of elders, the form of thanksgiving. Since, the introduction of the constitution has commenced with good prospects, the High-Church party abandoning their opposition. The excitement of the Hungarian Protestants, on account of their new Church constitution, has now mostly subsided, as the government has relinquished the obnoxious patent of September 1, 1859, by declaring those districts which continue to oppose it free from its requirements, and by binding only the districts which had given in their adhesion to abide by it. The final solution of the constitutional question is now adjourned until the meeting of the General Synod, which the government has promised soon to convoke. In Southwestern Germany the conflict respecting alterations in the constitution and administration of the Church, is essentially a conflict between the Evangelical and Rationalistic parties, in which the former enjoys generally the support

of the governments. In the Bavarian Palatinate it is the introduction of a new orthodox hymn book which causes continuing troubles. The King of Bavaria supports the decisions of the Synod, but a vast body of the people oppose obstinately. In Hesse-Darmstadt it is the substitution of Luther's Catechism for one long in use in the schools, which proves an apple of discord. The old Catechism did not enjoy the estimation of the "believing" portion of the Hessian clergy, who prefer by far a return to the old Lutheran, though the evangelical school would have preferred the selection of one representing the views of the United Evangelical Church. In Baden a number of influential clergymen and laymen, mostly belonging to the Rationalistic party, have repeatedly held conferences at Durlach, to bring their views on Church constitution into a definite shape. They would leave to the grand duke his character as supreme bishop, but demand that the governing powers emanate from the body of the Protestant population, that ministers and church officers be elected by the people, that in the Synod lay and clerical members be equal, and that the president of the Supreme Church Council be always a layman. Thus the connection between Church and State is more and more a source of annoyance to the former, many of whom will be glad to rid themselves of it by giving to the Church a greater amount of Church government. A BODY OF MILLENARIANS in Wurtemberg, calling themselves the Society for Gathering God's Faithful People in Jerusalem, have broken off all connection with the State Church, and hold their own Synods in Wurtemberg. They are earnest supporters of the Evangelical Alliance, but too intolerant against the evangelical men who remain in the State Church. They have organized a colony on a little farm, in accordance with their peculiar views, which they intend afterward to convey to Jerusalem. Their number, however, is not increasing. They have recently sent a deputation to England, and it was their intention to convene a meeting of all true Christians in London.

The Roman Catholic Church.—REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS are still reported to agitate to a large extent the lower clergy of Bohemia, which celebrates this year the millennial commemoration of the introduction of Christianity. It is intended to demand that there may be reëstablished in Bohemia the primitive ritual and liturgy, which were introduced by Saints Cirillus and Methodius, but at a later period renounced by the Church of Rome. THE CONCORDAT WITH BADEN has been rejected by the upper house of that country as well as by the lower, and may thus be regarded as solemnly and deliberately rejected by all the classes of the population. The Catholic party felt greatly disappointed in seeing the high aristocracy vote this way. A large number of the parish priests memorialized the archbishop in order to express their concurrence in his views of the Concordat as a legal treaty actually binding upon all the subjects of the grand duke. The Roman Catholic journals misrepresented this as a unanimous support of the archbishop by the lower clergy, not a single member dissenting; but a few weeks later they had to record the pronouncing of the greater excommunication over one of the deans who refused to indorse the policy which the archbishop chooses to pursue in this question.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches.—THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY in all the three Scandinavian kingdoms is very cheering, and awakens the hope that Northern Europe, like North America, will soon be free from legalized ecclesiastical despotism. In Sweden the three conservative houses of the Diet, the nobles, the priests, and the peasants, have given their consent to the governmental bill, which repeals some of the worst provisions of the old code respecting secession from the State Church. The burghers rejected the bill as being not liberal enough. The government executes the new law, on the whole, in a liberal sense, and it is regarded doubtless that during the next year Sweden will advance farther toward religious liberty. Norway, which has long ago extended religious toleration to dissenters, has declared itself, through its legislature, willing to open all the State offices to the members of the dissenting denominations. A majority of the Storthing (lower branch of the legislature) voted in favor of this motion; but as a few votes were wanting to the two thirds majority, the question stands adjourned for three years, when the next Storthing will doubtlessly decide it in favor of religious liberty. Denmark, lastly, is still farther advanced than Norway, and claims from the government the entire separation between the Church and State. The present diet is again occupied with the ques-

tion, and numerous petitions have been coming in its support. Besides the religious liberty question is the CONTINUANCE OF THE GREAT REVIVAL, which is drawing the attention of the Christian world specially to Sweden. Copious and cheering information concerning it is given from month to month by "The Messenger," a monthly periodical, issued by the *Evangelical National Association*, and conducted by talented men of evangelical convictions. The work is the more remarkable from the length of time during which it has continued at its intensity. THE CAUSE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS will be greatly promoted throughout Scandinavia by the organization of a Central Danish Missionary Society, which was resolved upon by a missionary conference held at Nyborg, in Funen, on the 13th and 14th of June. The meeting was very largely attended. Upward of one tenth of the whole members of the Danish clergy, and a great number of laymen, took part in it. The principal object of the conference was to unite all Danish Christians who take an interest in foreign missions, who hitherto have worked, through a number of smaller societies, into one general Danish Society. All the speakers warmly supported the project except one, and a number of important resolutions, besides the organization of the Society, were passed; for example, that endeavors should be made to awaken public zeal in the cause of missions by frequently holding missionary meetings throughout the country; that every year a general missionary meeting should be held, and that as soon as possible a Danish missionary school should be established.

FRANCE.

The Protestant Churches.—THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES has adopted a resolution which cannot fail to excite a most painful impression in the Protestant world, and which may yet exercise a highly disastrous influence on the civil rights of French Protestants. Last year a Protestant gendarme refused to kneel, in compliance with the military command, in a church when the host was elevated. A similar legislation existed in other Roman Catholic states, and some years ago most of the Roman Catholic deputies of Bavaria helped the Protestants faithfully to have the military code so changed that an act so revolting to Protestant feeling should no longer be demanded from them. The Central Council of the Reformed Churches has estimated in this case the natural rights of the Protestant citizen and soldier lower than the Roman Catholics of Bavaria. They have blamed the resistance of the gendarme, pointing out that it was his duty to obey orders. They think that the honors which are rendered to the "Holy Sacrament," according to the regulations, do not imply any idea of adoration upon the part of Protestant soldiers, who, in the fulfillment of a service upon which they are ordered, are obliged to share in it; that, therefore, the kneeling is an act of pure military obedience. The French Protestants, we understand, think generally on this point very differently, and we hope they will vindicate their right in spite of the Central Council. The occasional mismanagement of this board does not arrest THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM. In Paris the Reformed Church has been organizing her field of labor by dividing the recently extended city into new parochial districts. The flourishing Church of Lyons reports that sixty-three persons have been added to the Church during the year, chiefly converts from the Church of Rome. The schools are also well attended, and the work among the military is making progress.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE INCREASE OF MONASTICISM in France formed, in July, the subject of an animated and interesting discussion of the French Senate. M. Dupin, Procureur-General at the Court of Cassation, gave some official statements on the present condition of French monasticism, which created quite a sensation among the senators. "At the present epoch," he said, "there are many more congregations, associations, religious establishments of every nature and denomination than there were under the *ancien régime*. There exist now in France 4,932 religious congregations, authorized by the government, and 2,870 congregations not authorized. These associations have acquired immense property. They possess, for example, more than 100,000,000 francs in territorial estates, houses, etc. Besides this they have government securities and railway shares to unknown amounts. There is an enormous mass of wealth concentrated in the hands of these monastic orders, and which is increasing from day to day." M. Dupin demanded that three ministers—those of the interior, of justice, and of worship—should be requested to take measures against the progress of the religious con-

gregations. The cardinals who are senators attacked the conclusions of M. Dupin, and the senate compromised by referring to the minister of worship the petition which had provoked the discussion.

The Israelites.—A "UNIVERSAL ISRAELITE ALLIANCE" has been formed in Paris, intended to embrace the whole world. The object is to bind the Jews together so as to promote their general emancipation and progress. This alliance will tend to foster a feeling of unity among the Jews, and may lead to important consequences. There has been among the Jews of our days, for many years, a movement toward Moses; many are putting away orthodox Rabbinism, and taking Moses for their guide and the prophets for their example, and they are reforming their worship. The feeling of the French Jews toward Christianity is, moreover, far from being hostile. A proof of this was given very recently by their eagerness to follow the noble call of Mr. Cremieux, one of their members, and in 1848 a member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, to subscribe liberally in favor of their Christian brethren now persecuted in Syria.

ITALY.

The Protestant Churches.—THE SYNOD OF THE WALDENSEANS met this year at a momentous point of time. A large majority of all the voters in the liberated provinces had demanded annexation to that Italian state which has now for longer than ten years patronized so nobly the cause of religious liberty. Instead of the groans of persecution, the Synod heard this year the most urgent calls for immediate spiritual aid. In consideration of these calls the Synod passed unanimously the important resolution to remove their "Theological College" from its retired situation at La Tour, in the valleys, to Florence, which is more and more becoming the great center of all Protestant movements in Italy. It was also resolved to establish a new Committee for Evangelization, separate from the old Table or Administrative Board, in order to carry on the work of evangelization more efficiently than hitherto. Yet already, hitherto, the Waldensean Church has had more evangelists and agents at work beyond its own limits, in proportion to its numbers, than any other Christian Church. Four additional colporteurs were added to the staff at work during the month of July, supported from Scotland. One of these, appointed to labor in the Val d'Aosta, was set upon by two men in the neighborhood of Aosta within the last month, beaten in the most barbarous manner, and left for dead on the road. MANY CHEERING REPORTS are received from various quarters. At Florence a new Protestant school for Italian girls has been opened. In Pisa the Vaudois Church, under the direction of M. Ribet, is succeeding admirably, the hall in which they worship being always quite full on Sundays. The Tuscan *Monitore*, the government organ, has stated in two successive articles that the Vaudois had full permission to build churches for themselves.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE is rapidly waning. The reimposition of "St. Peter's Pence," so pompously announced by the Roman Catholic press, and heralded with such ostentation by the priesthood, has produced very little. The pontifical treasury remained empty, and the head of the Church was reduced, like other monarchs, to the necessity of borrowing money from persons who are willing to lend. The bishops of all countries have received instructions to plead warmly on behalf of this loan, and they have fulfilled their mission of financiers with marvelous eagerness. In some countries, as in Spain, *plenary indulgences* have been promised to the lenders in addition to the annual interest of five per cent. THE AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOPS must have received a severe blow by the summary way in which the Sardinian government deals with those who refuse obedience to the laws. Quite a number of the prelates have been condemned to imprisonment and fined. It is to be regretted, however, that Sardinia occasionally exacts obedience from priests in matters essentially ecclesiastical, such as the singing of *Te Deums*, in which a secular government ought never to interfere. For the same reason we regret that Garibaldi has seen fit to expel the Jesuits from Sicily. It is a bad precedent, of which the enemies of religious liberty will be eager to make use.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.—THE ANNIVERSARIES OF FRENCH SWITZERLAND, held toward the close of June, at Geneva, command special attention on account of the two vast missionary fields which these societies cultivate, Italy and France. The propositions. The cardinals who are senators attacked the conclusions of M. Dupin, and the senate compromised by referring to the minister of worship the petition which had provoked the discussion.

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SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.—THE ANNIVERSARIES OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM, held toward the close of June, at Geneva, commanded special attention on account of the two vast missionary fields which these societies cultivate, Italy and France. The real wants of both can be and are more freely discussed on the free soil of Protestant Switzerland than within their own borders, where the influence of the priests is still powerful enough to require the greatest caution in language as well as in action. The reports of the societies present many incidents of great interest. A letter from M. de Sanctis mentioned, with regret, that the work was not progressing so favorably in Piedmont. In the new Italian provinces it had been commenced and promised well. The report of the "Society for Aid to Protestants scattered Abroad" disclosed the astonishing fact that of the eighty-nine French departments there were twenty-five without a pastor, and fifteen with only one. The meeting of the Evangelical Alliance reported on the preparation for the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance to be held in Geneva in 1861. The Council of State of Geneva had announced that it would welcome the meeting, and would lend every assistance; the ecclesiastical authorities of the National and of the Free Churches had answered favorably, and the circular had been well received everywhere and published in the religious journals of many different countries.

TURKEY.

Outburst of Mohammedan Fanaticism.—We have repeatedly had occasion, in former numbers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, to refer to the profound irritation which has been spreading for years throughout the Mohammedan world against Christianity. The Christian nations began to fear that the outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism in India, in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and at Djeddah in Arabia would be followed by others equally or even more atrocious. These fears, as our readers already know, have recently become a sad reality. A massacre of Christians of all denominations has taken place in Syria, more general in extent and more atrocious in its character than any other recorded in the history of the many religious wars in that country. The original perpetrators of these outrages were not Mohammedans but Druses, who have a religion of their own. But it is the sympathy and the assistance of the Mohammedan authorities and population to which the enormities of the Syrian massacre must be mainly ascribed. For the present the Christian Churches of Syria are nearly rooted out. The native Christians and the flourishing congregations planted by American missionaries have equally suffered. Many thousand Christians of both sexes have been slaughtered, thirty thousand women sold to the Turkish harems, and nearly all the rest of the Christian population scattered and stripped of their property. The account of this extraordinary massacre has made, as was to be expected, a profound sensation throughout the Christian world. Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek nations vie with each other in contributing aid for the Christian sufferers, and even the Jews have hastened to show their abhorrence of such acts by cordially joining this philanthropic movement. The governments of Europe, without distinction of creed, have agreed upon an armed intervention to check the fanaticism of the Turks. But, in the mean while, the agitation among the Mohammedans continues, and there is no room for the hope that the return of equally murderous scenes can be avoided, unless the Christian governments prevent it by an efficient protection of the Christian population of Turkey.

The Eastern Churches.—THE RESIGNATION OF THE GREEK PATRIARCH of Constantinople is an event of rather frequent occurrence in Turkey, but under the present circumstances it is of greater importance than formerly, for in the election of his successor the entire Church will for the first time take part, through its chosen representatives. THE BULGARIANS are maturing the preparations for cutting off altogether their ecclesiastical connection with the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Bulgarian Archbishop of Constantinople has left out in the liturgy the common prayers for the patriarch, and, being summoned before a Church Council, at which the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were present, he declared that his nation were determined to have no longer anything to do with Greek priests, and that he could do nothing except exhorting the Bulgarians to remain faithful to the orthodox faith.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—The hope of the Christian world, that the government of the present emperor would inaugurate an ERA OF THOROUGH RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS, will not be doomed to disappointment. Important intelligence has been received respecting this point during the past months. Provisions have

been recently made for a vernacular edition of the Holy Scriptures, to replace the Slavonic version now in use. At the coronation of the Emperor Alexander, when most of the Russian archbishops assembled at Moscow, it was decided that all the theological academies, as well as all the representatives of theological science, should be appealed to to concur in this important work. The first portion of the new translation has already made its appearance. Measures like these cannot fail to tie a bond of union between the Eastern Episcopal and the Protestant Churches. We expect the same result from the liberality of the Russian government in defraying the expenses of the publication of the newly discovered Sinaitic manuscript of the New Testament. It will promote theological science in the Russian Church, and bring it into closer contact with the neighboring Protestant countries. To the same end will tend the transformation of the ecclesiastical seminaries into theological faculties to be connected with the universities. While better theological schools and more thorough theological science will gradually train for the Church a better clergy, the establishment of Sunday-schools will be instrumental in penetrating the laity with a new interest in religion. The non-Greek denominations are thankful to the emperor for abrogating the intolerant law which forbade the reception of Pagans, Mohammedans, and Jews into any of the Churches except the State Church. A new law on toleration, which was submitted to the Council of the State, has been adopted. It still contains many intolerant provisions; for example, it subjects to punishment persons who found new sects, and orders the seceders from the State Church to be sent to the ecclesiastical authorities to be instructed and persuaded. But, nevertheless, it marks a transition to a better state of things than the one now abandoned.

ART. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

I. ENGLAND.

1. Religious and Theological.

Quakerism Past and Present: being an Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline in Great Britain and Ireland. By John Stevenson.

The Peculium, an Endeavor to throw Light on some of the Causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its Original Claim of being the peculiar People of God. By Thomas Hancock.

These books undertake to answer an inquiry which properly awakens a considerable interest in the thoughtful mind.

Williams and Norgate, London, publish in the original languages the following:

The critical edition of Hyppolitus, with a Latin translation and Notes. Baron Bunsen, in his work on this newly discovered volume, affirms that it doubles our information concerning the Christianity of those primitive times. Also,

Fasciculus first of a new edition of Eusebius, edited by Læmmer. Also,

Vol. 1 of the Opera of Epiphanius, edited by Dindorf.

2. Biography.

In Biography a Life of Cavour, an Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, are published.

The Life of Schleiermacher, as unfolded in his Autobiography and Letters, translated from the German, in two volumes, with a portrait, is published by Smith, Elder, & Co., London. The letters amount to 460.

Memoirs, Letters, and Speeches of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, published by Murray.

3. Scientific.

Dr. Whewell has published a volume On the Philosophy of Discovery, Chapters Historical and Critical.

Professor Owen's work on Paleontology is confessedly an able but not systematic work. It treats mainly of vertebrate organisms. On the mode of the *creations* in the successive periods he is reserved. He enigmatically enunciates, as "perhaps the most important and significant result of paleontological research," "the establishment of the axiom of the continuous operation of *the ordained becoming of living*

things." He favors, on the whole, the view of "a continuously operative secondary creational law."

II. GERMANY.

1. Exegetical Theology.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the entire exegetical literature of the past three months is on the orthodox side. We have not noticed among the new announcements a single book of the other—the rationalistic school. The names of the authors are mostly new in this province of theological literature.

Rev. C. W. Otto, for many years a leading man among the High-Church Lutherans in Germany, has published "New Researches on the Historical Relations of the Pastoral Epistles." (Die geschichtlichen Verhältnisse der Pastoral Briefe auf's Neue untersucht. Leipsic, 1860. Trubner, pp. 407.) The author has had recently the degree of D.D. conferred on him by the Theological Faculty of Leipsic, and he offers the above work to the faculty as a token of his gratitude. The author designates the work as the fruit of many years' studies. It was his desire to obtain clear views on the differences which determined the form of the doctrinal development of the Biblical theology, especially as contained in the Epistles of Paul. He found much valuable information in the copious recent literature on the Pauline Epistles, but neither the hypothesis of a difference between the Petrine and Pauline Theology, nor the assumed opposition between the Jewish-Christian and Pagan-Christian elements in the early Church gave him sufficient light. This led to a determination to investigate the whole subject anew. The author became convinced that the diverse doctrines professedly pointed out in the New Testament ought to be derived not from two opposing but from one common source. The greatest difficulty to the carrying through of this view was found in the Pastoral Epistles, and they were therefore selected as a fit subject for a special work. Three books are severally devoted to the three pastoral epistles; the introduction gives a survey over the whole literature, the expressions peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles, and over the views of the commentators respecting the time when these epistles were written. An appendix contains the testimonies of the first and second centuries for the authenticity of the Pastoral Letters and copious indexes.

The Prophecies of Zechariah have found a new commentator in W. Neumann. (*Die Weissagungen des Sakharjah.* Stuttgardt, 1860.) The obscure prophecies appear to him as words of the people of God struggling with the approaching ruin. An extensive introduction treats of the peculiarities which distinguish Zechariah from other prophetic books, and which are analogous to the person and the tribe of Joseph; he portrays the times in which and for which the prophet speaks, and delineates the personal character of the prophet. Then follow a German translation of the prophecies and the commentary. The book is divided into four divisions: The Prophet's Vocation (i, 1–6); Seven Night-Visions (i, 7—vi, 15); Addresses to the People (vii and viii); and The Completion of the Future of Israel (ix to xiv).

2. Historic Theology.

Among the most important works on the history of the Popes belongs the History of Alexander III., and of the Church of his Times, by H. Reuter, Professor of Protestant Theology at the University of Griefswaldt. It is now publishing in a second thoroughly revised edition, to be completed in three volumes, the first of which has just been issued. The completion of the work is announced for 1861. (*Geschichte Alexander des Dritten. Leipsic,* 1860.)

The excellent edition of the complete works of Melancthon, which was commenced by the late Dr. Bretschneider, and has been continued by Dr. Bindseil, has been completed with vol. xxviii, on the tercentenary of the death-day of the great reformer. This last volume contains, as an appendix, *Annales Vitæ Melancthonis,* and indexes, which are sold separately, also. This collective edition of the works of Melancthon was intended by Dr. Bretschneider as the first part of a comprehensive collection of the Works of the Reformers, under the title *Corpus Reformatorum.*

Professor C. F. Baur, the learned leader of the negative school of German Theology, has revised and enlarged his work on the Christian Church of the first Three Centuries, which was first published in 1853. The bold and defiant assertions of the neological school have called forth throughout the Protestant world an extraordinary zeal in the investigation of ancient Church history, and have, much against the originators of the movement, so strongly fortified the position of the orthodox theology that

more than one of the prominent advocates of the school has, by means of his investigations, gradually returned to the views of the evangelical school. The master, however, still adheres to his former opinions, and endeavors, in this new edition, to make the results of all the detailed investigations of the last year serviceable to the support of his assumptions.

John Melchior Goeze was one of the last defenders, in the eighteenth century, of orthodox theology against the powerful and, at last, overwhelming onset of German rationalism and skepticism. Unfortunately his chief opponent was Lessing, to whom, in point of talent and scientific attainments, Goeze, as well as all of his German cotemporaries, was vastly inferior. Goeze had in the controversy the nickname of "Inquisitor of Hamburg" fastened upon him, and is generally represented as such in the history of German literature. A young talented writer, G. R. Roefe, has published a new biography of Goeze, (Joham Melchior Goeze. Hamburg, 1860,) in which he undertakes to show that Goeze was better than his reputation. He calls him the "most calumniated" man of the eighteenth century, the last resolute advocate of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and of Christian truth against a race which became more and more estranged from it. The book is spoken of by the evangelical journals of Germany as very able.

The literary controversy on the celebration of the Passover in the ancient Church is not yet ended. A number of articles have appeared in the quarterlies of the last years. On the part of the Tubingen school, it is especially Professor Hilgenfeld, the editor of the "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie," who has furnished a series of articles on the subject. He has recently published the result of his researches in book form, under the title of, The Passover Controversy of the Ancient Church. (*Pascha Streit der alten Kirche. Halle*, 1860.)

The Roman Catholic literature in the department of historic theology presents likewise some interesting works, among which we mention: the fourth volume of the General History of the Councils, by Professor Hefele, of Tübingen; a biography of John Tocher, Bishop of Rochester, one of the foremost advocates of the Papal cause in England at the time of Henry VIII.; a work on the States of the Church, by Scharpff, formerly Professor of the University of Giessen; a "Year-book of the Catholic Church," giving statistical information on all Roman Catholic dioceses and all monastic orders.

3. Other Branches of Theology.

The Manual of Systematic Theology, by K. Hahn, has recently appeared in a fifth edition. (Hahn, *Evangelisch-Protestantische Dogmatik*, fifth edition. Leipsic, 1860.) The author is Superintendent-General of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia in Silesia, and is one of the most influential opponents of rationalism. The later edition of his work has been, however, greatly influenced by the progress of High Church Lutheranism in Germany, toward which the author himself is leaning.

The life and influence of Schleiermacher still occupy the attention of German theologians of all schools to a large extent. A collection of letters, forming to some extent an autobiography, which was published about eighteen months ago, has been so well received that already a second edition has appeared. (*Aus Schleiermacher's Leben.* Berlin, 1860.)

One of the Protestant theologians of Austria, T. Ritz, has commenced the publication of Sketches from the Pagan World, (Bilder aus der Heidenwelt, first number. Vienna, 1860,) which have a special interest, inasmuch as the Protestant Churches have hitherto taken no part whatever in the foreign mission cause, and do not yet publish a single missionary paper. In the other German countries the missionary literature is very numerous. Among recent works of the kind we notice a History of the Christian Missions in the Fiji Islands, published by the Methodist Book Concern at Bremen, and a biography of the Great East Indian Missionary, C. F. Schwartz, by the venerable G. H. von Schubert, whose recent death has deprived Germany of one of her noblest literary men.

Art. XII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Christian Review, July, 1860.—1. The Prayers for Infants in the Apostolical Constitutions: 2. Our English Dictionaries: 3. The Early Life and Conversion of Augustine: 4. Evil made Subservient to Good: 5. Roman Orthoëpy: 6. The Defense of Socrates: 7. Rawlinson's Historical Evidences.

II. The New Englander, August, 1860.—1. A Hymn and its Author: 2. Reflex Benefits of the Clerical Office—A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Desponding Brethren: 3. The New Planets: 4. The Baptists in Connecticut: 5. The Fine Arts: Their Proper Sphere, and the Sources of Excellence therein: 6. The Congregational Polity and a Biblical Theology: 7. Constitutional History of Athenian Democracy: 8. Original Sin: The State of the Question: 9. A Half Century of Foreign Missions: 10. The Princeton Review on Dr. Taylor, and the Edwardean Theology: 11. Dr. Dutton's Discourse Commemorative of Charles Goodyear, the Inventor.

III. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, July, 1860.—1. Ante-Revolutionary History of Episcopacy: 2. Russia: 3. Vincent Ferrara: 4. The General Assembly of 1860: 5. Dr. Bushnell's Sermons: 6. The Position and Mission of our Church: 7. Doctrinal Preaching.

IV. The United Presbyterian Quarterly Review, July, 1860.—1. The Bible and Politics: 2. Commentary on the Gospel of John: 3. The Atonement of Christ: 4. Genealogy of the Saviour: 5. Serpent Fascination: 6. The Rival Dictionaries.

V. The Evangelical Review, July, 1860.—1. Melancthon on the Divine Nature: 2. The Ministerial Office: 3. Our Want and our Duty: 4. The Prayer-meeting: 5. Baccalaureate Address: 6. Israel under the Second Great Monarchy: 7. Exposition of Revelation ii, 17.

VI. The Mercersburg Review, July, 1860.—1. Goethe: A Dissertation by Doctor Rauch: 2. Infant Salvation: 3. The Closing Chapters of the Book of Job: The Divine Sovereignty: 4. Dogmatic Theology: Its Conception, Sources, and Method: 5. Scientific Discovery in 1859.

VII. The Southern Presbyterian Review, July, 1860.—1. The Westminster Review on "Christian Revivals:" 2. The Pastoral Duties of Ruling Elders: 3. 2d Maccabees xii, 39–45, and Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead: 4. A Supernatural Revelation Necessary: 5. The Knowledge of God as obtained from Scripture and from Nature: 6. The General Assembly of 1860.

VIII. Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository, July, 1860.—1. The Missionary Spirit of the Psalms and Prophets: 2. The Nature of Evangelical Faith: 3. Boardman's Higher Christian Life: 4. Scriptural Evidence of the Deity of Christ: 5. The Theology of Sophocles: 6. The Apostle Paul, a witness for the Resurrection of Jesus: 7. The Modern Greek Language.

IX. The American Theological Review, August, 1860.—1. President Willard's Body of Divinity: 2. Jansenism and the Jansenists: 3. English Lexicography: 4. Moses and the Geologists: 5. The Spiritual in Man the Proper Object of Pulpit Address: 6. Natural History: 7. Kurtz's Church History.

X. THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. New Edition of the Septuagint: 2. Landscape Gardening: 3. Hawks's History of North Carolina: 4. James Gates Percival: 5. Slavery in Rome: 6. Jefferson's Private Character: 7. Margaret Fuller Ossoli: 8. Strauss and the Mythic Theory: 9. Charities of Boston: 10. Influence of Political Economy on Legislation: 11. Recent French Literature: 12. Ugo Foscolo.

XI. QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, July, 1860.—1. Milton and his Recent Critics: 2. Dr. Adam Clarke: 3. Philosophy of Representation: 4. Hymns and Hymn Writers: 5. The Greek Tragic Drama: 6. Sasnett's Discussions.

XII. UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—17. The Religion of Zoroaster: 18. The Development of Language: 19. The Man, Christ Jesus: 20. Did Jesus sanction the Jewish Belief in regard to the Devil? 21. Whittemore's Modern History of Universalism.

XIII. THE FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1860.—1. Inspiration: 2. The Two Covenants: 3. The Revival in Ireland: 4. Forces in the Formation of Character: 5. Universalism: 6. Advantages and Disadvantages of a Permanent Pastorate: 7. Webster's and Worcester's Dictionaries.

XIV. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Bible its own Witness and Interpreter: 2. The Heathen Inexcusable for their Idolatry: 3. Theories of the Eldership: 4. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned: 5. The General Assembly: 6. Presbyterianism.

XV. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, July, 1860.—1. Sir William Hamilton's Metaphysics: 2. Memorial of Joel Jones, LL.D.: 3. Theories Erroneously called Science, and Divine Revelation: 4. The Apostasy and the Man of Sin: 5. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 6. Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, Chapters liv, lv, lvi, and lvii.

XVI. THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Present State and Prospects of Christianity—No. III: 2. About Dr. Oldham at Greystones: 3. The Church and the Denominations: 4. English Reformation: The Nag's-Head Story: 5. Romish Perverts: Where they come from: 6. Two Letters to the Bishop of Arras: 7. Pews.

The ignorance, or something worse, which this review manifests whenever it speaks of Methodist affairs indicates that it may presume on similar qualities in its body of readers. For instance, it says: "The able editor of the 'Advocate and Journal,' Dr. Stevens, a more conservative man, declined a re-election distinctly on the ground of the revolutionary and radical elements which now threaten to rend that large body to fragments. The Methodists have once before split on this subject, the South from the North; and we hear constantly of new sects in that denomination, as one class after another of visionary enthusiasts among them rallies around some new hobby. Schism is their sin, and schism is their punishment."

Its best answer may be found in the following items from the American Theological Review:

"The following statistical table shows the increase of the Episcopal Presbyterian, and Methodist communions from 1800 to 1850:

	Ministers. 1800.	Ministers. 1850.	Rates of increase.	Members. 1800.	Members. 1850.	Rates of increase.
Protestant Episcopal	264	1,526	6 to 1	11,978	72,000	6 to 1
Presbyterian, O. & N. S	300	4,196	14 to 1	40,000	337,839	8½ to 1
Methodist Episcopal, N. & S	287	5,646	19½ to 1	64,894	1,160,380	17¾ to 1

"The *Episcopal Recorder*, of Philadelphia, commenting upon this *prima facie* disparity against their own denomination, suggests, as a cause, *three mistakes of Episcopacy*—the crippling effect of extra ritualism, the narrow channel through which the missionary power of the Church is exerted, and a prevalent distrust of that Church's Protestantism."

From all which it follows of the Episcopalian sect that *narrowness* is its sin, and narrowness is its punishment.

This conclusion is confirmed from the following passage on page 220 of this review: "The Church is very small. Compared with the thousands of Christian men and women of various names in the land, her two hundred thousand communicants are but a handful. That truth is forced upon the attention of both her clergy and her laity, at times, in ways that are not at all pleasant, in ways, too, sometimes not at all flattering to their own consciences." That is, the Methodist Episcopal Church is punished for schism by being nearly ten times as large as the Episcopalian body. We have heard of the Broad Church, the Hard Church, the High Church, the Low Church; but our Episcopalian friends are persistently, both in numbers and magnanimity, the SMALL CHURCH.

II.—*English Reviews.*

I. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, July 1860.—1. The Exodus; the Traces thereof Discoverable on the Monuments of Egypt: 2. The Epistle entitled to the Hebrews was written to the Churches of Asia Minor: 3. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John. Rev. xiii.: 4. Authorship of the Acts of the Apostles: 5. Gerar and its Philistine Inhabitants: 6. The Wrath of God: 7. Philosophy and the Knowledge of God: 8. The Church History of John of Ephesus: 9. Kai-Khosru and Ahasuerus.

II. THE LONDON REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 2. Slave Politics and Economics: 3. London in the Thirteenth Century: 4. Limits of Religious Thought; Mansel and his Critics: 5. Ragged Homes and Ministering Women: 6. Dr. Laycock on Mind and Brain: 7. Memoirs of Bishop Wilson: 8. Domestic Annals of Scotland: 9. General Patrick Gordon: 10. The Oxford Essayists.

III. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Edmond About: 2. The Natural History of the Ancients: 3. Michelet's Life of Richelieu: 4. The Devils of Loudun: 5. Horace: 6. What is the House of Lords? 7. William Caldwell Roscoe's Poetry: 8. De Biran's Pensées: 9. The Protestant and Catholic Revolt from the Middle-Scheme of Henry VIII.: 10. The Novels of George Eliot: 11. Mr. Gladstone.

IV. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Book of Genesis: 2. The American Board and the Choctaw Mission: 3. The First and Second Adam: 4. Edwards on the Atonement: 5. Presbyterian Church Government: 6. The Missionary Conference: 7. John Calvin.

V. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Strikes; their Tendencies and Remedies: 2. The Mill on the Floss: 3. Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures for 1859: 4. The Post-office Monopoly: 5. Ary Scheffer: 6. The Irish Education Question: 7. Germany; its Strength and Weakness: 8. Thoughts in Aid of Faith: 9. Grievances of Hungarian Catholics: 10. The French Press.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, July, 1860.—1. The Chronicles of Abingdon: 2. The Moral Character of Story Books: 3. Wants of the Church's Missions: 4. Congregationalism: 5. Notes on Nursing: 6. The First Christian Emperors; De Broglie: 7. Evening Communions: 8. The Roman See and Sardinia.

VII. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Henry Lord Brougham: 2. Prison Ethics: 3. Victor Hugo; French and English Poetry: 4. The West Indies; Past and Present: 5. Marshman's Life of Havelock: 6. Mansel and his Critics: 7. Church Questions in Australia: 8. Owen's Palæontology: 9. Cambridge University Reform.

This review opens with a magnificent article of near forty pages on Henry Lord Brougham. The great qualities and splendid career of that eminent man are portrayed with much effect. As a thinker and writer on scientific, moral, and metaphysical subjects, his performances have not been equal to his manifest powers. As a parliamentary orator and leader his success has been brilliant. As a philanthropist and a friend of the oppressed his high heroic qualities have won the admiration of the world, and placed him in the noble catalogue of champions of right that have given luster to English history. At all times of his life, even down to the latest newspaper announcements, he has proved himself a thorn in the side of tyranny; nor least among the eulogies that ennoble his name are the mutters and scowls of the panders of oppression in Europe and America.

The article on the West Indies shows the worthlessness of Mr. Trollope's view of emancipation in the Islands. The Review fully confirms the account given by Mr. Bleby in his two articles on the subject in our Quarterly. It may be recommended to the perusal of our pro-slavery friends in this country with whom Mr. Trollope is a welcome authority. Mr. Trollope professedly "hates statistics," (being a writer of popular novels,) and very reasonably, for statistics bear hard upon him. The apparent fact is, that either figures lie or Mr. Trollope does. The Reviewer gives some of these disagreeable figures, of which he thus sums the result:

> Of these figures the following is a summary, and, we think, satisfactory view:

IMPORTS INCREASED.

Bahamas	1848—1857	18 per cent.
Barbadoes	1848—1857	126 "
St. Christopher	1855—1857	50 "
Jamaica	1845—1857	53 "
St. Vincent	1849—1857	21 "
Trinidad	1855—1847	62 "
Tobago	1850—1857	16 "

IMPORTS DECREASED.

British Guiana	1847—1855	22 per cent.

EXPORTS INCREASED.

Bahamas	1848—1857	80 per cent
Barbadoes	1848—1857	104 "
St. Christopher	1855—1857	44 "
St. Vincent	1849—1857	10 "
Trinidad	1855—1857	177 "
Tobago	1850—1857	69 "
British Guiana	1847—1855	36 "

DECREASED.

Jamaica.............................. 1845—1856 .... 28 per cent.
—Pp. 115, 116.

In closing the Review says:

"With Count Montalembert, part of whose speech in the French Chamber of Peers we gladly quote, we affirm 'that the word of the missionary substituted for the whip of the slave-driver in the government of the black race, is the most delightful spectacle and the most blessed revolution which the nineteenth century has presented to the world.'"—P. 121.

On Lepsius's late work, "The Kings-book of Ancient Egypt," the Review thus discourses:

"We owe an apology to our readers for not having before registered the appearance of Professor Lepsius's long-expected work, the *Königsbuch*, which is to be regarded as the crowning labor of his zealous, indefatigable, and profound Egyptological researches, pursued, with such undoubted ability and genius for the difficult task, throughout a long and earnest lifetime. Devotion, like that manifested by this great European scholar, to studies which to all but a few are quite unattractive or even intensely repulsive, but which, in the interest of science, are of such vast moment, cannot be too warmly commended."—P. 245.

"We are reminded of our sin of omission in neglecting to announce Professor Lepsius's *opus magnum* on its first publication, by receiving Dr. Brugsch's extremely valuable History of Egypt, of which, notwithstanding its great merits, we have left ourselves space to say but few words. Dr. Brugsch is *the* rising Egyptologer. His Demotic Grammar, his splendid work on the Geography of the Egypt of the Pharaohs, and others of his productions, afford ample proof of the assertion."—P. 246.

"Brugsch gives us plenty of long inscriptions done, not yet, alas! into English, but what is the next best thing, into readable French. Nor do we hesitate to affirm, that he has thus presented us with a History of Egypt more copious fiftyfold, and just infinitely more authentic and veracious, than could be compiled from all the ancient writers, including Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Manetho, put together. With these materials before us, so hoar with antiquity, and so rich in facts of the most interesting kind, nothing is wanting, save a reliable chronology, to give an impulse to ethnological research, linguistic science, comparative mythology, and the elucidation of the most ancient records both sacred and profane, such as these pursuits have never received before. One eye of Egyptian history Brugsch has himself supplied by his great geographical work, and we are convinced that the muse of Saïs is not doomed to remain a female Cyclops much longer, for lack of the other. The mysterious vail of Neith, we are not without shrewd presentiment, will be lifted before very long. Something better than the blind guesses we have hitherto had to put up with, as to the position of the hands on the great clock of ages, when these deeply interesting raids of the old Pharaohs, the Tuthmoses, the Ramseses, and the Setis, not only into Mesopotamia, Armenia, Assyria, Asia Minor, Phœnicia, not forgetting Palestine, but into Greece certainly, and perhaps into Italy as well, really took place. A gentleman with whom we have some acquaintance, and who dabbles a little in these matters, will have it that we are on the eve of great discoveries in Egyptian chronology, which will probably, as in other parallel instances, be made simultaneously by independent inquirers in different parts of the world. He tells us—and of course we tell our readers, who may believe it or not, as they like—that he has himself lighted upon a hieroglyphical date of the day and year of the Exodus, and that he has identified Solomon's father-in-law with Ramses Miamun II. (Rosellini's Ramses XIV.,) an intensely interesting *stele* of whose reign Mr. Birch and M. de Rouge have translated."—P. 247.

III.—*German Reviews.*

I. THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN.—Herausgegeben von D. C. Ullman und D. F. W. Umbreit. Gotha, vei Friedrich Andreas Perthes Zweites Heft. 1860.

THEOLOGICAL STUDIES AND CRITIQUES. SECOND NUMBER—1860. *Treatises:* Christian Doctrines, concluded. By Rothe. *Thoughts and Observations:* Critical Remarks on the Text of the CODEX VATICANUS B. By Buttman. Exposition of Dr. Keim's Theory of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. By Bodemeyer. Exegesis on Matthew xi, 12. By Zyro. On the Proper Conception and Province of the Science of Biblical Introduction. By Holtzmann. *Reviews:* Notes of certain late Theosophical Works. By Hamberger.

THEOLOGICAL STUDIES AND CRITIQUES. THIRD NUMBER. 1860. *Treatises:* 1. On the Pauline Christology. By Beyschlag. Contribution to the Exposition of Stephen's Apology, Acts vii. By Nitzsch. *Thoughts and Observations:* 1. On the Use of the Pronoun ἐκεινος in the fourth Gospel. 2. The Meaning and Connection of the three Appendices to the Book of Judges. *Reviews:* 1. Holtzmann's Canon and Tradition. By Ritschl. 2. Stirms's Apology for Christianity. By Dörtenbach. *Miscellany:* Programme of the "Society at the Hague for the Defense of the Christian Religion."

The principal article, though not the longest, is the Exposition of Stephen's Apology. The writer claims a high place for this much assailed portion of the New Testament, and sets out in opposition to De Wette's well known remark that Stephen's address has less order and plan than any other in the Acts of the Apostles. It must not be supposed that the plan should necessarily be stated or intimated. But there is not by consequence any ground for thinking that there is none. On the other hand, Stephen had a direct purpose, and his whole address is an astonishing illustration of an easy transition from one theme to another, concluding with a convincing and overpowering climax that furnishes the key to all he had said. A great mistake commonly made by exegetical writers is, that Stephen's address was a defense alone. The truth is his argument was rather *offensive* than defensive, for he brings the severest charges upon his accusers and the entire Jewish race for their disobedience to God. With this view of the case we can well understand the bitterness of his enemies, who, "when they heard these things were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth, and cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him." The first division of the address extends from verse 2 to 16. Here particular stress is laid upon the providential dealings of God on the one hand and the stubbornness of the house of Israel on the other, this last design fully manifesting itself in verse 9. Second division, 17–43. Here Moses takes the chief place, with the refutation of a single complaint. More frequent mention is made of acts of disobedience, and a striking parallelism instituted between the earlier voice of God in the burning bush and Christ, consequently of the enemies of the former with the latter. The triumphant conclusion is drawn that God's Spirit and revelation are not confined to holy places. Third division, 44–50. The speaker takes up the charge concerning

the profanation of the temple, and casts back upon his opponents the reproach of obstinacy toward God and the Holy Spirit. Stephen's silent convictions giving impulse to his remarks seem to be, 1. You see that for the sake of truth I will not and cannot yield to you. 2. Your opposition to God and his witnesses is impious, but, judging from your antecedents, perfectly comprehensible. 3. But you cannot by this means frustrate God's plans. He will bring them to pass as he has formerly done, and will certainly visit you with his judgments. The conclusions of Licentiate Nitzsch are, 1. Stephen's address is purely *offensive*, and only has an apologetical character in so far as the defensive and offensive are inseparable. 2. The address is logical throughout, and has its theme to which all its parts are intimately related. 3. The theme is contained in verse 51. 4. This with the two following verses forms the application in contradistinction to the historical. 5. The historical part contains an amplification of the theme. It discloses on the one hand the theocratic agency of God from the beginning to the time of Christ, or at least of Solomon; on the other it sets forth the almost coexistent and constant opposition of corrupt Israel to the theocratic polity of God. 6. But this historical consideration by no means exclusively yet particularly refutes the two points of complaint adduced by his opponents. 7. The historical division, considered in its historical-chronological aspect, divides itself into three subdivisions: 2–16, 17–43, 44–50.

We are glad to meet with such an article as this from Germany. It is clear, logical, evangelical; and coming from a young man, is an index of the spirit beginning to animate the young theologians of Berlin. We trust not of Berlin merely, but of the entire fatherland. We have been lately reading J. Addison Alexander on the Acts, and having rejoiced in his successful refutation of the charge of planlessness in Stephen's address, we have been doubly rejoiced to find the same sentiments in the *Studien und Kritiken*. It is not inappropriate to transcribe Dr. Alexander's mode of division as an apt illustration of the different roads that men can sometimes take to arrive at the same place: "This chapter—Acts vii—contains Stephen's defense before the council (1–53) and his execution, (54–60.) His defense is drawn entirely from the Old Testament history, and is designed to show that all God's dealings with the chosen people pointed to those very charges which Stephen was accused of having threatened. This he proves by showing that the outward organization and condition of the Church had undergone repeated changes under Abraham, (2–8,) Joseph, (9–16,) Moses, (17–44,) David, (45–46;) that the actual state of things had no existence before Solomon (47;) that even this was intended from the beginning to be temporary (48-50;) and lastly, that the Israelites of every age had been unfaithful to their trust, (9–25, 27–35, 39–43, 51–53.) The remainder of the chapter describes the effect of this discourse upon the council, (54,) Stephen's heavenly vision, (55, 56,) and his death by stoning, (57–60.)" One of the great beauties in the exegetical works of this lamented commentator and preacher, is this unfolding of the plan and scope of every chapter, a feature too much neglected by the student of the Scriptures. ח

ART. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

IT is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, held in Buffalo, New York, 1860. Edited by Rev. WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D., Secretary of the Conference." 8vo., pp. 480. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

The Conference of 1860 will be, we think, held in honór for the character both of its discussions and its measures. No conference has ever had a more important set of questions brought before its inquest. The subject of slavery especially, which is stirring the nation with an excitement unparalleled in our history, came before this body in its most exciting form. Justice to both sides requires the decision, that seldom or never has a subject so calculated to rouse intense emotion ever been discussed in so magnanimous a temper. The delegates from the border conferences stated their argument and presented their appeal in a firm, manly, eloquent style. They appeared like men who felt that much was at stake. There was temptation from the relative position of the parties, if none from the conduct of their opponents, to enact the ad captandum part of oppressed men. But they stood their ground with serene countenance, neither betraying the cause of their constituency, nor forfeiting by any discourtesy the fraternal respect of their brethren opposed. And, sooth to say, the majority, by a very unanimous forbearance of measure and language through the whole series of debates, fully establish the fact that they were actuated neither by a rabid fanaticism, by a desire to oppress, nor by a wish for disunion. Not seldom was there between the two parties a rivalry of magnanimous concession. We cannot wonder, therefore, that this body of Christian ministers left an honorable impression upon the minds of the community. Nor more do we wonder that when agitation for border secession arises, its authors and fomentors are other than the delegates from the border conferences. The measure at last adopted by the General Conference was most conservative and wise. Strictly speaking there is no change. That is, there is no change in the substance of the Discipline or the essential doctrine of the Church. The chapter as it stands states the old ground; the ground (until very lately) maintained unvaryingly, at least theoretically, by the border conferences themselves. If, indeed, those conferences are receding from the old ground and adopting the hitherto unheard of novelty, that the motive of the slaveholding is not to be made a matter of inquiry, very timely, indeed, is this our reassertion of the old and unchanged ground of the Church. But secession for that reassertion cannot justify itself before the bar of the Christian world. It has no case.

Equally progressive, yet conservative, was the action upon lay delegation. The sentiment in the Church on this subject, so far as it is not the result of

artificial agitation, and is the result of a rational judgment, looking at things as they are, and studying the best interests of the Church, it has never been the purpose either of the General Conference or of the Episcopacy, far less of the ministry generally, to disregard. Indeed, it has been a subject of newspaper remark, outside the Church, that the sentiment in favor of lay delegation is stronger, at least in some sections, among the clergy than among the laity. Very few are the exceptional cases of men among us willing to excite a divisive feeling between ministry and people. In this state of things it was a most wise measure in our General Conference to lay the whole question, as a matter of expediency, before the general Church for calm discussion and quiet fraternal decision. Let the Church come to a consciousness of her own wish, and shape herself by her own deliberate volition. We believe that the effect will be to discountenance special agitators, to substitute discussion for controversy, and to educe, under the guidance of the great Master of assemblies, a wise decision and a blessed result.

We hope something from the organization of a permanent General Committee on Education, and trust that the gentlemen placed by the Conference on that committee will see that it be a *live* movement. Care should be taken that the annual conferences do not forget to establish in each district the proper Board of Education, and that every direction specified in the Report of the Education Committee be so executed that the prospective organization of "The Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church" shall come before the next General Conference ready for adoption and future effective action. The time has, no doubt, arrived when our educational system should receive that recognition and aid from the government of the Church which shall perfect its harmony, elevate its character, and aid in imparting additional life to all our regularly authorized institutions.

The goodly volume well shows that in editing the results as well as in performing the duties of his office, "the secretary stands alone."

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(2.) "*The Union Pulpit.* A Collection of Sermons by Ministers of Different Denominations." 8vo. Washington: W. T. Smithson. 1860.

This fine volume is put forth by the Young Men's Christian Association of the city of Washington. Its purpose is to aid that association in its laudable work of supplying at the national capital a suitable hall, library, reading room, and other moral, intellectual, and religious provisions for the multitudes who are annually brought from all quarters of our nation to that important center. This particular association endeavors manfully to perform its part in the great work assumed by the extensive body of Christian young men, whose association forms so hopeful a feature of the present day. Carefully avoiding any tendency to becoming a substitute for the Church, its purpose is in the spirit of our blessed Master, to provide "for the wants of the poor, for the education of the ignorant and neglected, the relief of the sick and dying, the diffusion of the Gospel in jails, asylums, and similar institutions, the introduction of strangers to suitable homes, the employment of the destitute, and the advancement of all that can ennoble man's character." With an institution so benevolent in its purposes every Christian heart must feel a deep sympathy,

a hearty disposition to excuse its errors and prejudices, and an earnest desire to lend aid to its efficiency in its enterprises. We trust, therefore, that in addition to its intrinsic excellence, this noble volume will find its philanthropic object to be a decisive inducement with the public to aid in securing its remunerative circulation.

To many minds, but not to ours, the stern *pseudo-conservatism* of the volume will be a main recommendation. To all who share in that *ism* we present its special claims. To them it offers the striking merit, that the large share of the divines who are admitted as *stars* in its firmament are southern preachers; some of them intense partisans of pro-slaveryism; while all of them, with perhaps a single questionable exception, are, we believe, either southern men, or northern men with southward proclivities. There is one name which in former times was recognized on the *tabooed* catalogue of antislavery men; from that catalogue it has disappeared to reappear in the present southern constellation. There are names of men who stand in the front heroic rank in defense of slavery and the human auction block. There is the name which must go down to posterity as designating the man who, as a slaveholder, produced the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But there is not one name belonging to a conspicuous leader in the great work of delivering our nation from the sin and stain of "buying and selling men, women, and children." There is the name of Fuller, who defended slavery against Wayland; but the name of Wayland is excluded. There is Bishop Andrews, of the M. E. Church, South; but no Bishop Simpson of the M. E. Church. There is Dr. William Smith, whose name is noted as the author of an unflinching defense of slavery; but no Dr. John H. Power, who reduced his book to a *nonplus*. To all pseudo-conservatives, whose olfactories are keen for the slightest odor of abolitionism, we commend this volume as perfectly innoxious and sweet smelling. To all the members of all those various "Unions" which have done so much to render the name of "Union" the antithesis of truth, righteousness, and freedom, we say, You are morally taxable for the payment of the price of this book.

But the book itself we believe is worth the assessment. We do not pretend as yet to have read many sermons in it, and do not involve ourself in any promises. But there are *names* that are pledges for the ability of the production they head, and are temptations to perform what we decline to promise. And then there are engravings which are singularly excellent, both as specimens of art and, so far as we are acquainted with the originals, as accurate and admirable counterfeit. There is the manly face of Dr. Murray, true to the life. There is our friend Dr. Foster, with just the expression which he has brought home from his Northwestern presidency. There are the burning eye and the silver locks, but not the more than silver voice, of Thomas H. Stockton. There is the round, ever fresh face of Dr. M'Clintock "last, but not least" of the gallery. These engravings are, to use a phrase which so many have used before us that we hope nobody will use it after us, "worth the price of the book." And now to the Young Men's Association of Washington we say that we hope that the time is coming when the term Union will cease to signify the predominance of a section; when Washington will cease to be exclusively a southern city; and when they may dare to pub-

lish a second volume which both in principle and in men will have something of a free and northern aspect; and when the result will be a large accession of money in their coffers and manhood in their souls.

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(3.) "*Sermons.* By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D.D. Second edition." 2 vols. 12mo., pp. 414, 425. New York: Charles Scribner; London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1860.

It is seldom that "three mighties" are found in the same home circle like the three Alexanders of the O. S. Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Archibald Alexander, a native of Virginia, was elected, in 1811, the first professor of the Princeton Theological Seminary, where for nearly forty years he was the chief oracle of old style Calvinism. He was learned, evangelical, strong in tongue and pen, and withal bold and confident in stating his opinions, and thus the better able to inspire the young men under his tuition with confidence in his system. He did much, more perhaps than any other man of the times, to resist the disintegrating process to which the Westminster theology has been subject in these latter days.

His eldest son, Dr. James W. Alexander, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, died last year at the age of fifty-five, respected and loved, an able minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The third son, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, died a few months after his brother, at Princeton, in the 50th year of his age. He had been a professor in the seminary some twenty-five years, and for the last eight years of his life was Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History. The volumes of sermons before us, like the portrait of the author in the first volume, bear the family likeness. They are strong in thought, evangelical in doctrine, powerful in style, and worthy to be deemed models. There are forty-three discourses, embracing a wide range of topics, generally, however, those that involve directly only the great truths in which evangelical Churches agree, and by which souls are saved. The 16th Sermon, volume i, on the Final Perseverance of the Saints, is about the only one specifically upon any point in controversy between us and the Calvinists; still, the Genevan doctrine crops out all along. Sometimes the preacher is content with the favorite technicality, supposed to epitomize the whole system, "sovereign grace." Sometimes he teaches it openly and at considerable length, and certainly without any observable lack of confidence in what he utters. There are in the volumes much beauty and compact force of style. C.

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(4.) "*Lectures on Christian Theology.* By GEORGE CHRISTIAN KNAPP, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated by LEONARD WOODS, Jr., D.D., President of Bowdoin College. Eighth American edition. Reprinted from the last London edition." 8vo., pp. 569. New York: N. Tibbals & Co., 118 Nassau-street. 1859.

Dr. Knapp was professor at Halle during the period of the American Revolution. He was the son of a professor of the same university. The institution itself was founded by Spener for the purpose of inculcating a new evangelical spirit, and a more Biblical theology than was prevalent in the land of the Reformation. When the darkness of rationalism settled down even upon lish a second volume which both in principle and in tone will have something of a free and northern aspect; and when the result will be a large accession of money in their coffers and manhood in their souls.

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Dr. Archibald Alexander, a native of Virginia, was elected, in 1811, the first professor of the Princeton Theological Seminary, where for nearly forty years he was the chief oracle of old style Calvinism. He was learned, evangelical, strong in tongue and pen, and withal bold and confident in stating his opinions, and, thus the better able to inspire the young men under his tuition with confidence in his system. He did much, more perhaps than any other man of the times, to resist the disintegrating process to which the Westminster theology has been subject in these latter days.

His eldest son, Dr. James W. Alexander, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, died last year at the age of fifty-five, respected and loved, an able minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The third son, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, died a few months after his brother, at Princeton, in the 50th year of his age. He had been a professor in the seminary some twenty-five years, and for the last eight years of his life was Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History. The volumes of sermons before us, like the portrait of the author in the first volume, bear the family likeness. They are strong in thought, evangelical in doctrine, powerful in style, and worthy to be deemed models. There are forty-three discourses, embracing a wide range of topics, generally, however, those that involve directly only the great truths in which evangelical Churches agree, and by which souls are saved. The 15th Sermon, volume i, on the Final Perseverance of the Saints, is about the only one specifically upon any point in controversy between us and the Calvinists; still, the Genevan doctrine crops out all along. Sometimes the preacher is content with the favorite technicality, supposed to epitomize the whole system, "sovereign grace." Sometimes he teaches it openly and at considerable length, and certainly without any observable lack of confidence in what he utters. There are in the volumes much beauty and compact force of style. c.

(4.) "*Lectures on Christian Theology.* By GEORGE CHRISTIAN KNAPP, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated by LEONARD WOODS, JR., D.D., President of Bowdoin College. Eighth American edition. Reprinted from the last London edition." 8vo., pp. 569. New York: M. Tibbals & Co., 118 Nassau-street. 1859.

Dr. Knapp was professor at Halle during the period of the American Revolution. He was the son of a professor of the same university. The institution itself was founded by Spener for the purpose of inculcating a more evangelical spirit, and a more Biblical theology than was prevalent in the land of the Reformation. When the darkness of rationalism settled down even upon

Halle, Knapp, then in his youth, imbibed much of its spirit and principles, but as he matured in mind he progressively returned to the evangelical doctrines. When he became professor he maintained the truths of the Gospel with ever increasing clearness in the most neological period, vindicating them and himself from the contempt of his cotemporaries by the extent of his learning, the force of his talent, and the popularity of his lectures. He lived to see the dawn of a better day, and died in 1825, in the peace of the blessed Gospel he so faithfully maintained.

The work itself should be in every minister's library. Its Lutheran theology of course presents some objectionable points, but the Methodist reader encounters much less to reject than does the learned translator himself. On the predestinarian controversy Knapp is essentially Arminian, nor do the notes of the translator materially diminish the value of his indoctrinations on that point.

(5.) "*Gildas Silvianus.* The Reformed Pastor: showing the Nature of the Pastoral Work, especially in private Instruction and Catechising: with an open Confession of our too open Sins. Prepared for a day of humiliation kept at Worcester, December 4, 1655, by the Ministers of that Country, who subscribed the agreement for Catechising and Personal Instruction at their entrance upon that work. By the Rev. RICHARD BAXTER." 8vo., pp. 560. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

Baxter was requested to prepare an address suitable for the solemn meeting of ministers at Worcester; but his great full heart could not stop until it had poured forth this immortal book. When the day came his feeble body was unable to attend and deliver even a *part;* but at the urgency of his friends he gave it through the press to the world, that they who could not hear might read. This work Mr. Wesley published in his Christian Library, and valued it so highly that he made it a disciplinary duty of his preachers to study its pages. The work is on our own catalogue of publications; but thanks are none the less due to the Carters for affording it a circulation among other denominations.

(6.) "*The Revelation of John its own Interpreter,* in virtue of the Double Version in which it is delivered. By JOHN COCHRAN." 12mo., pp. 350. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The ingenious author of this exposition is no way unaware of the reputation for wisdom conceded to the commentator who lets the Apocalypse alone, or of the unwillingness of an objective age to investigate a new theory. He is so sanguine of his success that he encounters all, and the result is before us. Objective as is the age, its population is immense, and among its various classes a small fit audience will be found to lend attention.

The symbolic part of the Apocalypse is twofold. The two corresponding sections are chap. vi, 1–chap. vii, 17; and from chap. xii, 1, to the end. These two sections are divided by an interval of silence. Each begins with a quaternal series of symbols; each next presents a scene of terrible trial; then follows in both a train of judgments; and both close with a glorious heavenly triumph. The quaternal symbols represent the predominance of Romanism in Christendom. The trials are the persecution of the true Church.

The judgments are the divine penalties executed upon the persecutors. The triumph is the predominance of Christianity in the earth. Chapters twenty-one and twenty-two therefore have no reference to a future world. The book is well worthy the attention of the students of prophecy.

(7.) "*The Missionary in Many Lands:* a Series of Interesting Sketches of Missionary Life. By ERWIN HOUSE, A.M. Ten Illustrations." 12mo., pp. 393. New York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday-School Union.

Not fiction based on fact, but fact itself; and facts stranger and nobler than fiction. The taste of our youth should be formed by the perusal of such books, and their piety cultivated by the examples they present. Mr. House is entitled to the thanks of the Church for the preparation of this excellent volume.

(8.) "*Morning Hours in Patmos:* the Opening Vision of the Apocalypse, and Christ's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia. By A. C. THOMSON, Author of the 'Better Land.'" 12mo., pp. 268. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1860.

Mr. Thomson himself is a visitant at Patmos, and his work is a record of the feelings and reflections awakened by that rocky isle and the sites of the seven churches. His volume is full of a rich piety expressed in pure and eloquent language. It will be a welcome book with the Christian public.

II. *Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(9.) "*An Exposition of the Swedish Movement Cure;* embracing the History and Philosophy of this System of Medical Treatment, with Examples of Single Movement, and Directions for their Use in various forms of Chronic Disease, forming a complete Manual of Exercises, together with a Summary of the Principles of General Hygiene. By GEORGE H. TAYLOR, Principal Physician to the Remedial Hygienic Institute of New York City." 12mo., pp. 396. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1860.

We suppose that nearly every possible remedial or prophylactic method has now become systematized, and propounded as a complete medical science, and dubbed with a title ending with *pathy* or *cure*, has gone before the public as an ample *theory* and *practice* for all the demands of human disease. A partial remedy, good in its place, we doubt not that nearly every one of them is. Their systematized unity and learned title doubtless aid in obtaining the public attention. But an acceptance of special methods as an entire practice for all diseases is a folly very likely to inflict its own penalty.

In its place, and in its proper proportion, the Hygienic use of bodily exercise is specially important. Especially for students and sedentary men of all classes, a thorough analytic bodily training is an indispensable condition of strength and health. There is no professorship more important or less appreciated in our colleges than the department of physical culture. There is no recitation room more important than the gymnasium. Our denominational college corporations have not yet sufficiently realized this truth. Our own ministry, with its equestrian habits, was once the most robust set of successors to the apostles that the world has seen since the apostles' day. But our next clerical generation is liable to be what Theodore

Parker said that orthodoxy is, namely, "dyspeptic." For this there is no other preventive than the proper intermingling of physical with mental training. No one who has witnessed the rapid and decisive effects of the gymnasium on the strength and health can doubt its efficiency for these important purposes.

It is a great value in Mr. Taylor's book that it shows that an expensive apparatus, which is out of the reach of too many of us, is not indispensable to a valuable self-training. The student has truly an apparatus always at command. The human frame has all the requisites for a powerful gymnasium for itself. And the main value of this volume, and a great value it is, consists in a very clear exhibition of the method and its rationale. For this purpose we commend it to a wide circulation.

Objections are made, very true but not very weighty, to the want of dignity of these prescribed performances. And it is undeniable that if the various circumgyrations, genuflexions, and calcitrations, or—to bring the matter down to plain Saxon—if the manifold twistings, squattings, kickings, etc., were to be made a public performance, they would be a very terrible diminution of dignity to which few grave personages would submit. But it is not clear that these performances are less dignified with a complex gymnastic apparatus than without. We suppose that nature compels us daily to predicaments which would appear undignified in public. No processes are less dignified than those superinduced by the emetics and cathartics of orthodox medical practice. On the whole, we recommend this volume to all persons who are at a loss for some mode of healthful exercise.

(10.) "*Studies of Animal Life.* By GEORGE HENRY LEWES, author of 'Physiology of Common Life,' etc." 24mo., pp. 146. Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lewes is ever a fidgety philosopher. He is a skeptic, and self-complacent in his skepticism as a mark of superior shrewdness. Hence he is always anxious to let it peep if not jump out. He is voracious for differing as much as possible from ordinary beliefs. He would even like the glory, were it not for the inconvenience, of being persecuted; just as Shakspeare's fop would have liked, but for "those vile guns," to be a soldier. With his propensity rather than talent for vivacity, his self-sufficiency, and his real science, Mr. Lewes is the very prettiest specimen of the savan-fop of our day.

The present book is an unfolding of some of the wonders of lower zoology by a man whose wonder, terminating in the object, sees nothing in the animal more wonderful than the animal. It possesses much physical and æsthetical, but (as far as the author is able) no moral interest. He decides that the possibility of hybrid propagation is forever demonstrated by the fertility of two species of *lepus*—the hare and the rabbit!

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(11.) "*A Run through Europe.* By ERASTUS C. BENEDICT." 12mo., pp. 552. New York: Appleton & Co.

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A book of travels that is one of the results of the great tourist tide now setting more strongly and steadily than ever toward Europe. It gives us the authentic points of interest that lie along some of the most familiar routes of European travel, such as could be gathered up in a summer vacation from twenty-five kingdoms and sovereignties. Without the interest and novelty of new routes and perilous adventures, the book will nevertheless amply repay perusal, whether as a reminiscence of travel or as a preparation for it. It strongly reminds one of the fact that one sees only that which he carries with him the eyes to see. The writer had read much before he made his "run," and hence the miscellaneous, episodical, historical, critical, æsthetic, statistic, biographical, reminiscent, and occasionally gossipy style of the book, and for these reasons all the more entertaining and instructive. Luther lost much of his attachment to the Papal See by his visit to Rome; our author, without ceasing to be any less an American Protestant, yet has an abatement of his anti-Romanistic feelings after his visit to the Papal dominions. In his opinion, the winking Madonnas, blood-liquefactions, relics of rags and bones, and wood and stone, indulgences, worship of saints, etc., are no part of the Catholic religion, no logical or legitimate extreme of the system; only incidentals, parasitical developments of it. He is more and more convinced that the adulterous union of Church and State, and not the Roman Catholic Church, is the great apostacy mentioned in the New Testament; that the differences between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism are not so much differences of *quality* as of *quantity*, and if you could "abolish the temporal power of the pope, make him only the primate, the bishop of bishops, the Archbishop of Canterbury of the world, the spiritual earthly head of the Church, supported by its contributions in such pontifical splendor as you please, but without dungeons, or prisons, or terrors, except ecclesiastical, not forbidding to marry, not compelling auricular confession, and how long would it be before the Greek Church and a very considerable portion of all Protestant prelatical Churches would quietly acknowledge him as the shepherd and bishop of their folds? In my opinion not fifty years." In our opinion many more than fifty centuries. 𝔑.

(12.) *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors* during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa; together with Journeys to Jagga, Usambara, Ukambarie, Shou, Abyssinia, and Khartum; and a Coasting Voyage from Mombaz to Cape Dalgado. By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf, Secretary of the Chrishona Institute at Basel, and late Missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Equatorial Africa. With an Appendix respecting the Snow-capped Mountains of Eastern Africa; the Sources of the Nile; the Languages and Literature of Abyssinia and Eastern Africa, and a concise account of Geographical Researches in Eastern Africa up to the discovery of the Uyenyesi by Dr. Livingstone in September last. By E. J. Ravenstein." 12mo., pp. 464. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

It was Dr. Krapf's destiny to travel through a region of euphonious names. Whatever the barbarism and fierceness of the tribes he visited, they quarreled, blasphemed, and worshiped their idols in languages of Italian softness, filled with words of flowing vowels, moulded and shaped by delicate consonants. The seas he navigated were haunted, for the very music of their names, as well as the romance of their memories, by the muses of Milton and Camoens.

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And well may the Christian spirit sigh for the day when the Gospel spirit and Christian institutions may overspread this ancient and sunny clime.

Ethiopia and Abyssinia are indeed names familiar in history, Biblical and classical, Pagan and Christian. Here, perhaps, was the Ophir of Solomon. These eastern coasts were visited as early as A.D. 210, by the navigators whose narrative is given with topographical truthfulness in the Periplus of Arrian. When the Roman empire fell historic darkness rested for ages here until the Mohammedan Arabs took possession. For a period subsequent Portugal reigned ascendant; and now Britain leads the European States in spreading an advancing Christian power over these seas and coasts.

Dr. Krapf proves himself a specially fitted missionary pioneer. His brief autobiography, prefixed to the missionary narrative, manifests a unique child-like simplicity united with a most manly spirit of enterprise. With the most perfect modesty of spirit he assumes that he was providentially designed, fitted, and led to this specific work. Faith and piety seem to have so fully impregnated his soul as to seem natural. His travels have opened new explorations for Christian enterprise, and added new regions to the map of Eastern Africa. His linguistic researches, his new collection of manuscripts, and the philological works preparing by him and Rebman are adding new accessions to ethnology. Livingstone and Krapf are truly twin spirits.

(13.) "*Old Mackinaw;* or, The Fortress of the Lakes and its Surroundings. By W. P. STRICKLAND." 12mo., pp. 404. Philadelphia: Challen & Son; New York: Carlton & Porter; Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock; Chicago: W. M. Doughty; Detroit: Putnam, Smith, & Co.; Nashville: J. B. M'Ferrin. 1860.

Mackinaw is the strait that crowns the apex of the pyramidal peninsula of the Michigan of our maps. It is a point of singular historical and geographical interest, and of future commercial importance. It is the prospective center of an immense number of lines of trade. Its beauty and salubrity render it an attraction for the summer tourist and the invalid. The next great commercial expansion is very likely to reveal its importance.

It is not many years since the northern part of this peninsula was officially reported to the United States government as an impassable swamp, the real fact being that it was a fine table-land, rich with timber ample for many a future navy, and affording soil unsurpassed for the surest and most plentiful growth of cereals. In regard to temperature, its isothermal line passes through Prussia and Poland, the finest grain countries in Europe. North of the straits are the copper mines of the Superior, and south the coal mines of Michigan. Around, the great lakes form one of the grandest systems of internal water communication in the world. Two railroads, commenced but not completed, send their black lines from the far south to the straits, opening a very direct communication from Pensacola to the point designated as the future Mackinaw City. It hardly seems a mere fancy that these straits are a sort of Dardanelles, and that Mackinaw may prove our future Constantinople. Such are the contemplations opened in this volume. It is, in truth, a singularly interesting volume. We cannot conjecture on what field of historiographic labor we shall next encounter the ubiquitous genius of our friend Strickland.

(14.) "*The History of Herodotus.* A new English Version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by Colonel Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. In four volumes. Vol. 4, with Maps and Illustrations." 8vo., pp. 466. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present volume completes this noble work. Herodotus is now accessible to the English reader in form and with accompaniments valuable alike to the scholar and the general reader. The merest English reader, indeed, cannot peruse the translated text of Herodotus without feeling something of that peculiar negligent simplicity and that pervading air of antiquity which in the Greek possess so full a charm for the classical scholar. The copious illustrations which modern discovery throw around the text add to its power by strengthening the sense of reality. In fact there is much in this mass of corroboration to check the excess of historical skepticism and to enable us to feel that we live in a real world, whose past ages are not all a dream.

The present volume contains more than forty illustrations, and one valuable map of Greece in the time of the Persian wars. There are three ethnological Essays. One analyzes the races of the empire of Xerxes, valuable to the classical scholar. The second examines the early migrations of the Phœnicians, and is valuable both to the classical and Biblical student. The third, on the Alarodians of Herodotus, also carries us, unexpectedly, upon Biblical grounds.

* * *

(15.) "*History of Latin Christianity;* including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Vol. I. 12mo. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

We have received the "prospectus and specimen pages" of the above great work from the enterprising house who undertake it. That we heartily welcome the announcement will not be doubted by those who remember our suggesting, a few numbers back, the desirableness of its republication in America. The profound research, historic impartiality, and brilliant written eloquence of Dean Milman, we are well assured, will be brought out in full splendor in the volumes announced. We doubt not that the publication will be a remunerative enterprise.

> "No such work," says the Quarterly Review, (vol. xcv, p. 39,) "has appeared in English ecclesiastical literature—none which combines such breadth of view with such depth of research—such high literary and artistic eminence with such patient and elaborate investigation—such appreciation of the various forms of greatness and goodness with such force of conception and execution—none which exhibits so large an amount of that fearlessness of results which is the necessary condition of impartial judgment and trustworthy statement."—*Prospectus,* p. 6.

The first volume will appear in October, 1860, being a reprint of the last London edition. It will be printed at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, and each volume will be a beautiful crown octavo of about six hundred pages. Price per volume, according to binding, from $1 50 to $2 50.

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(16.) "*Autobiographical Recollections.* By the late Charles Robert Leslie, R. A. Edited, with a Preparatory Essay on Leslie as an Artist, and Selections from his Correspondence, by Tom Taylor, Esq., editor of the 'Autobiography of Haydon.'" 12mo., pp. 363. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Leslie, the great painter, was born of American parents in the city of London in 1794, and lived to the year 1859. His powers as an artist brought him into acquaintance with men of eminent genius, intercourse with the nobility, and even into the presence of royalty. His genius, gentleness, purity, and we may add piety, render the pages both of his autobiography and his correspondence attractive. A main point of interest is his reminiscences, recorded at ease and without the formality of portraiture, of men like Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Thomas Moore, Rogers, Sidney Smith, Washington Irving, and Walter Scott.

(17.) "*The Queens of Society.* By Grace and Philip Wharton. Illustrated by Charles Altamont Doyle and the Brothers Dalziel." 12mo., pp. 488. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

A fascinating book, and hard to lay aside unfinished. The "Queens" are not fictitious but real characters. They are a constellation of the women most celebrated for talent or brilliancy of character in modern times. Madame Roland, Lady Montague, L. E. L., Madame de Staël, and others, constitute the series. The style is graceful and piquant. The moral tone is unexceptionable. The book is every way worthy of a finer material and better engravings.

(18.) "*Course of Ancient Geography.* Arranged with Special Reference to Convenience of Recitation. By H. J. Schmidt, D.D., Professor in Columbia College." 16mo., pp. 328. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The absence of à manual of ancient geography suited to collegiate recitation but too clearly indicates an absence of due attention to that valuable branch of classical instruction in our usual college courses. Professor Schmidt's work is admirably suited for its object. It is certainly none too large; it is well planned, compiled from the best authorities, and brought down to the latest period of research. In connection with a good atlas—Butler's, Findley's, or Long's—the work should be placed in our schemes of college study.

(19.) "*The Sand-Hills of Jutland.* By Hans Christian Andersen, Author of 'The Improvisator,' etc." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Another very readable story-book from Herr Andersen, a great writer of stories. It comprises eighteen tales, and takes its title from the first one. The book savors of the old Norse legends, occasionally entering those bewitching regions of the marvelous which lie between fact and fancy, between myth and history; but it does so without disturbing our credence, like Munchausen, or shocking the moral feelings like Paul de Kock. Andersen is a prolix Æsop in his use of the lower forms of life; but puts the moral, not at the end, but in the stories themselves, which breathe throughout a fine spirit of piety, and afford pleasant reading to wonder-loving youth and genial old age. 𝔄

(20.) "*A Smaller History of Greece*, from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Illustrated by engravings on wood." 12mo., pp. 248. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The youthful scholar is furnished in this volume with an invaluable manual of Grecian history, finished with the latest results of research. The engravings are not the least excellence, being selected with rare judgment, and strikingly illustrative. The restoration of the Acropolis, which is the frontispiece, gives the finest position upon its "summit level" that we ever enjoyed.

◆

(21.) "*Life in Sing Sing State-prison, as seen in a Twelve Years' Chaplaincy.* By Rev. JOHN LUCKEY." 12mo., pp. 376. New York: N. Tibbals & Co.

As mere narrative, the pages of the philanthropic Chaplain of Sing Sing are full of interest. They are full too of suggestive matter for the benevolent and reflective mind. They present monitory lessons of warning to the young. They deserve a broadcast circulation.

◆

(22.) "*Appleton's Companion Hand-Book of Travel*, containing a full description of the principal Cities, Towns, and places of interest, together with Hotels, and Routes of Travel through the United States and the Canadas. With Colored Maps. Edited by T. ADDISON RICHARDS." 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The traveler and the tourist will find in this guide-book a very faithful and trusty counselor as to the routes, with the circumstantials which he needs to know, upon which he is to travel. The colored maps are alone a great convenience, and the periodical character of the work enables it to "keep posted" in regard to the changes.

◆

(23.) "*The New American Encyclopedia.* A popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY & CHARLES DANA. Vol. 10. Jerusalem—M'Ferrin." 8vo., pp. 796. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present number contains a valuable article on Kant, by Professor H. B. Smith, and one on Language, by Charles Kraitsir. Articles are furnished on near eighty living characters, among whom are Reverdy Johnson, Thomas Starr King, Charles Kingsley, Kossuth, Layard, Lepsius, Leverrier, Tayler Lewis, Abraham Lincoln, Longfellow, J. R. Lowell, and Liebig. There are articles on Dr. Kidder, Dr. M'Clintock, and Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin.

◆

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(24.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales & Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the Official Reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the 'Thirty Years' View.' Vol. 14." 8vo., pp. 747. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present volume closes Martin Van Buren's administration, and continues through those of General Taylor and John Tyler.

V.—*Educational.*

(25.) "*First Standard Phonographic Reader.* Illustrated by CHAUNCEY B. THORNE. By A. J. GRAHAM." 12mo., pp. 82. New York: A. J. Graham, Phonetic Depot. 1860.

The perfection attained by Messrs. Graham and Thorne in their Phonographic pages indicates the success of the art, and gives promise of the issue of a series of valuable works, by them contemplated, from their "Depot." The present work is a beautiful specimen of the corresponding style. It consists of a series of interesting extracts calculated to entertain and cheer the commencing reader in his progress in deciphering the new script. Such works are needed for all pupils, and especially the young, for whom the pleasantness lightens the labor of the task. Notes are judiciously added at the end of the volume to explain the more difficult combinations. Mr. Graham has introduced some slight modifications into Pitman's system which will embarrass the reader but slightly, but which, whatever their excellences, do not quite rocqure the title "standard."

(26.) "*Analytic Orthography;* an investigation of the Sounds of the Voice and their Alphabetic Notation; including the Mechanism of Speech and its bearing upon Etymology. By S. S. HALDEMAN, A.M., Professor in Delaware College." 4to., pp. 148. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. Paris: Benjamin Duprat. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler. 1860.

Professor Haldeman gives the following account of the origination of this work:

> "This Essay owes its form and matter to the following circumstances. In the year 1857 Sir William C. Trevelyan, A.M., (Oxford,) of Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne, offered two prizes for essays on a Reform in the Spelling of the English Language, to contain, among other features, an Analysis of the System of Articulate Sounds, an Exposition of those occurring in English, and an Alphabetic Notation, in which 'as few new types as possible should be admitted.' The last requisition has, in a few cases, resulted in a double notation, one of which represents the author's preference in a new form of type, the other being a form in use, but not approved. The investigation was made from a natural history point of view, and the results are here presented. A Report is yet to be made to the American Association for the Advancement of Science on the Subject of an Alphabetic Notation for exotic Languages. Suggestions and criticisms are solicited toward this end, to be addressed to the author at Columbia, Pennsylvania."

The author, though disclaiming a place among the reformers, arrives at a theoretic alphabet, based on the Latin, which he applies to the ten primary numerals in seventy-five languages. It is a learned and acute work on an important subject.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres and Classics.*

(27.) "*Lucile.* By OWEN MEREDITH, Author of 'The Wanderer,' 'Clytemnestra,' etc." 24mo., blue and gold. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Owen Meredith has here furnished the latest form of the Epos—the modern novel wrought into poetry. We say this not by way of disparagement. The "modern novel" has in our age engaged the powers of some of our finest intellects, and has made some of the broadest and, some think, the highest of reputations. When, however, the novel successfully assumes the form of verse,

a new muse is called into the performance, and a higher art is attained. The Lucile of Owen Meredith will, in this respect, doubtless be pronounced a success. The poem displays a mastery and an intense concentration of language, deep passion, rapid action, dramatic effect, and skillful portraiture of character. Lucile, the heroine, is a lofty specimen of womanhood. By a few brief words she is flung into disharmony with the natural order of things; but she preserves, in the comparative isolation of her existence, not merely a self-sustained purity, a firm refusal to return to the orbit of ordinary affections by a sacrifice of unselfish principle, but she exerts a heroic and mastering control over the feebler virtue of others, fixes the wavering purpose of the tempted, and restores the fallen to the path of integrity. Some passages there are where the language of the seducer wiling his victim to ruin is perhaps too lusciously detailed. One character is introduced, however, intended to teach us, very much in the style of the dissolute dramatists of the Restoration, that professed religion and Exeter Hall benevolence are but the cloak for mercenary villainy.

◆

(28.) "*The Ebony Idol.*" 12mo., pp. 283. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

No term could be more expressive of the deep devotion of our Southern friends to the dark power that now controls them than the title of this volume. No picture could better symbolize the deep fanaticism of the pro-slavery spirit than its frontispiece. The scene of the picture seems to be in the center of a southern plantation. The representative of slavery stands in the shape of a fine young negro, crowned with roses, and surrounded by rapt admirers. A thin ministerial looking figure seems to represent the clerical defenders of slavery, like Dr. Smith, or Dr. Ross, who have immolated morality and Scripture upon the altar of this their evil genius. A lank-faced old lady seems to represent Virginia or South Carolina, impoverished and blasted by the dark curse they adore. When we consider how much of prosperity, of honor, of conscience, and of common sense, our southern friends have sacrificed to their mumbo-jumbo, we fully conclude that no devil worship was ever more intense or more mad than is hourly offered to their "Ebony Idol."

While the frontispiece of this book so strikingly illustrates this fact, the book itself is a heavy abortion, offered, with a species of Moloch sacrifice of offspring, by the genius of dullness to the demon of despotism.

◆

(29.) "*A Man.* By Rev. J. D. Bell." 12mo., pp. 462. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860.

The writer of this book is favorably known to the readers of the Ladies' Repository, to the editor of which, Dr. Clark, the work is reverently and affectionately dedicated. It consists of a series of free meditations on a variety of interesting topics belonging to æsthetics, practical life, and morals. In short Mr. Bell here performs as an essayist. His practical aims are excellent, and the natural influence of his reflections is beneficial. There is no overstrain after effect. He succeeds well in winning his reader's attention and guiding him through a path of fresh and attractive thought. The volume may be recommended to the lovers of the essay.

VII.—*Periodicals.*

(30.) "*The Christian Advocate and Journal.* EDWARD THOMSON, D.D., Editor." New York. 1860.

The Church has placed one of her ablest men at the head of this periodical, and before our January number is likely to be in the hands of its subscribers, specimens of the paper will, we trust, appear, which will demonstrate that it is the purpose of Carlton & Porter, in compliance with what is, we believe, about the unanimous wish of the Church, to place it at the head of American religious journalism. This announcement will be accepted with delight throughout the connection. Without in the least disparaging our other Advocates, and believing the elevation of one will conduce to the prosperity of all, one paper there should be *connectional* in its character. Where the center of secular journalism is in these free states, every one knows. That it launches its manifestoes from the commercial metropolis of the nation, every one feels. And that the universal circulation of these metropolitan papers increases the number and circulation of sectional periodicals would appear by statistics. We trust, then, that with the approach of the New Year there will be a buckling on of armor, and a general rally of all the "loyal" sons of the Church to roll in an additional fifty thousand upon the subscription list, and place the editor upon the journalistic preëminence in the world which his abilities can so well sustain.

(31.) "*Sunday-School Teachers' Journal.* Published monthly for the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. D. WISE, D.D., Editor."

The inauguration of a journal for the Sabbath-school teachers was a happy and a wise thought, and wisely has it been realized. Next in importance to an efficient and faithful ministry is a well-trained, well-instructed body of Sabbath teachers. That Dr. Wise should be able to address his counsels and encouragements to them all at once is a peculiar advantage which will result in unspeakable good, and we anticipate a gradual improvement in the discipline and efficiency of the whole army.

Pastors and superintendents should forthwith bring the paper before the notice of their teaching corps. The patronage of the paper has indeed surpassed in rapidity and amount the most sanguine expectations of the editor. But there are many schools yet, we suspect, unaware of the existence of the periodical, and needing a hint from the minister or managers to prevent their losing, for a while at least, the benefit of the publication.

VIII.—*Juvenile.*

(32.) "*The Book and its Story:* A Narrative for the Young. By L. N. R." 12mo., pp. 463. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The Book is, of course, the Bible. Its story is the account of its origin and progressive history, its struggles and triumphs, its circulation and diffusion in modern times through the world. It is an interesting, a sublime story. The plan is well conceived and the development well traced. The illustrations form an instructive attraction. The book is primarily addressed to the young, but its value and interest are for all ages.

IX.—*Miscellaneous.*

"*A Course of Exercises in French Syntax*, methodically arranged after Poitevin's 'Syntaxe Francaise;' to which are added ten Appendices. Designed for the use of Academies, Colleges, and private learners. By FREDERIC T. WINKELMANN, Professor of Latin, French, and German in the Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y." 12mo., pp. 366. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Reminiscences of an Officer of Zouaves.* Translated from the French." 12mo., pp. 317. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*A Treasury of Scripture Stories*, beautifully illustrated with Colored Plates, from original designs, by the first American artists." 12mo. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

A very fine juvenile gift-book.

"*American History.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Engravings." 16mo., pp. 280. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

The beautiful maps and engravings, the entire exterior execution, as well as the known talent of Mr. Abbott, rank this as about the first of juvenile American histories.

"*Unitarianism Defined.* The Scripture Doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. A Course of Lectures, by FREDERICK A. FARLEY, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, New York." 12mo., pp. 270. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

Unitarianism stated and advocated by one of its ablest defenders.

"*A New Practical and Easy Method of Learning the Spanish Language.* After the system of F. AHN, Doctor of Philosophy and Professor at the College of Neuss. First American edition, revised and enlarged." 12mo., pp. 149. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Peace in Believing;* exemplified in the Memoirs of Mrs. ANN EAST, written by her husband, Rev. JOHN EAST, A.M., author of 'My Saviour.'" 16mo., pp. 270. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*My Saviour;* or, Devotional Meditations, in Prose and Verse, on the Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. JOHN EAST, A.M., Rector of Croscombe, Somerset, England." 16mo., pp. 252. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The above two volumes are finished in beautiful style.

"*Five Years in China*, with some Account of the Great Rebellion, and a Description of St. Helena. By CHARLES TAYLOR, M.D., (formerly Missionary to China,) Corresponding Secretary of the S. S. Union of the M. E. Church, South. New York: Derby & Jackson; Nashville: J. B. M'Ferrin. 1860.

A very valuable volume for inquirers touching the Flowery Realm.

"*Natural History.* For the use of Schools and Families. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College. Illustrated by near three hundred engravings." 12mo., pp. 371. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*History of the Dragon*, that old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan, whose head must be bruised in the coming Contest among the Nations. By G. B. STACY." 24mo., pp. 184. Richmond, Va.: W. Hargrave White. 1860.

"*An Elementary Grammar of the Italian Language*, progressively arranged for the use of Schools and Colleges. By G. B. FONTANA." 12mo., pp. 236. New York. 1860.

"*Rosa;* or, The Parisian Girl. From the French of Madame DE PRESSENSÉ. By Mrs. J. C. FLETCHER." 16mo., pp. 371. Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*Chapters on Wives.* By Mrs. ELLIS." 12mo., pp. 258. Harper & Brothers.

"*Right at Last*, and other Tales. By Mrs. GASKELL." Harper & Brothers.

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"*Chapters on Wives.* By Mrs. Ellis." 12mo., pp. 358. Harper & Brothers.

"*Right at Last, and other Tales.* By Mrs. Gaskell." Harper & Brothers.

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